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The Shape of Things

ON BOTH OKINAWA AND LUZON ORGANIZED resistance has been declared at an end, and we anticipate a protracted operational pause in the grand strategic advance in the Pacific. There will of course be no pause in Allied activity on the sea, on the ground, or in the air; but the main thrust toward Tokyo must rest temporarily while the huge job of building up the pressure of troops and supplies for the next offensive phase is carried out. Unofficial hints, as well as guarded official statements, indicate that this next operation will be carried out on such a scale and in such a fashion as to astonish the world. The navy will have the three big advanced staging areas of Okinawa, Luzon, and Guam on which to draw; and doubtless these islands are already being weighted down with men and material, as England was before the invasion of the Continent. Combat divisions from Europe are now being redeployed to the Far East, either through the United States or direct from Marseilles. Three armies are already in the Pacific under General MacArthur's overall ground command—General Krueger's Sixth, General Eichelberger's Eighth, and General Stilwell's Tenth. These armies are all pretty battle-wise and have experienced commanders; the selection of General Stilwell to head the Tenth after the tragic death of General Buckner on Okinawa nearly at the end of the battle is a particularly happy circumstance, removing our outstanding Far Eastern commander from his training job in the United States and putting him in position to apply his impressive knowledge and skill to the job of defeating the Japanese on their own ground. In addition, the six veteran divisions of the Marine Corps will undoubtedly be restored to combat strength and fitness in time to spearhead the assault. It is inconceivable that the Japanese can withstand the massive power being readied against them.

*

AT HIS LAST PRESS CONFERENCE IN PARIS General Eisenhower urged the correspondents to study carefully one thing—"the value of integrated tactical power in war." Explaining, he said: "When you put sea, ground, and air power together, the result you get is not the sum of their separate powers. You multiply their power rather than add." Already this multiplication of power is evident in the Pacific, where the integration of the three arms has been steadily on the increase. Sea power brought the Marines to Iwo, air power protected them, and their ground power won the island; so that air power could in turn be conserved there when the B-29's faltered on the long return from Japan. The fast carrier task force ranged off Okinawa as a barrier, while "jeep" (escort) carriers gave close-in air support to the gound forces until land-based planes could use the airstrips which were the ground forces' first objectives. The clearance of Okinawa means that B-29's can soon begin comparatively close-range bombing of Japan's secondary targets, the primary targets having already been largely written off by Marianas-based attacks; the way is also open for attacks on the 20 per cent of enemy industry in Manchuria, and for aerial blockade of the Tsushima Straits between Korea and Kyushu-Honshu—a blockade which can seriously interfere with Japanese war efficiency. All this is causing Japan to "bleed internally," in the phrase of a B-29 group commander; and that internal bleeding will show itself in the form of fewer casualties among American ground forces when the final battles are joined.

*

THE SIMLA CONFERENCE INCHES FORWARD toward a goal still far distant—full and responsible self-government for India. It is a hopeful sign that at the first meeting between the Indian leaders and Lord Wavell a general agreement was expressed on the proposed plans for the Indianization of the Viceroy's Council. It would seem to indicate that Congress and Moslem League leaders as well as leaders of other Indian groups are ready to accept the British proposals in good faith rather than to find reasons for rejecting an offer which they viewed with suspicion. Naturally the long-standing differences between the Congress and Moslem League leaders are not going to be resolved overnight. Already the Congress is challenging the proposal that the League should name *all* the Moslems on the Viceroy's Council. But if the desire for a unified Indian solution is genuine, it is hard to believe that this clash will prove fatal. To American liberals the advance represented by any accord reached at Simla may appear infinitesimal. The economic, social, and political tasks confronting the Indian leaders are of mountainous proportions. Nor is it safe to believe that British imperialists—economic as well as political—have decided to liquidate all their interests in India. Certainly, the British at San Francisco did not seem to appreciate the quickening surge of colonial poeples toward democratic independence. Perhaps a Labor victory or even important Labor gains in the British election will bring about a change in official attitude.

*

THE VICTORY OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC Front in Peru is bound to have a momentous effect throughout Latin America. From Buenos Aires to Mexico all the reactionary forces had speculated on the triumph of General Ureta, Presidential candidate of the conservative National Union Coalition, whose pro-fascist sympathies led him in the early period of the war to side openly with the Axis. The Argentine colonels, in particular, eagerly expected the election of Ureta, hoping that a strong bloc including Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Peru, would in the space of a few months succeed in overthrowing the democratic government in Chile, isolating Uruguay, and extending fascist domination through the continent. The election of the candidate of the leftist coalition, Dr. José Luis Bustamante, puts an end to these speculations. The newly elected President, besides announcing that one of his first acts when he takes office on July 28 will be to abolish all vestiges of censorship, is pledged to a program of reform which, though limited and tempered to conditions in his socially backward country, amounts to a real revolution. The latest election returns insure Dr. Bustamante a majority in both houses to carry out his program. In foreign relations his government represents exactly the opposite position to that of the Argentine government. The Peruvian elections confirm our belief that the war has exercised a profound influence on the peoples of Latin America and created almost everywhere the basis for encouraging democratic regimes. Not even from the point of view of the political realism which our State Department has so often professed can it longer justify support of the reactionary elements in Latin America. In Argentina as well as in Peru, indeed even more readily than in Peru, we could by now have had a decent democratic regime, had we not been foolish enough to save the Perón government during the Chapultepec conference and thus open the way for its acceptance at San Francisco. That is the most important lesson of the Peruvian election.

*

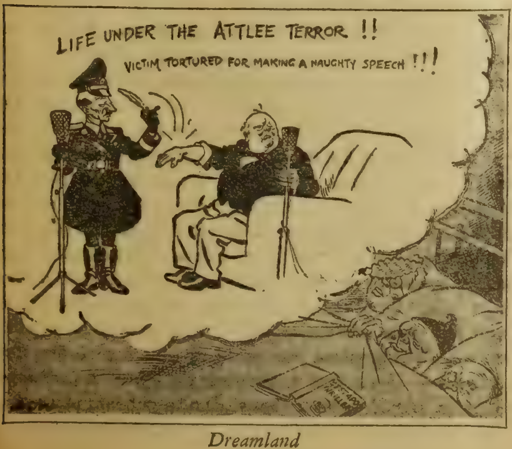
SENATOR BILBO'S EXHIBITION LAST THURSDAY made it appear that at the cost of hundreds of thousands of lives we had destroyed Hitler's racial obscenity in Europe only to have it parade in all its shameless arrogance at the very center of our democracy. If, as it appears at this writing, the FEPC is to be destroyed or mutilated, then it may well be asked how our nation can speak a word for democracy in a war-shattered world when at home we turn our backs on the elementary principle of equal economic opportunity? Perhaps we should warn the other nations that Bilbo is an atavistic survival and not an effective symbol of American democracy and compassion. Perhaps it should be pointed out that American patriotism is hardly to be judged by a Senator who would tie up the funds for seventeen essential war agencies rather than run the risk of voting $466,200 to mitigate the lot of millions of traditionally oppressed citizens. Whatever the outcome, it is important to assess the meaning of this latest manifestation of American reaction and weigh the strength of the opposing factions. The President himself has shown great courage in twice speaking for the FEPC. The Republicans have proved themselves but sorry champions of an agency which, for election purposes, they insisted ought to be made permanent; they apparently have not decided that the time has come to break with their natural allies in the South. What is quite clear is that the battleground for 1946 is being laid out. The liberal gains in the South in 1944 represent only a partial victory. Now these same liberal forces—political, labor, and community groups—must lose no time in preparing for a decisive struggle at the polls. For them, as for liberals throughout the nation, the challenge is nothing less than to extirpate from American public life all the evil intolerance that Bilbo and Rankin personify.

*

IN THE FINAL SHOWDOWN THE OPA SURVIVED the attacks of its enemies without suffering irretrievable damage. The disastrous Wherry amendment, which would have put farm prices on a cost-plus basis, and the scarcely less mischievous Dirksen amendment for court review of OPA orders were eliminated. Although a modified form of the Andresen amendment for a "food czar" was adopted by the House-Senate conferees, the Republicans are far from happy over the compromise. The Administration victory in conference makes it sure that the struggle against inflation will go on for another year without appreciable loss of vigor. Reports of growing black-market conditions in many sections of the country make it evident, however, that the OPA's task will be more difficult than ever before. In view of its restricted budget the agency cannot be expected to cope with the problem single-handed. It will need the most active kind of cooperation from local and state enforcement agents and, above all, from the general public. If every responsible citizen made a point of reporting every indication of black marketeering to his local board, the evil could quickly be stamped out.

*

MR. TRUMAN'S PROPOSAL TO ALTER THE PRESENT order of Presidential succession arose from an excellent impulse to insure that the functions of Chief Executive should be exercised by an elected rather than an appointed official. But the proposal was ill-timed and of doubtful wisdom none the less, and we hope the bill introduced in the House by Mr. Sumners will be defeated. Its apparent advantages are almost entirely fortuitous, resulting from the peculiar state of affairs that existed at Mr. Roosevelt's death. Certainly Mr. Stettinius would have been an inappropriate successor had Mr. Truman been removed from office before the new Secretary of State was chosen. And Mr. Truman apparently felt it was improper that he should have the power, in appointing a new Secretary, to appoint at the same time his own possible successor. But the proposal to vest the office of President in the Speaker of the House, as the official who comes closest to being a popularly elected representative, seems to us to be based more on an estimate of the men involved than on underlying political considerations. And surely a decision as to the Presidency should not be influenced by arguments which are both *ad hoc* and *ad hominem*. A simpler plan would be to continue the present system but provide for a special election in case the Secretary of State should become President more than ninety days before the end of the term. This would obviate the danger that the national government might be headed for a considerable time by an appointed official—a danger which has not materialized in the history of the country—without creating the danger that it might be turned over to a Representative elected locally and raised to the Speakership by the operation of the seniority rule.


LIFE UNDER THE ATTLEE TERROR !!
VICTIM TORTURED FOR MAKING A NAUGHTY SPEECH !!!

Dreamland

Britain Votes

BRITISH electors on July 5 will have their first chance in ten years to express their views at the polls, but ballots will not be counted until July 25, owing to the extra time allowed for service voters. The contest is the most open within living memory. Millions of voters—all under thirty-one—have never cast a ballot before. Moreover, the electoral register is said to be very imperfect, and some reports suggest that bungled handling of service ballot papers will deprive many soldiers and sailors of the chance to vote. Both these circumstances will tend to harm the Labor Party, for probably most unregistered voters are workers shifted from their homes on war jobs and there are numerous signs of a strong leftward trend in the services.

Another bar to prophecy is the unusually large number of candidates—1,686 competing for 640 "seats." Consequently there are only 265 "straight fights," while 293 contests are three-cornered. In sixty other places four or more candidates compete for support. As a result, either the Conservatives or Laborites could win a majority of seats on a minority of votes, or no party might secure an overall majority. That would probably mean a new coalition government—Labor has indicated its willingness to make a working arrangement with the Liberals—but the situation would be unstable.

American correspondents in Britain appear to have been shocked by the rowdy and undignified nature of the campaign. Having observed the British parties working harmoniously together throughout the war, they have been surprised by the thoroughness with which they fell apart immediately politics were reconverted to a peacetime basis. Looking back on former British general elections, we feel there is little cause for alarm. The Eatanswill tradition persists in Britain to some extent; elections are usually fought without much verbal restraint, and on this occasion there is a great deal of bottled-up political steam needing an outlet.

In so far as the campaign has taken on an unduly factious tone, Mr. Churchill and his advisers, particularly Lord Beaverbrook, must be held largely responsible. While posing as a "national" leader, the Prime Minister in his opening radio address chose to make a violent onslaught on the Labor Party. He charged that its socialist plans, if carried into effect, would introduce totalitarianism into Britain. He even raised the bogy of a Labor Gestapo which would drag all critics to concentration camps. Following this line, some Tories are now using posters of Belsen and Buchenwald to illustrate their ideas of life under a Labor government. Indignantly Labor candidates are recalling the friendliness of leading Tories toward the Nazis in the appeasement era, the praise Churchill himself once bestowed on Mussolini, and his more recent kind words for Franco.

It is doubtful whether these polemical exchanges will have an important influence on the final results. The great interest of the mass of the British people is in post-war reconstruction, in such bread-and-butter questions as jobs, social insurance, medical service, and, above all, houses. On these issues there is little to choose between the promises of the different parties and the voter's problem is to decide which will give the better performance.

Clean Out the State Department

NOW that James F. Byrnes has been appointed by the President as the new Secretary of State, one of his first acts will doubtless be a thorough reorganization of the State Department. Mr. Byrnes is one of the ablest administrators in the government. He is not likely to tolerate the conflict and inefficiency which have existed in the foreign office of our government for so many years. He will want to bring in his own men, and he certainly will not try to run the department with the hodge-podge appointees put into office along with Mr. Stettinius some six months ago.

Primary attention must be given to the selection of the top officials who, by their day-to-day decisions, are largely responsible for the determination of American foreign policy. Assistant Secretary Dunn and Under Secretary Grew have been the chief policy-making officials in recent months in all matters except those concerning Latin America. For Far Eastern policy the name of Eugene Dooman, special assistant to Mr. Dunn, should be added. Mr. Dunn's pro-Franco and anti-Russian prejudices are so notorious that it is obviously unsafe to leave him in a position where he will continue to influence American policy toward Europe. Mr. Grew is wholly without European experience. With respect to Asia, the State Department is in the incredible position of having no one in a top position with general Far Eastern experience. Mr. Grew and Mr. Dooman have served only in Japan. Mr. Dunn has never served in an Asiatic country. The Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs, Joseph Ballantine, has served mostly in Japan, and he has little or no influence on policy. There is no one who can speak authoritatively on China or the Southwest Pacific. The chiefs of the geographical divisions within the Far Eastern Office, though relatively capable men, have little say when it comes to policy making. Unless the dead wood at the top can be removed, the forward-looking men who are to be found throughout the State Department must remain wholly without influence.

The basic cause of the State Department's vacillation and weakness on vital issues lies in the sharp cleavage which exists between the men who came into the department prior to 1924, when the Rogers Act was passed, and those who have come in since that date. Most of the older men had no qualifications for foreign service other than money, a family name, an Eastern-university education, and a desire for social prestige. They looked upon the service as offering a soft life with good social connections. After 1924 many changes were effected. Entrance examinations were made more difficult, salaries increased, special allowances introduced, and a pension system established—making it possible for able men of moderate means to enter and remain in the service. Moreover, an increasing interest in world affairs made the service more attractive as a career. The result has been a great improvement in the quality of our foreign-service personnel. The younger men are, on the whole, abler, more aware of the significance of the problems which confront the United States, and more capable of showing moral courage when issues of importance arise.

Yet because of seniority the pre-1924 officials hold most of the higher posts in the department, together with a number of ambassadorial positions. Grew is sixty-five; Dunn and Dooman are fifty-five; Ballantine is fifty-seven. Younger men with exceptional talents have been relegated to positions where their talents cannot be fully used. This has naturally lowered their morale, and many of the more brilliant officials have left the service for less stultifying careers. Some of those who remained have been infected by the dead rot that has so long afflicted their seniors. Fear may accentuate this tendency. The recent arrest of John S. Service, one of the most capable of the younger men, is generally regarded as a warning to the others not to be too critical of the policies of their elders, even though the well-being of the country is at stake.

An effective reorganization of the State Department—designed to create an agency capable of giving this country a vigorous, consistent, democratic foreign policy—obviously demands more than a reshuffling of a few top posts. A thorough shake-up is needed. The ingrown crowd of Social Registerites must be cleaned out. For two or three years there has existed a list of officers in the top grades who are designated for retirement as "dead wood." But the department has hesitated to act. It feared that the sudden forced retirement of a number of high officials would make it evident that these men had been promoted and assigned to important posts for reasons other than efficiency. And it wondered how to explain the forced retirement of some sixty "experienced" men at a time when it was requesting funds for an expansion of the foreign service.

But a smooth-running, modern organization will not be achieved merely by eliminating the older "career" men. It will be necessary to bring into the department some new men who have not been contaminated by the snobbery and false social standards that have so long prevailed within the department. We could name several persons of exceptional ability who have been dealing with foreign countries through Lend-Lease, the FEA, or UNRRA who could well be utilized in the State Department. We do not ask that the State Department be dominated by liberals or reformers. But it is not unreasonable to insist that the men who shape our foreign policy be genuinely democratic in their outlook. The next few years will undoubtedly see an upsurge of popular movements throughout the world. It will not be easy for America to adjust itself to the basic changes that are bound to occur. But if we have the wisdom to put into office persons who, regardless of money, color, or social standing, have a broad understanding of world events as well as basic ability and experience, we can face the future with far better hope of a successful foreign policy than has seemed possible in recent years.

Mirror of Our World

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE United Nations Charter is a mirror of the present world of national states. It reflects the inner conflict of desire and fear that dominates even the strongest powers and expresses itself on the one hand in an honest effort to achieve security through collective agreement and on the other in a refusal to surrender any of the established attributes of sovereignty and individual power. As long as this conflict exists, the new world organization is bound to be essentially a great-power alliance rather than a world government.

And this is what it is. Power rests with the five most important national states, each of which retains its full sovereign right to prevent any action even by the other four; peace depends upon the continued agreement of the five to maintain peace. The alliance is refined and strengthened by elaborate provisions for settling disputes and for the joint use of force when force becomes necessary. It is supported by the creation of an assembly, with wide powers of investigation and discussion, in which all member nations meet on equal terms; and of a world court to handle judicable disputes. Thus the machinery of collective decision is set up while the reality of sovereign power is maintained.

Such a charter can please no one completely, because what the people of the world profoundly desire is something which will not mirror their conflicts but resolve them, which will dispel their fears and satisfy their hopes. But this desire cannot in the nature of things be fulfilled; the nations must themselves achieve integration and internal maturity before they can create a world organization that is itself mature and unified.

The new United Nations organization is the best possible expression of the present level of world opinion. Isolationists may adopt the tactics—as Senator Wheeler has already indicated—of opposing international commitments by this country in advance of a completed world peace. This, in fact, will be the opposition's most plausible line of attack: Why tie the United States to a plan of enforcement before we know what we shall be called upon to enforce? For there is no end to the evidence in support of this position ready at hand for those who choose to ignore the fact that any hope of mitigating the selfish claims of separate powers rests in a growth of confidence in the strength of a world organization.

Uncompromising internationalists will argue that the veto power of the big five negates the very essence of collective action even in its narrowest context. And logically they will be right. But since the world is not run by logic but by pressures exercised by nations and groups of nations, their objection resolves itself into opposition to any plan now conceivable. The fight against great-power control put up by some of the lesser states was worth making both for the modifications it actually brought about and for the fact that it ended in the generous acquiescence—though not the agreement—of those states, ably led by Australia, which forced the issue. In other words, the smaller states, confronted by the realities which govern relations between nations today, chose ultimately to accept the imperfect instrument which they found was the best they could get.

Reactionaries will attack the charter because it gives great power to Russia and because it presumes a willingness to accept Russian dominance over a large part of the world. Such persons will not be concerned about American plans to extend our own area of control by solidifying a hemispheric bloc and insuring our sole possession of island outposts in the Pacific. These will seem only the natural defensive measures of a great and peaceful nation. But the efforts of Russia to buttress its position both through charter provisions and spheres of influence will be taken as valid grounds for opposition. Certainly it would be a more hopeful omen if Russia were prepared to put all its eggs into the United Nations basket; but since this is not the case, these persons, too, should understand the real meaning of their attitude. Russia has emerged from the war as one of the two greatest powers in the world and it is clear beyond argument that the hope of peace depends upon a continuing union among Russia and the other Allied nations. The only alternative to such a union is not the reduction of Russian power, but ultimate war. It is this that the reactionaries must be forced to admit; this position they must be prepared to defend.

Men who are genuinely eager to have a more democratic organization for world security will not oppose the beginning made at San Francisco. They will accept it for what it is—an instrument for holding together a coalition absolutely essential to the maintenance of peace; for avoiding or settling differences between members; for putting down aggression by force when the great powers agree force is needed. These are primitive requirements for avoiding war in the early future; they correspond roughly to the makeshift provisions for maintaining order in a frontier community. No one holds frontier justice in contempt because it has not achieved the dimensions of a complete system of democratic guarantees and legal procedure. The arrangements set forth in the new Charter, for all the pomp and ceremony with which it was promulgated, are little more than a plan to give frontier justice to a world just emerging from lawlessness. It may succeed in this basic task better than in any attempt, in the present stage of international relationships, to set up a full-fledged system of world government. And those who oppose it because of its apparent imperfections are not in fact working for the more complete system they talk about; they are working for a return to unrestrained international banditry. The United Nations Charter provides a means to end the rule of the horse thief and the border raider in world affairs; it proposes to supplant lynch law with a sheriff and a justice of the peace. We believe the American people will support this effort, and we hope the Senate will follow President Truman's urgent advice and make the United States the first nation to ratify the Charter.

Can Germany Fight Again?

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, June 29

THINKING on Germany has suffered from the vices of a priori reasoning. There has been too much loose and often lazy-minded deduction from vague general principles, too little concrete knowledge. The great virtue of the hearings begun here before Senator Harley M. Kilgore of West Virginia and his colleagues of the "Kilgore committee" is that they are beginning to provide the facts.

The opening sessions have already furnished the first over-all view of the Reich's current assets and capacity for waging war again. These are considerable. Last September President Roosevelt instructed the Foreign Economic Administration to initiate a series of "studies from the economic standpoint of what should be done to limit the power and capacity of Germany to make war in the future." Enough has been learned, Henry H. Fowler, director of the Enemy Branch of the FEA, now tells the Kilgore committee, "to safeguard an estimate that, if we were to leave Germany to its own devices and not to institute a program of economic and industrial disarmament, Germany could be far better prepared for war within five years than she was in 1939."

The effect of bombings has been overemphasized. "The most striking fact that should be underscored in our current thinking," Fowler testified, "is that in late 1944 the German nation achieved the highest level of production in its entire history." Bombing was most effective where it was strategic, but strategic bombing sought out the bottlenecks of the German economy; it did not destroy German industry. "For the most part," Fowler said, "the great majority of the most important plants could today go into operation after very little repair." Fowler's industry-by-industry analysis should be required reading for all who wish to prevent a third German attempt at world conquest.

Dyestuffs is a basic war industry. The Reich has one plant "in perfect operating condition today . . . that can turn out almost as much dye in one year as all the plants in the United States together." German steel capacity is at least 25,000,000 tons, and "practically all the great iron and steel furnaces of Germany are ready for operation or can be in operation with minor repairs." Germany, which consumed less than 4,000,000 tons of petroleum products in 1934, was producing 1,000,000 tons of natural and 5,500,000 tons of synthetic oil ten years later within the 1938 boundaries of the Reich. Oil plants were a high-priority target, "but it is believed," Fowler reported, "that a large part of Germany's 1944 capacity for producing petroleum products can be restored within a brief period." The Reich, with an aluminum-producing capacity of 40,000 tons annually in 1933, ended the war with a capacity of about 250,000 tons. German synthetic-rubber capacity today is still 80 per cent greater than the Reich's imports of rubber and semi-manufactured rubber goods in 1933.

The either-or oversimplification—shall we reduce the Reich to an agricultural country?—plays directly into German hands. The sober facts are that in many basic industries German capacity is in excess of legitimate German domestic and export needs, and considerable de-industrialization is necessary as a measure of security and to create a better-balanced European economy. German machine-tool and machine-tool-building capacity is out of all proportion to its peace-time requirements. This is also the case in steel. The Reich's 25,000,000-ton capacity would have been large enough, Fowler pointed out, to supply half of the United States' peace-time requirements, including those of "the tremendous transportation system, railroads, waterways, and highways necessary to keep together our economic and industrial structure, which is spread over an area sixteen times as large as that of Germany." The Reich cannot use that much steel "except for warfare."

The Kilgore hearings have also provided some insight into German plans to utilize nest eggs abroad to support a Nazi underground and to prepare the way for the revival of an aggressive Reich. Fowler submitted detailed memoranda on the flight of German capital abroad and the extent to which it has penetrated banking, industry, and trade in other countries, notably in Sweden, Spain, Argentina, and Switzerland. Here German plans are aided by the complaisance of the State Department toward Franco and Perón. The Kilgore committee had submitted a comprehensive series of detailed questions to the State Department and elicited a long statement in reply from Assistant Secretary of State Will Clayton. This disclosed, among other things, that the largest number of Axis "spearhead" firms are in Argentina, and that not a single one of these firms has been eliminated despite the Chapultepec pledges on which the Perón regime was ushered into the United Nations. The Franco pattern is repeating itself in the New World. The Fowler and Clayton statements are the strongest of arguments that there must be new and democratic regimes in Spain and Argentina if German plans for a third try are to be defeated.

The Kilgore committee will be neglecting its duty if it rests content with the prepared statements submitted to it. A real investigation is required. There was, for example, a frustrating air of unreality about Clayotn's references to the black list and to our program for replacing Axis firms in Latin America. This replacement program was sabotaged in the Office of the Alien Property Custodian under Leo T. Crowley and withered away months ago. The facts were called to public attention by this correspondent in *The Nation* of last January 6 in a Washington letter called Fumbling with I. G. Farben, and in *PM* last winter in the series of editorials Report to the President. It is time the Senate found out how Nazi property and patents have been handled, what influences were brought to bear against the replacement program, and exactly what are the relations between Crowley and the Anglo-German banking firm of the Schröders. Crowley is still drawing the $75,000 a year paid him as head of Standard Gas and Electric, a job given him when the Schröders were the dominant stockholders in the Standard Gas holding-company system. The Schröders were leading bankers for Axis interests in London and New York before the war, and now have an important branch in Buenos Aires. One of their partners, Vlada-Mocarski, an ultra-reactionary White Russian, was appointed American consul in Zurich some months ago by the State Department, a key vantage post with respect to the flight of German capital abroad.

In the machinery of the military control commission in Germany, as in Washington, men closely linked with German cartels and friendly to German business and finance occupy key posts. The memberships of the Technical Industrial Disarmament Committees in the FEA at Washington were disclosed to the Kilgore committee, and they contain the names of many men from big concerns closely linked with I. G. Farben before the war. Testimony before the committee showed that the Germans are planning to utilize these old connections, and it is the duty of the Kilgore committee fully to explore them and to make the facts known. In this connection I want to call attention to an interesting statement on page 534 of the committee transcript, a passage in an FEA memo on German penetration of French finance during the occupation. This says that all enemy banks were put under German administration, including "American banks. The Chase Bank and Morgan et Cie., however, the only two American banks which continued operations, received special treatment."* Why did these two leading American banks receive special treatment from the Germans? The question is of especial interest because Chase is the Rockefeller-Standard Oil bank.

I have no space to do more than praise the wise and statesman-like testimony by Baruch which opened the hearings. Or to do more than touch upon the complex political and social problems involved in ending the threat of renewed German aggression. One FEA memorandum on German rearmament after World War I vividly illustrates how the German General Staff was able to exploit Bolshevik fear of the West to rebuild the Reich's military power while German industry was able to utilize Western capitalist fear of "overproduction" to increase the Reich's economic potential at the expense of its neighbors. The situation after this war is not greatly different. In the political sphere the unity of the big powers is again the first essential. In the economic and social sphere the task is even more difficult. It is the industrial reconstruction of Europe with a view to increasing (1) the potential of Germany's neighbors at the expense of the Reich, and (2) the productivity, the consuming power, and the living standards of the Continent. This is impossible without socialist ownership and control of basic industry in Western Europe, and our chances of that depend on coming elections in France and Belgium and the willingness of Britain and America to permit considerable social reform in our sphere of influence.

The Second League

BY PERCY E. CORBETT

THE San Francisco conference was a good deal like a tug-of-war, with five great states on one end of the rope and a crowd of small ones on the other. The pattern was not perfect, for certain small clients pulled with their big patrons, and once or twice several big powers, without deserting their end of the rope, either went slack or pulled openly in the other direction. This general pattern was to be expected, since the purpose of the conference was to win the consent of small states to something already decided by the great, and since the small were being asked to give up some portion of a sovereignty which the great retained intact. As was also to be expected, the great states won most of the pulls. At decisive points the issue for the small states was between formal prestige on the one side and substantial security on the other. Substantial security won.

The upshot of the struggle was the definitive design of over-all international collaboration after this world war. It is being greeted with some exuberant praise and some muffled cynicism. It deserves neither the one nor the other. Its merits—which are numerous—are the fruit of hard, patient labor by devoted men. Its defects—which, if it be regarded as a system of world government, are obvious—are mostly the product of forces beyond the control of the representatives who met at San Francisco or even of their governments.

The United Nations' power for action, such as it is, is concentrated in the Security Council. The General Assembly, unlike the corresponding body in the League of Nations, is confined to a role of discussion and recommendation. Only in the internal economy of the organization—matters of membership, budget, non-permanent representation in the Security Council, composition of the Economic and Social Council and of the International Court—does it make decisions binding on member states. The clear-cut subordination of this body of fifty to the Security Council of eleven is emphasized by the rule that it may not even make a recommendation on its own initiative concerning a dispute or situation which is being dealt with by the Council.

There is, however, no limitation on the General Assembly's range of *discussion* so long as it keeps within the scope of the Charter itself. Happily this restriction to the scope of the Charter was all that resulted from the Soviet Union's protest against unlimited exploration by the Assembly. In so far as it excludes examination of matters "essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state" (Article 2, Paragraph 7), it will be difficult enough to observe or enforce. But as a forum for the ventilation of most problems arising out of the relations of states, the General Assembly undoubtedly has a very broad and very useful function.

Since the equal participation of all members in actual decision-making is politically impossible, there is much to be said for having one fully representative body which, because its deliberations do not result in binding decisions or call imperatively for action, can range over the whole field of the United Nations' activity. Some will revile it, as they reviled the League of Nations, as a debating society; but a debating society which doesn't set out to be a parliament or government can render great service.

It is easy, however, to exaggerate the operative powers with which the Charter endows even the Security Council. There is in fact no shifting of power away from its present possessors. When called upon by a vote of seven in the Security Council, members of the United Nations will *lend* to it a portion of their power. The portion is to be determined by agreements which have still to be made between the Security Council and all members. The seven votes will have to include that of each of the five great states. The question whether the Security Council can use any power at all thus depends on the consent of each of these five, and the question whether that consent will be given will in each case be decided like any other question of major national policy. That is the indisputable ground for the statement that the effective operation of the United Nations as keeper of the peace will at all times be conditional on the agreement of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

Now these five members could by their united action keep the peace independently of any general organization. One essential question, therefore, in assessing the merits of the San Francisco structure, is whether the organization will help materially to keep the great powers in agreement or will lend any greater efficacy to their action when they are agreed.

There are several ways in which the existence and activity of the United Nations should assist in keeping agreement among the great powers. Through its economic and social work, as well as through its machinery for the discussion, conciliation, and adjudication of disputes, the new league is calculated to reduce the number of issues developing to the point where they may sharply divide the "Big Five." Even where sharp division is threatened, the fact of having assumed a world-wide obligation of peaceful settlement, and the position of leadership in an association devoted to that purpose, will weigh among the factors making for amiable adjustment. They will not necessarily be prevailing influences; but they will count.

As for efficacy of action once agreement is achieved, the new mechanism will far surpass anything that could be devised on the spur of the moment. There will be a Military Staff Committee which, like the Security Council to which it is responsible, will function continuously. This will have in readiness plans for the strategy and direction of any military action which the Council may decide to be necessary. A mere alliance of the great powers could, it is true, maintain such a committee; but the Military Staff Committee of the United Nations, once the obligatory special agreements with all members have been worked out, will have at its immediate disposal forces, bases, and facilities which a limited alliance could only exact at the price of lives, resources, and precious time. Here is one palpable improvement on the machinery of the League of Nations. Given a modicum of good faith on the part of its leading members, the United Nations will save much misery and pay generous dividends in security.

One incisive question is being asked about these arrangements for preventing aggression. It arises out of the constant possibility that a single great power may veto action. If that happens, would action taken by another member, who is convinced that justice and prudence alike demand military measures, constitute an illegal use of force? If so, is not this an undesirable limitation of the legal freedom even of the greatest members? Certainly no legal enforcement can be undertaken by the organization itself over the veto. But the question is whether action outside the organization also becomes illegal. The Charter does not make it quite clear whether such a case would be covered by the liberty allowed to regional associates (Article 52-54) or by the reservation of "the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense" (Article 51); for the legality of action taken under regional arrangements—other than those directed against states on the Axis side in this war—or alleged to be taken in self-defense, is itself subject to the decision of the Security Council. An authoritative interpretation on this point may well be called for in the process of ratification.

The Statute of the new International Court of Justice is an almost verbatim reproduction of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice established in 1920. It preserves the vices of the previous structure. Most notable among these is the idea of representation which finds expression in the institution of *ad hoc* judges. Unlike national courts, where a judge with a special interest in one of the parties withdraws from the case, this tribunal not only allows a judge who is a national of one of the parties to remain on the bench but invites a party not represented by a judge in the existing court to appoint one specially for the case in hand. Needless to say, this detracts from the judicial character of the tribunal and will be a standing impediment to the growth of a tradition of impartial detachment.

It is a pity, too, that individuals are not to be admitted as parties before the court. It is open only to states. The danger of frivolous or provocative applications could have been met by preliminary screening. With this continuing limitation, the court can hardly serve for the protection of those "fundamental human rights" which the United Nations are pledged to promote.

These defects, along with the absence of compulsory jurisdiction, stem from that same general reservation of sovereignty that runs, at least for the benefit of the great states, through the entire Charter. They should not blind us to the fact that the previous World Court rendered great service in the peaceful settlement of disputes and in the fuller development and definition of international law, and that the new tribunal can be expected to carry on its excellent work. The addition of the Soviet Union to its supporters may have profoundly beneficial consequences, particularly if this means the full participation of Russia in the development of a more certain law of nations.

In this connection the new rule (Article 94 of the Charter) which allows recourse to the Security Council against a state failing to carry out a judgment of the court will attract much attention. It is clearly intended to add weight to decisions. But it will need to be carefully administered lest it engender a practice of deferring satisfaction of judgment until the winning party lodges complaint with the Council. This could develop into a political appeal over judicial decision, and the resulting position would be worse than the present. For many years, without any organized sanction, the record of fulfilment of awards handed down by international tribunals has been remarkably good. It is greatly to be hoped that the Security Council will not allow the new procedure to degenerate into a mode of reopening cases in a totally different type of forum.

Great hopes attach to the Economic and Social Council, and the statement is heard that this new agency is destined eventually to surpass even the Security Council in importance. Commentators speak as if corresponding machinery had been entirely lacking in the League of Nations. This does scant justice to the battery of social, economic, and financial agencies which under the League rendered highly valued service to the community of nations. It also ignores the fact that this council will, like similar agencies at Geneva, have to make its way by persuasion. In common with the Assembly under which it acts, it lacks coercive power. Yet, as sharpened and extended at San Francisco, the United Nations social and economic arrangements do promise new initiative and new coordination.

At Dumbarton Oaks no provision at all was made for supervising the government of dependent peoples. This gap was filled at San Francisco by the "International Trusteeship System." This is designed to replace the League in relation to the existing mandated territories, and to exercise an advisory supervision over certain territories detached from enemy states as a result of the war. It will perform the same function for territories voluntarily brought under it by the states now responsible for their administration—hardly a likely contingency.

The most remarkable features in this part of the text are (1) formal recognition by the colonial powers of the obligation to insure the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of all their colonial peoples and (2) their agreement to transmit regularly information to the United Nations on their success in this respect. True, this reporting obligation, which is quite independent of the trusteeship system, is subject "to such limitations as security and constitutional considerations may require"; but it may serve to bring some most wholesome light on the complex details of colonial administration.

Everything considered, the San Francisco Charter merits much more than a grudging support which merely accepts it as, "with all its imperfections," better than nothing. In recent months we have again been furnished with the strongest evidence that for better or worse men still desire to live in separate states each flaunting at least some rags of sovereignty. So long as it continues to be a dominant human desire not to merge in one universal community, it is perhaps an error to describe as "imperfections" those elements in any plan of association which flow inevitably from this reservation. The imperfections would appear to reside in the present disposition of man and their remedy to lie in processes deeper than the mechanics of organization.

Crippling the Disabled Veteran

BY EDWARD M. MAISEL

THE latest canard used in the drive to split veterans from labor is that labor is the chief obstacle to the employment of seriously disabled veterans. Industry, by contrast, is represented as their beneficent protector. The controversy revolves at present around "homework," that is, industrial work done in private homes. With the return to civilian life of more and more disabled service men, this issue will be increasingly exploited in the anti-labor campaign. A recent open meeting called to discuss the future of New York State's 31,450 homeworkers, attended by representatives of the C. I. O., the A. F. of L., and employer groups, exploded into turmoil and bitterness.

Only the seriously disabled veterans are affected, but we face today the greatest number of severely handicapped ex-service men in our history. The number is unprecedented, first, because of the magnitude of the war and of the forces engaged, and, secondly, because modern medical and surgical methods have kept alive many wounded men who would formerly have died. Blood plasma, the sulphas and penicillin, and air transportation have tremendously increased a severely wounded man's chances of survival. A third reason for the large number of permanently disabled lies in the nature of the new weapons. Booby traps, mines, high-explosive shells, and flame-throwers do not make nice clean wounds: they shatter arms and legs; they pierce vital nerve centers.

Although no statistics on the seriously disabled in the armed forces are as yet available, it has been announced that 1,500,000 handicapped men have been discharged from the services, and it is authoritatively estimated that another 1,000,000 may be expected before victory over Japan. Eleven thousand amputation cases have been reported already, compared to the total of 4,403 in World War I. This category, of course, does not include the soldier deafened when his tank blew up, the sailor burned in a sea of flaming oil, the marine suffering from a recurrent fever, or the paratrooper stunned and shocked by an ill-fated landing. The blind, the deaf, and the speechless, the paralyzed, the infected, and the shocked, will mount up to a formidable total.

There is also an astounding number of persons who have been disabled by industrial accidents during the war—2,250,000 in 1944 alone. They are labor's "veterans in overalls."

Moderately handicapped veterans, who form the majority of the disabled, are being encouraged to find a normal place in industry. Whatever a man's partial disability, a satisfactory mechanical appliance or sensory aid, together with expert vocational advice, will fit him for a position alongside able-bodied workers. For the severely handicapped the choice is more limited. If a veteran is prevented by his extreme disability from pursuing a normal vocation, he must enter the badly regulated, badly exploited, antiquated system of industrial "homework." Homework flourishes in many different industries, of which artificial flowers, buttons, jewelry, gloves, embroideries, knitted clothing, and handkerchiefs may be considered typical. Hand-finishing of clothing, carding of buttons, rolling handkerchief hems, putting slides on shoulder straps, and the like are relatively simple processes, and can be done at home under conditions adapted to the invalid. Such work is usually paid for at piece rates, per article, per dozen, or per gross.

The abuses which have made homework the scourge of modern industry are fairly well known. The practice has developed into a system of chain sweatshops in which able-bodied as well as disabled workers are widely employed. Control of home workshops is difficult, and the sanitary conditions and workmanship may not meet consumer standards. The wages and hours of the unorganized homeworker are often far below standard and constitute a standing threat to workers employed in factories. The homeworker must frequently provide his own tools and have someone call for and deliver his work, or himself pay the shipping costs—in all these ways bearing a portion of his employer's overhead. Or he may be called upon to perform work that is physically dangerous under the circumstances of home employment. Or he is obliged to share his meager profit with the subcontractor who handles distribution.

These abuses certainly invite reform and indicate that homework should be confined to the severely disabled. Within the Department of Labor, however, certain influential elements have proposed a policy which aims not to correct the abuses of homework or to control the system but rather to abolish it entirely. The administrative complexity and excessive cost of a program of regulation are the excuses offered for this policy. It was supported by the Eleventh National Conference on Labor Legislation, the annual gathering of state labor commissioners called by the Secretary of Labor, which in December, 1944, adopted a resolution declaring unequivocally that "the system itself must be abolished."

Thus far nineteen states have enacted some kind of prohibition or regulation of industrial homework, varying from New Jersey's comprehensive law to Ohio's loose regulation, which applies only when work is done in a home by persons not members of the family. (New York's proposed new measure would prevent any group of severely injured veterans of this war from undertaking a homework cooperative.) Two cornerstones of the federal government's control of homework are the Public Contract (Walsh-Healey) Act of 1936 and the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. The former, which prohibits industrial homework in all government contracts of more than $10,000, has acted as a real curb during the present war boom but with the return of civilian goods will lose part of its effect. It is the Fair Labor Standards Act, therefore, which represents the most decisive step toward abolition. Under authority granted him by this act, the Administrator of the Wage-and-Hour and Public-Contracts Division issued orders prohibiting industrial homework in six major industries in which it had been practiced. These orders took small account of the severely disabled, who to obtain special homework certificates must either have been engaged in the industry before a fixed date—as, for example, April 1, 1941—or be under the supervision of a state vocational-rehabilitation agency or a sheltered workshop.

It is clear from these orders that the official policy toward homework is abolition rather than intelligent control, that the ultimate aim is to throw out the baby with the bath. Thus the orders seek to limit homework to those handicapped who were engaged in it before an established date. It makes no provision for those who, because of a tolerable financial condition before that date, or because they were not psychologically or physically ready for work at that time, or because they have since become disabled, are now unemployed. It makes scant and uncertain provision for the great new army of severely disabled veterans and war-workers. To insist that they remain under a government vocational-rehabilitation agency or a sheltered workshop is to condemn them to a state of perpetual training without graduation. Are they to be excluded from the normal social-security benefits—unemployment compensation, old-age annuities, and survivors' benefits for their families—for which only the bona fide employees of a company are eligible?

Certain peculiar circumstances attending the issuance of these orders should be noted. At the public hearing before issuance of the first order, covering the jewelry manufacturing industry, neither labor nor any other interested group recommended prohibition of homework to the seriously disabled. In fact, Morris Borodkin, the C. I. O. representative, made a careful distinction on this point: "I don't think the word 'abolish' is correct. We should probably say prohibition of homework except under very strict supervision and except in cases of the infirm and aged." Moreover, no limiting date had been mentioned by anyone at the public hearing. What happened behind the scenes?

The six orders were clearly in danger from Congress, since they violated the Fair Labor Standards Act, which enjoins the administrator to prevent curtailment of employment opportunities for the handicapped. To forestall Congressional intervention and to stem the rising flood of misery among the handicapped, they were later amended so that the requirement of having been employed in an industry before a fixed date may now be relaxed in cases of "unusual hardship." This dodge has served to rescue the orders from Congressional action, but whether the arbitrary assumption of power to grade misery is legitimate may be doubted. In practice, "unusual hardship" has too often come to mean unusual hardship to the disabled worker's Congressman, who may be harassed to the point of interceding for a handicapped person needing a homework certificate. A great many persons, unless they are hardy individuals, are discouraged even from applying for certificates by the wording of the blank. In *Gemsco* v. *Walling*, test case of a seventh order, referring to embroiderers, the Labor Department soft-pedaled its handling of the disabled, and the Supreme Court, in upholding the validity of the order, February 26, 1945, took for granted that ample provision was being made for persons unable to go to a factory.

It is important to remember that the seriously wounded veteran is not well compensated for his injuries. He cannot provide a decent living for himself and his family on what he receives from the government. If he is discharged as totally disabled, he receives $115 a month for himself and his family. Moreover, many a veteran is rated medically as only partially disabled who from an employer's standpoint is totally disabled. There is no increase in a veteran's payment on the basis of increasing disability incident to age, although a man may find a handicap more disabling at fifty or sixty than he found it at twenty-five. Nor is there any provision for increasing payments to meet a rising cost of living. Seriously disabled industrial workers, despite workmen's compensation, fare even worse than their brothers in uniform. They are only a few notches on the economic scale above the disease-stricken, who are treated as the discards of society and objects of charity.

Even if government payments to the disabled were a good deal larger than they are, even if they can in the future be raised, the fundamental importance of homework to the handicapped veteran remains. Work is his sole method of participating in the life of his fellows; it is the only way he can be rehabilitated within the economic framework. A hopeless invalid who is rigged up by means of a halter in bed so that he can be gainfully employed in making fish lures is thereby transformed from a bitter, anti-social outcast into a busy, self-respecting worker. Gravely wounded veterans now being discharged from the armed forces are urged to follow some home occupation.

What is urgently needed is a comprehensive, well-administered program for bringing home employment under strict control and confining it to the severely disabled. Such a program must include (1) systematic and coordinated licensing of all employers of homeworkers, (2) an expanded and more stringent certification procedure in the Labor Department, based on physical examination under departmental auspices of every applicant for a homework certificate, (3) education of homebound people in their rights and prerogatives by government inspectors, whose work has too long been limited to simple policing, (4) sharp definition of the fields in which homework is permissible, with the exclusion of sanitary items and items whose manufacture involves physical danger for the worker, (5) organization and education of disabled homeworkers by the labor unions and the establishment of a bureau for this purpose within the union.

The employment rights of the disabled veteran are now being noisily trumpeted by manufacturers whose object is not the integration of homework but its flagrant abuse: if they succeed, they will reduce him to the status of a sweatshop slave. The human stakes in this problem are so great that nothing will excuse labor, industry, or government for failure to solve it.

Guadalcanal Pays Off

BY WILLIAM J. CALDWELL

[*On December 7, 1941, William Caldwell saw most of American sea power sunk at Pearl Harbor, most of American air power blown to pieces at Hickam Field. In June, 1942, he was in on the first American victory—the Battle of Midway—when airplanes stopped the Japanese fleet that was headed for our West Coast. From July, 1942, until March, 1943, Caldwell flew in the Southwest Pacific with the famous Eleventh Bombardment Group, stacking up sixty combat missions in the Guadalcanal campaign. In November, 1943, he was medically discharged after having received the Distinguished Flying Cross, the Air Medal, the Purple Heart, and a Presidential Unit Citation. Last spring Caldwell returned to the Pacific as a special observer for Army Air Forces Headquarters. He found a very different kind of war from the war of 1942.* The Nation *herewith prints extracts from letters Caldwell wrote to one of its editors.*]

HAMILTON FIELD, CALIFORNIA. Today, we were briefed by the Army Transport Command for the trip across. It was done with a speed and efficiency the airlines would find hard to beat. In one building in three quick packed hours we were run through the business of medical, survival, and administrative information and priority clearances. After a half-hour lecture on "ditching"—how to get out of an aircraft down at sea and how to stay alive afterward on a tiny life raft—the briefing officer ended up by saying: "No need to worry very much. In two years we've lost only one plane. And that didn't ditch. It just blew to pieces in midair."

San Francisco. Still waiting. This makes the tenth day. Head winds between Honolulu and here are keeping the planes grounded. The last plane out took nineteen hours instead of thirteen to reach Honolulu and landed with gas tanks reading "empty." At the front guys must be swearing: "Where the hell are those replacements?" "Why the devil can't they get those spare parts out here?" And all these ten days the replacements and the spare parts have been sitting here, labeled No. 1 priority, waiting for the winds to change.

The walls of the office where all passengers must check in twice daily are bulging. I asked some of the men where they were headed for. "The Philippines—Manila." "And you?" "The Marianas—Guam." . . . "Iwo." . . . "Kwajalein." . . . "Okinawa." . . . "Honolulu." . . . "Australia." . . . "Hell, I'm just a lousy Pfc. They don't tell me nothin'. Just give me a number. My guess is I'm off to Yokohama!"

I remembered that back in 1942 there weren't very many places an American *could* go. Japan had them all. And plane schedules had been kind of sketchy then, because there weren't many planes.

The man behind me was a corporal in the Quartermaster Corps. I turned around and asked him where he was headed.

"Me? I'm going to Guadalcanal."

That hit me hard. That chap going to Guadalcanal! And he in the Quartermaster Corps. I suppose that is what Guadalcanal is now—a supply dump, perhaps an unimportant supply dump at that. I guess that rutted, bloody, muddy road where they hung that famous sign KILL THE BASTARDS (remember?) is a paved highway now. I guess the stinking, dripping jungle that surrounded Henderson Field has been pushed back. Our elaborate foxholes where we sweated and waited and were scared have fallen in by now. Maybe when this corporal gets out to Guadalcanal he will walk around sightseeing, looking for places where men died.

Hickam Field, Hawaii. Held up for twenty-four hours by higher priorities; so have had time to look around Hickam, which was my home for a year. Everything has changed and grown beyond belief. We always thought of Hickam as the greatest, finest, most beautiful military airfield in all the world. Today the old Hickam would look pretty small. Whereas in 1941 one man could tell you the number and history of every plane on the field, it now takes three dozen men—and even they can't keep pace with the hundreds of ships parked here, arriving and departing for all corners of the Pacific day and night—bombers, fighters, fighter-bombers, cargo planes, hospital planes, passenger planes. Today Hickam is no longer beautiful. The slapdash, ugly camouflage paint we smeared on hangars and barracks has peeled and chipped. The black tar with which we blacked out every window has been removed only here and there. And on the immaculate lawns where we "airmen" used to sweat, picking weeds, mowing, and watering, are endless ugly control shacks, telephone shacks, supply rooms.

I went to look for the place where Johnnie had been killed at my side as we ran for cover on December 7. That was the first time I had ever been next to a man when he was killed by gunfire. I thought I would never, never forget it. Now I couldn't even recognize the spot where it happened. I walked down toward the ball diamond and the parking lot, where the men of the North Wing had been slaughtered in their sleeping clothes as they ran from the burning barracks. A schoolroom and a tailor shop covered that massacre ground. All that remained of the Seventh was a lot of old shell and machine-gun scars on the barracks walls.

I went to Honolulu to see what had happened there. I found it was no longer the relaxed, pretty "Paradise of the Pacific" but America's grossest, noisiest, greediest boom town. A two-lane highway used to run through practically open country from Hickam to Honolulu. Today that road is a six-lane highway, bordered all along its eight miles by immense warehouses, housing developments, camps, and airfields.

In downtown Honolulu, devoted not so long ago to such lovely things as siesta hours, the streets are jammed with hurrying people, most of them young and in navy whites. At the Alexander Young, once a leisurely, pleasant-enough hotel, a good place to drop in for a tall cool one, a long line waits patiently to get near the bar. When someone at the bar shows definite signs of getting off his stool, a "traffic cop" claps his hands—once for one free seat, twice for two—and the girl at the other end of the room lets one or two thirsty souls pass the rope. The ration is two drinks a customer. Choice: island imitation gin or island imitation whiskey, concoctions distilled from sugar cane. The bars are open from 2 to 4:30 p.m.

Johnston Island. We landed just in time for an early breakfast on this tiny atoll, so small there is hardly room on it for a full-sized landing strip. It's a navy island, and so the housing and food are good. So are the weather and the swimming and the fishing. But the monotony must be soul-wearing. The place is not a mile square, but it's an all-important stop on our air-supply route across the never-ending Pacific.

Kwajalein Atoll. Coming in for the landing at Kwajalein we all glued our noses to the windows of the plane and gazed out at those grim tiny stretches of coral that had cost us such ghastly high losses. These atolls have no charm. The beaches still are cluttered with the wreckage of battle—smashed enemy pillboxes made of stone two feet thick with slits for the guns, and wrecked landing craft and "ducks." Every square yard of this vital ground must have cost a casualty.

Kwajalein is hot and dirty and dusty. The men stationed here are disgruntled most of the time. It's in the backwash of the war now—a staging base for the refueling of planes crisscrossing the Pacific, taking out fighters, bringing back wounded. Service on any of these atolls for more than a year is in some ways worse than combat.

Saipan. This island is enormous compared to the atolls of Kwajalein and Johnston. It has hills and mountains—and plenty of room to move around and escape your immediate surroundings. The climate is tropical all right, but there is always a steady breeze from the ocean to keep you reasonably cool.

A couple of us sat ranch fashion on the rails outside the passenger terminal and watched the Saipan world go by. Transport planes landed continually, carrying mail, supplies, wounded men. Their arrival and departure aroused little interest in the folks working around. A few miles away on Isley Field we could see B-29's taking off. For an hour they kept on—two at a time from parallel runways. They were off to bomb Japan, a Saipan man told us, and it would be sixteen hours before they got back. "Three thousand miles over an empty ocean, non-stop. Poor bastards. Hope they all get back. But they won't."

A C-54 landed, and suddenly a stream of jeeps, ambulances, trucks, and brass hats rushed out to meet it. A cynic sitting next to us observed that with all that fuss there must be women aboard.

There were. Thirty women piled out. Nurses. Nurses from Manila who had been prisoners of the Japs for three years. I went over to talk to them and found there was nothing I could say. On the whole they look surprisingly well. Since they had been rescued they had had a chance to eat plenty of canned food, to bathe, get into clean clothes, and—boon to women—lay their hands on some make-up, and wash and set their hair. They said these were almost the first things they did. Not having anything to say, I casually offered one of them an apple I had in my field jacket.

The girl held it in her hands, just looking at it, silently. She called to her friends to look at it. A girl from Oregon began to cry. It had been so long since they'd seen an American apple. Not one of them would bite into it.

Our jeep came and we went sightseeing along a four-lane highway up a long, winding, steep hill to Island Headquarters. From there we could look down and see all the waterfront and the harbor and in the distance huge airfields. Hundreds of merchant ships and scores of warships lay at anchor—loading and unloading supplies. I remembered the early Guadalcanal days when merchant ships carrying our supplies came in swiftly and silently, stealing in at night, one at a time. I remembered those days on the Canal when we had been short of men, short of food, short of planes, short of gasoline. We'd had supplies piled on the beach; here they had rows of enormous warehouses. We'd had a few tents; here were rows of Quonsets.

There was a difference, too, in the spirit of the men fighting out here. They have a harder war to fight than we had—not physically harder, because they are better supplied and are winning—but a much harder war mentally. They curse and gripe about conditions and petty things which we would have considered luxurious. And their bravery is a more lucid, colder bravery than ours. We fought to keep from being killed or captured. The enemy was at our throats, on our backs, above us in the air and around us and under us in the sea. We fought viciously and full of hate. Many of the men out here have never seen a Jap. And the magnificent airmen of the B-29's fly fifteen hundred miles from the peaceful, pleasant Marianas to strike at the Jap from above his horrid, freezing, cruel homeland. And maybe they won't come back. If they could stay on Saipan they would be safe. It's like living in New York and leaving a nice warm house to go out in the rain and cold and walk to Yonkers for a fist fight, and then walk home. I would find that kind of war very difficult.

The Fight Over Jackson Hole

BY IRVING BRANT

FOR the last nineteen years John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has been trying to make a million-dollar gift to the American people. He has not yet succeeded, but he has spent $500,000 just for the privilege of holding the gift in readiness. This is only one incredible incident in the story of the effort to preserve a part of the beautiful and historic Jackson Hole country of northwestern Wyoming for the benefit and pleasure of the nation.

The public received a faint inkling of the campaign being waged against the effort when President Roosevelt last December gave a pocket veto to a bill abolishing the Jackson Hole National Monument. The bill had slipped through Congress on the last day of the session. His veto memorandum cleared up most of the misrepresentations about the matter, but not all of them. The issue is coming up again in the present Congress, where four bills bearing on the subject have been introduced.

Mr. Rockefeller bought 34,000 acres to give to the nation after a visit to Jackson Hole in 1926. He had received pledges of support from local business men, the Governor of Wyoming, and the state's delegation in Congress. When he had spent his million dollars, a joyful community supported bills introduced by Senators Carey and O'Mahoney to make the Rockefeller lands and portions of the adjoining national forest a part of Grand Teton National Park, for whose magnificent mountains it forms a foreground. Congress was about to pass these bills when the Bureau of the Budget objected to a five-year reimbursement of Teton County for the loss of $10,000 a year in taxes on the Rockefeller lands. That blocked action, and opened the way to a propaganda drive which, in accordance with a rule that now seems well established, gained in strength as it became more vicious and preposterous.

The master minds behind the drive were the Jackson Hole office of the Forest Service and a former employee of the office who had become president of the Jackson, Wyoming, bank. Cattlemen's organizations and big game hunters, hostile to the whole national park system, were drawn in. The Teton County government had, of course, a legitimate grievance. As Rockefeller kept on paying taxes through the years, the impression grew that the county had a vested interest in him. There was also a hope that he would get tired of waiting and throw his land on the market, where it would provide pickings for speculators at ten cents on the dollars.

President Roosevelt upset these plans in 1943 by creating by proclamation the Jackson Hole National Monument, comprising 170,308 acres of public lands, 33,795 in the Rockefeller tract, and 16,101 in other private holdings. The private lands were included "subject to all valid exisiting rights," which means that the government has no control over them. They have the same status inside the monument as if they were outside. Secretary Ickes announced that all grazing permits on the lands taken in would be continued through the lifetime of the holders and their immediate families. Nevertheless, a nation-wide propaganda campaign was undertaken for the abolition of the monument. Wyoming settlers were pictured as being dispossessed of their homes by a ruthless bureaucracy. Mr. Rockefeller was accused of trying to unload a white elephant on the public. It was claimed that the President had usurped power by doing what had been done eighty-three times before by various Presidents, most notably by Theodore Roosevelt.

As the result of this false propaganda a bill to abolish the monument, introduced by Representative Barrett (Republican) of Wyoming, was passed by the House of Representatives. In the Senate it was passed as a favor to Senator O'Mahoney (Democrat); everybody knew that it would be killed by a veto. Now, in the new Congress, Chairman Peterson of the House Public Lands Committee has introduced a bill to reimburse Teton County for lost taxes out of the receipts of Yellowstone and Teton parks and the Jackson Hole monument, and to confirm the promised grazing rights. Representative Barrett has introduced three bills: to abolish the monument; to take away the President's power to establish national monuments; and to turn the administration of the lands in the Jackson Hole National Monument over to the Forest Service.

Congress seems unfriendly to the first Barrett bill, and the offering of the last one is hard to explain. The Forest Service in Washington is not a party to it and has ordered the Jackson Hole office to "lay off" the whole fight. When the Jackson Hole employees of the Forest Service obeyed the President's order to turn government lands, buildings, and equipment over to the monument staff, every particle of plumbing and telephone equipment was torn out of the buildings. They did this, it is explained, by mistake; but who asked the Wyoming Congressman to offer a bill which would have virtually no effect except to block the move to reimburse Teton County for tax losses out of national-park and national-monument receipts?

Barrett's move seems to indicate that he, or his banker adviser, the former Forest Service employee, has lost his head. It would be shrewder politics, and far sounder policy, to get behind the Peterson bill while Congress, the President, and the Bureau of the Budget are sympathetic to the idea of helping Teton County. There is an old saying: "Time to take cake is when cake's passing."

The bill to repeal the President's power to establish national monuments reflects the cattle industry's hostility to land conservation for public use and enjoyment. Even a politically hostile federal judge in Wyoming—a former secretary to an old-time Republican Senator, the late Francis Warren—recently upheld the President's action when it was subjected to a court test. His opinion was full of malice and sound law.

The Antiquities Act of 1906, which was passed to assure the preservation of aboriginal ruins, authorizes the President to proclaim these and "other objects of historic and scientific interest" to be national monuments. It is argued that the act was intended to cover only small objects, since it provides that the area set aside shall be the smallest compatible with the care and preservation of the objects to be preserved.

Theodore Roosevelt, however, who signed the Antiquities Act, used it to establish the Mt. Olympus and Grand Canyon national monuments, each of more than 600,000 acres. President Hoover set up one of more than 2,000,000 acres. Congressman Lacey of Iowa, author of the Antiquities Act, described it as "my bill for the preservation of aboriginal ruins and places of scenic and scientific interest upon the public domain, under which the Petrified Forest, the Olympic Elk Range Reserve, and about 200 places of ethnological interest have been designated as 'monuments' and preserved to the public." Thus the man who wrote the provision about the size of national monuments approved one three times as large as Jackson Hole. The fact is that the words "objects of historic and scientific interest," and the power given to the President to proclaim national monuments, were not in the original antiquities bill at all, but were taken over from a bill sponsored by Lacey in 1904 for the establishment of national parks by proclamation.

The Antiquities Act has proved to be one of the wisest and most useful conservation laws ever passed, and all Americans who cherish the wonder spots of nature should join in protecting it from emasculation or repeal.

In the Wind

J. H. McLAURIN, president of the United States Wholesale Grocers' Association, has sent a letter to all members of the association urging them to "align" their Congressmen against H. R. 2232 and S. 101, which would authorize establishment of a permanent FEPC.

THE CONNECTICUT ECONOMIC COUNCIL devoted its Fortnightly Letter for June 18 to an article entitled Why 60,000,000 Jobs? It consisted of a long quotation from Samuel B. Pettengill to the effect that full employment could be achieved only by abolishing the machine age, followed by the council's own conclusions, to wit: "The blind (or selfish) politicians and reformers are misleading the blind by failing to recognize that we are not going to have 60,000,000 jobs available in the decade immediately following the end of the war. . . . What will be the number of those who are able and willing to work and for whom no jobs are immediately available no one can figure exactly. It may reasonably run to five or six million persons. . . . Americans, because of our war record, have come to believe in the impossible."

THE ALABAMA TEMPERANCE ALLIANCE has published a list of Jews, Greeks, and Italians who have liquor licenses in Birmingham, with this comment: "The iniquitous business in which these foreign elements so congenially engage is not excused by the fact that some of these licensees were born in America, or that some of them have sons in our armed services. The liquor and beer trades are inherently foreign to America; . . . they are destructive of everything that is fine and clean and wholesome in Alabama's culture. . . . The liquor traffic . . . makes its attacks upon the most valuable assets we have—human values."

DR. OTTO KOECHER, former Nazi consul general in Barcelona, has taken a villa on the Swiss side of Lake Geneva.

J. H. HOFMEYR, South African Minister of Education, has been rebuked by the National Union of South African Students for proposing separate universities for students of different color.

LEGISLATIVE MEMO: H. R. 1925, which would forbid racial discrimination on interstate common carriers, is in the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, headed by Clarence F. Lea of California.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay $1 for each item accepted*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

THE MYSTIC EXPERIENCE

BY LOUISE BOGAN

MYSTICISM transcends dogma; and mystics, however orthodox their basic "faith" may be, undergo experiences based squarely on personal, human emotion. There is, therefore, a good deal of non-conformity about them; and in periods when organized religion has become thoroughly institutionalized, we hear very little concerning mysticism or the mystics. The Catholic church has recently shown signs of attempting to soften the institutional rigidity which for a long time has characterized its course. "The Soul Afire: Revelations of the Mystics," edited by H. A. Reinhold (Pantheon, $3.50), is dedicated to Jacques Maritain, and includes excerpts from the Old Testament (Westminster Version) and from Plato, as well as from the Church Fathers, St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas. It places George Herbert and John Donne beside Gerard Hopkins, St. Teresa of Avila, and St. John of the Cross.

Father Reinhold, writing within a *nihil obstat,* in his preface makes an intelligent distinction between true mysticism and that "spiritualism and theosophy" which often gets mixed up with it in modern minds. He knows the charge of hysteria that can be brought against mystic experience by modern psychology; and he understands the difference between mystic experience and that experience of diffuse pantheism so frequently mistaken for the genuine mystic article. "The aim and content of Christian mysticism is not self or nature, but God." Mystics do not wish to wrench God to their own selfish uses, as do workers in "the occult"; nor do they wish to sink themselves romantically into nature. And the charge of a pathological state can be countered by the fact that mysticism can be known by its fruits, and those fruits are far from "pathological." Mystics have shown themselves to be marvels of practical "efficiency." William James called St. Ignatius "one of the most powerfully practical human engines that ever lived," and the two St. Catherines, as well as St. Teresa, were certainly tireless planners, able administrators, and sensible and firm heads of organizations.

The editor's purpose is to show the mystics' development through certain graded stages. We are not thrown immediately into the white light of complete mystical ecstasy, but are judiciously led through varied experiences of these men and women. The selections are rather long and of course closely resemble one another. And in spite of the inclusion of "moderns," the old-fashioned orthodox stiffness of tone continues to prevail. It seems likely that this stiffness will prevail in books of this nature so long as men like Santayana and poets like Blake, Rimbaud, Baudelaire, Rilke, and T. S. Eliot are excluded, for one reason or another. The great triumphs of the spirit here described correspond exactly to that integration of the personality sometimes brought about by modern therapy. The experience of certain poets corresponds exactly to the vision of the saints. So it does little good to bring into notice the childish, pietistic mediéval ramblings of, say, Mechtild of Magdeburg, while leaving out the obvious likeness between T. S. Eliot, in his later phase, and St. John of the Cross.

The reader who is somewhat baffled by the book as a whole can go to the modern works on mysticism—by Evelyn Underhill, von Hügel, and others—generously mentioned by the editor in his introduction. "That shallow rationalism which regards the data on which we can reason as a fixed quantity known to all, and which bases itself on formal logic, utterly unsuited to a spiritual view of things"—it is this mode of thought which has marked the modern mind in a rather barren way. An understanding of what mysticism is, not only its claims, but what it has actually accomplished "toward rendering life more spacious and abundant"; a realization of "that staunchless compassion for all life which the mystic has always realized as a direct intuition of his eternal unity with all being"—such understanding and realization are refreshing to come upon, when modern man is weary of working with that heavy tool, the will alone.

City Planning

NEW ARCHITECTURE AND CITY PLANNING. A Symposium. Edited by Paul Zucker. Philosophical Library. $10.

CITY DEVELOPMENT. Studies in Disintegration and Renewal. By Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

WHEN DEMOCRACY BUILDS. By Frank Lloyd Wright. University of Chicago Press. $4.

EUROPE has to rebuild its destroyed cities: a tragic and magnificent chance. Ours is a more confusing task: in the hour of triumph, to confess failure. Great are our achievements, and they have saved the world; yet the men who "made this country what it is" were neither generous nor wise. Our cities suffer, not from devastation, but from blight; and the blight, unchecked, would rot our civilization. City planning is our next campaign in the unending global war.

By city planning we no longer mean real-estate development, utilities, or even "the City Beautiful." City planning is more than business, engineering, sanitation, architecture, and administration; it is a synthesis of all human activities, spiritual as well as material.

Frank Lloyd Wright and Lewis Mumford have long been fighting that great crusade. But they are not alone. "New Architecture and City Planning," a symposium with some sixty contributors, treats of limited technical subjects—such as the use of plywood, plastics, and glass, and the future of ocean liners (if they have any); but it deals also with "the sociological basis of city and regional planning." The work is well conceived and adequately executed. It did not shake my distrust of the symposium method. The contributions—

and some of them are extremely able—are too short for thorough treatment. On the few subjects in which I could claim first-hand knowledge they left me unsatisfied. The editor did his work well: a good introduction, a good division of labor; yet he could not turn this mass of monographs into an organic whole.

Lewis Mumford's book, "City Development" (he piously borrowed the title from his master Patrick Geddes), is frankly a minor work, but nothing that Mumford writes is negligible. For those who are not familiar with his great trilogy this will be a convenient introduction; for those who have read "The Culture of Cities" this provides important illustrations and footnotes. Mumford is a prophet and a poet who does not spurn definite, practical problems. I particularly appreciated his report on Honolulu, and his discussion of the plan for the rebuilding of London, prepared by Abercrombie and Forshaw.

In "When Democracy Builds" Frank Lloyd Wright offers us in fuller detail the Utopia he had already sketched in "The Disappearing City." He has two *bêtes noires*—the "continuance" or cultural lag, and Megalopolis. I read him with intense sympathy; yet I found him impassioned rather than convincing. Deliberate archaism of course is deadly, but "continuance" is not invariably an evil. If tradition is a dead weight, momentum may be a help. Frank Lloyd Wright's book would have been far less effective if he had not used the "continuance" of the English language. A ritual rooted in history loses much of its power in a Le Corbusier setting.

I too feel the oppressiveness and squalor of the Giant City. There is no gain in jamming ten million people on a few hundred square miles. But there is also in Megalopolis—and Mumford is poet enough to feel it—a fascination of power, variety, adventure, hard to match in Amenia or Taliesin. Let us compromise on a few cities of a million souls or maybe two, with garden suburbs.

The ideal common to Mumford and Wright raises a series of problems which remain unsolved. Granted that modern technique—radio, television—will break down the deadening isolation of the village; still, civilization in the past has been entirely the work of the city, and without the dynamism of Megalopolis the model rural community might lose its momentum. Jefferson's agrarian ideal had London and Paris as a cultural background. Left to its own devices, it might relapse into the engaging primitiveness of the mountain whites, or into bovine contentment.

I like Utopia; it is on that enchanted ground I first met Mumford. But I am not interested in the distant goal; heaven is my destination, and that is enough. My concern is with the way, the next step, the immediate program. Both Mumford and Wright appear to me in a halo, that is to say, in a golden haze. The city cannot be radically reformed under the profit system—unless the profiteer took such a long view that he would cease to be our orthodox profiteer. Land values breed slums, and slums destroy land values; but there is a great deal of money to be made before that term is reached. The New City will have to be a community, a commonwealth. Now Wright dreams of enlightened, social-minded small proprietors, and that seems to me a contradiction in terms. We must have at the same time much more decentralization and much more integration. For his fullest development the individual needs the pooling of efforts—collectivism. Isolated, uncooperative ruggedness is as inert as a boulder. Our civilization demands nervous centers; to have a Lewis Mumford or a Frank Lloyd Wright, we must first have a New York or a Chicago. I like *some* of Wright's houses, and I applaud his Carlylean denunciations, and I enjoy his Isaiah-like visions; but his doctrine seems to me a corrective rather than an incentive.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

BRIEFER COMMENT

Life of Wilson

H. C. F. BELL'S "Woodrow Wilson and the People" (Doubleday, Doran, $3) is easily the best of the single-volume biographies of Wilson. Bell has written an effective synthesis of much of the information made available in slower-paced studies, such as Notter's account of Wilson's foreign policy, Diamond's treatment of his economic thought, and Ray Stannard Baker's plodding, multi-volumed over-all view. Although the material is not unfamiliar, the book will interest the general reader; at the same time it is sufficiently scholarly and well-proportioned to be inoffensive to the specialist.

Considering the title, Bell might well have treated at greater length Wilson's changing conception of the people. The "flashbacks" used in telling of Wilson's pre-Princeton days are only partially successful in revealing his early veneration of Saxon institutions and the "English race" and his distrust of non-Germanic peoples. By 1895 Wilson, in the pattern of Turner's celebrated frontier hypothesis, was singing the praises of that mythical entity the Midwestern melting-pot, in which the peoples of Northern and Western Europe were allegedly successfully mixed. But seven years later, as his "History" reveals, Wilson was far from being favorably disposed toward immigrant peoples from Southern and Eastern Europe.

When political opportunity beckoned, Wilson swung rather abruptly toward liberal opinions regarding the government of colonial peoples, social reform, and the "new immigrant" stocks. He explained away passages in his earlier writings which Americans of Hungarian and Italian ancestry found objectionable. As President, he vetoed immigration legislation restricting the influx of Southern and Eastern Europeans. And in appealing to the people on the issue of the League, he upheld "composite America" as an example to the warring Europeans.

Omitting much of this, Bell does reveal the hostility of German and Irish hyphenates toward Wilson, whose Americanism could not abide ethnic politicians demanding favors. Wilson referred them to the principles he had enunciated for the betterment of all rather than part of mankind. They, however, were blind or else would not see and wielded a deadly political knife. The peoples, precisely because the melting-pot had not worked as well as he believed, wanted specific concessions; Wilson, alas, talked universals as if to a united nation. Bell might well have discussed to what extent the Wilsonian conception of the people contributed to his ultimate political defeat.

EDWARD N. SAVETH

The Tragedy of Man

IN "THE ANNIHILATION OF MAN" (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50) Leslie Paul attempts what one may call a philosophical and spiritual analysis of the present world tragedy. Rejecting the Marxian explanation of Nazism, he declares it to be what its founder said it was, a reaction against the confusion and materialism of liberal capitalism and a protest against communism. To this Mr. Paul adds that it was a philosophy of nihilism protesting against spiritual annihilation.

The reviewer, who himself is dissatisfied with the Marxist theory of fascism, will not deny that there is much that is forceful and suggestive in this part of the book. However, together with now classical criticisms of pre-war politics, it serves as starting-point for a series of rapid and on the whole unsatisfactory analyses of recent and contemporary attitudes toward life. This section can be considered to reach its main point in Chapter 9, which gives its title to the book. It briefly examines and rejects the philosophy of the economic man, the Darwinian man, the Freudian man, and the like. The criticisms offered hardly satisfy very rigorous demands of understanding and scholarship. A symmetrical objection is that all this facile dismissing is done in support of a conception of Christianity which seems to be devoid of theology and uncommitted to programs and form. Parsimonious as he is, however, the author's thought about religion is on the whole correctly centered. Religion is necessary, not so much to encourage man in the presence of a terrible universe as to enable him to control or dissolve his aggressions. There is little argument which might incline one to put much trust in the solution. I suggest that the book is worth reading, not for its particular contribution, but because it presents an argument that will probably serve as the basis for a great many fashionable books before long. RALPH BATES

How Shall We Treat Japan?

ALTHOUGH THE SUZUKI GOVERNMENT'S military position grows more difficult from day to day, official American thinking on how to handle a defeated Japan shows no evidence of progress. Dominant State Department circles seem bent on post-war cooperation with so-called moderate elements among Japan's present rulers, including the imperial court and its institution of a divinely descended emperor. That this approach failed tragically in the period of appeasement before Pearl Harbor is apparently not deterring those who wish to try it again.

Under these circumstances "The Future of Japan" by William C. Johnstone (Oxford, $2) will prove especially timely as a pointed, brief discussion of the main issues facing us in Japan and the principles that should govern our treatment of it. Professor Johnstone is concerned not only with the technical aspects of our policy—occupation, disarmament, demobilization, reparations, and economic controls—but also with the problem of changing Japan's social, political, and economic structure. He shows the necessity of ending the rule of the Imperial Throne and breaking the strangle-hold of such economic overlords as the Mitsui and Mitsubishi interests on national life. Most significantly, he emphasizes the danger of defining Japanese militarism in narrow terms, since Tokyo's aggression "embraces a whole system of boss rule, in which the industrial monopolists, bureaucrats, politicians, and the nobility have combined with the militarists in pursuit of aggression abroad and totalitarianism at home."

The facts and point of view presented in this book will help those who are interested in developing a sound American policy toward Japan—a policy based on the determination to root out the basic conditions making for Japanese aggression, and not simply on the desire for a conservative stability in Tokyo after the defeat of the Japanese armed forces. LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER

Dramas in Translation

WHILE THE COMMERCIAL HOUSES are making books out of every *faux pas* on Broadway, it is good that the university presses should remember that there is also drama. "Scandinavian Plays of the Twentieth Century," First and Second Series (Princeton, $2 and $3 respectively), and "Seven Plays of Maxim Gorky" (Yale, $3.75) are welcome additions to our dramatic library. And it is to be hoped that they will attract the attention of such little-theater groups as may still be interested in culture as well as in commodity.

The two volumes of Scandinavian plays, if we are to believe the informative introduction of Alrik Gustafson, provide a cross-section of the best Scandinavian drama since about 1910. One is glad to know about these plays; there is good stuff in them. Yet they are disappointing, for they are inferior not only, as Mr. Gustafson says, to the best in earlier Scandinavian drama but also to the best drama of the period in other countries, including America. One is glad to know a little about a Nordahl Grieg, a Kai Munk, a Pär Lagerkvist, but a little is enough, and one is content not to make the acquaintance of the many Scandinavian authors for whom their countrymen wish universal acclaim. Godspeed, however, to Mr. Gustafson's next project, which is the reintroduction to the United States public of the only great Scandinavian dramatist since Ibsen—August Strindberg.

Maxim Gorky needs, as they say, no introduction. If the best plays in the new volume, "The Lower Depths" and "Yegor Bulychov," are already known to us in earlier translations, and if the editorial comments of the present translator, Alexander Bakshy, are a little dry and external, it is nevertheless pleasant to have Gorky back in the news. Not

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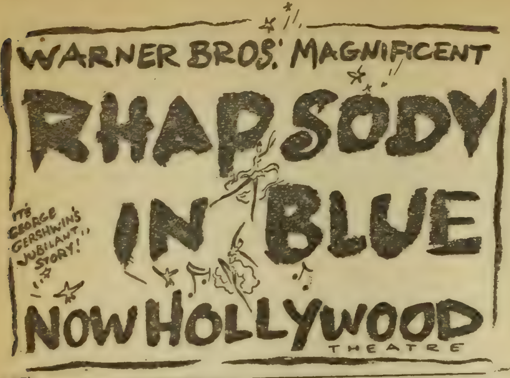

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that he ever quite lives up to the reputation of sage and prophet that has been built up for him. It is pleasing to read a Gorky play, as it is pleasing to see a Continental movie, because we enjoy the sheer absence of Broadway and Hollywood slickness. But absence is a rather negative asset. Continental movies can be dull, and so can Gorky. Judging by these plays I would say that if he is a Galsworthy plus, he is a Gogol minus. At present most of these plays seem to me excessively literal and earnest, even a little gauche. Naturalism is successful, I think, only when it is combined with non-naturalistic elements—as it is in Gorky at his best. At a first reading of the newly translated plays I do not hear the "mystic" overtone which gives grandeur to "The Lower Depths." Perhaps one needs time to feel one's way into such plays. Perhaps one should be assisted by further readings or by a production. Perhaps, on the other hand, the overtone and the irony are just not there.

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

On Place Names

ONE CAN NEVER TELL what George R. Stewart is going to write about next, but one can always be certain it will make lively reading. Professor Stewart, who teaches English at the University of California, has been a resident fellow in creative writing at Princeton, and while East he wrote "Names on the Land" (Random House, $3), which is a historical account of place-naming in the United States. Mr. Stewart, who is author of the best piece about the weather since "Snow Bound," the novel called "Storm," has written here a sort of informal history of America around his central theme, and the result is highly readable.

If anyone thinks the origins of our place names is not a controversial subject, let him visit the little island of Martha's Vineyard off Cape Cod, where this reviewer lives. For three hundred years a hot battle has waged over where this island got its name. Mr. Stewart's ingenious theory that it may have originated from a joke among the crew of the Concord, Bartholomew Gosnold's ship which first anchored off the island in 1602, will never go down with our people. If there is to be any joking about names let Nantucket, not the Vineyard, be the butt.

Incidentally I was delighted to find that Mr. Stewart had included Bug Tussel in southern Illinois in his book. It was from this mining town that the minister armed with a squirrel rifle went forth to do battle for the Lord against the scab-herding gunmen at Herrin.

Don't take Mr. Stewart's book in one full draft. Sip it now and then for its full, rich flavor.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

Not Funny

"UP FRONT" (Holt, $3), with text and cartoons by Bill Mauldin, is a sort of comic strip dedicated to the proposition that the war is funny. The cartoons are not funny, and the text is characteristically illiterate. "I came back to Rome so I could send the book off and finish the sixteen drawings. I read the thing over before I took a bath, and darned if I didn't like it pretty well even though it may be full of bad grammar." He has bad taste too.

JOHN SENIOR

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THERE was a point at which I stopped going to hear pianists play the piano, or violinists the violin, and went only to hear them play music. Which is to say that I stopped going to the recitals of most of the celebrated instrumentalists who have impressed a "great American public" not equipped to distinguish between mastery of an instrument and insight into music or to understand any such distinction; and I attended the recitals of the few who concerned themselves with the music I was interested in and who performed it with understanding—people like Schnabel, Gieseking, Aitken, Szigeti, Milstein, Feuermann, Landowska.

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One of the instrumentalists I stopped going to hear was Horowitz, whose prodigious mastery of the piano was not enough to keep me from being bored beyond endurance by the musical limitations that were evident in the program and performances of the last recital I attended years ago—since which time I have heard him only when he has filled in the piano parts in performances of concertos by Toscanini, and most recently at the Russian Consulate première of Prokofiev's latest sonata, whose motor rhythms and ostinato crescendos called for precisely the overpowering virtuosity Horowitz was able to bring to bear on them. In the matter of the music he plays, Horowitz told an interviewer a few years ago that he had found himself unable to understand the late sonatas of Beethoven and therefore did not play them. I admired him for his unusual honesty and humility; but I had no interest in the programs of the music that he did understand—programs in which the high point was an opening group of, say, a few Scarlatti sonatas and a bit of early Beethoven; after which there was a descent to the cheapest kind of display pieces. Nor did I care to hear him play even the few consequential works of those programs; for what does not call for technical brilliance Horowitz plays with sentimental and arch distentions and inflections of phrase.

Hence my lack of interest in Victor's June "Vladimir Horowitz Program" (Set 1001; $3.50)—in either the music or the performances of Saint-Saëns's "Danse macabre," Tchaikovsky's "Dumka," and Czerney's Variations on the aria "La Ricordanza." The reproduction of the performances is magnificently lifelike in timbre, sonority, and spaciousness; but my copy of the set is noisy.

The other piano virtuoso who packs them in nowadays, Artur Rubinstein, I have found more interesting and enjoyable to listen to—on some occasions. I do not agree that the traditional mannered style of playing Chopin is the right style; but Rubinstein's verve and grace make his recorded performances of Chopin's E minor Concerto, the Polonaises, the Mazurkas in that style superb. The trouble begins when he plays Beethoven's Sonata Opus 81a ("Les Adieux"), and it comes out with sensitive, Chopinesque contours and inflections. Or—as I discovered recently when I listened to the recording after a long interval—when he plays Mozart's Concerto K. 488, and its melodies come out sentimentalized by the same mannered style, while passagework is something to speed up brilliantly.

That is the trouble with his Victor album of Debussy's piano music (Set 998; $3.50). The pieces are "Reflets dans l'eau" and "Hommage à Rameau" from the first set of "Images"; "Poissons d'or" from the second set; "Soirée dans Grénade" and "Jardins sous la pluie" from "Estampes"; and the waltz "La Plus que lente." The last of these is early and inconsequential; the others are some of Debussy's maturest and finest works. Rubinstein plays them in an elegant, mannered style suitable for nineteenth-century salon pieces—which is not the way to achieve the gravity of "Hommage à Rameau" or the sharply flashing imagery of "Poissons d'or." Nor are the rubatos of Rubinstein's Chopin performances suitable for "Reflets dans l'eau," or even for "Soirée dans Grénade," in which moreover he alters the written rhythm a number of times, blurs the execution of some details, and plays a wrong chord at one point. The performances are reproduced with fidelity to timbre; but the treble is weak, and a limitation seems to have been imposed on the recording that keeps the climaxes from achieving their correct volume of sound. And my copy of the set is noisy.

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The Crossword Puzzle will appear next week.

THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

PERHAPS THE LENGTH OF THE PACIFIC WAR and the future balance of power in Asia were decided at last week's conference between Premier T. V. Soong and Premier Stalin. Chungking reports the possibility that Russia may resume military assistance to China on an even larger scale than that furnished prior to the Russo-German war. In return, China might grant Russia a warm-water naval base in the Liaotung Peninsula and transit rights across Manchuria such as it possessed before the Japanese invasion in 1931. (The Outer Mongolian Premier was in Moscow at the time of the Soong-Stalin talks; it may be that actual military intervention is not far off.) The achievement of a basic Soviet-Chinese agreement would almost certainly have a profound effect on the internal political conflict in China, and there are indications that new moves to bring about a truce between Chungking and Yenan have already been made. Chou En-lai, the Communist envoy, is back in Chungking after several months' absence from the capital. Even more important is the visit to Yenan of seven non-Kuomintang liberals headed by Hwang Yen-pao. This group may be planning to bring about a settlement or to line up a united opposition against Chiang; either course of action might break the deadlock. The United States should take advantage of the new situation to return to the Gauss-Stilwell policy and join with Russia in bringing pressure on both Yenan and Chungking to solve their long dispute.

*

THE IMPASSE OVER BERLIN'S ADMINISTRATION was inherent in a policy that divided into three zones, under Russian, British, and American jurisdiction, a desolated island of broken masonry miles inside the boundaries of the Russian occupation area. The food and fuel situation is critical in the American and British zones, the Red Army is apparently reluctant to withdraw from these areas, and the clash between the occupation policies of the Russians and the Western Allies is causing confusion. Without being too didactic on the basis of limited information, it does seem logical that Berlin's affairs must be placed under a single authority, whether it be a joint Allied administration or solely Russian. If Berlin has such symbolical significance as the former German capital that the Allied Control Council must be located there, then the Council should have no direct concern with municipal administration. It might be worth considering a border city, say at the point of contact of the three main zones of occupation, as the seat for the Control Council. In that event, Berlin might well be left to Russian administration. The present Berlin arrangement seems utter nonsense and an unnecessary source of interminable trouble. What is important is to get this minor disagreement cleared out of the way as soon as possible. The Big Three meeting has matters of vastly greater proportions to wrestle with.

*

AS A POSTSCRIPT TO MR. DOWNES'S ARTICLE ON page 37 we print without comment the following item from *La Voce* in Naples:

> PALERMO, June 11.—Yesterday a commemoration of Giacomo Matteotti was scheduled to take place at the Garibaldi Theater. The theater had been put at the disposal of the Socialist Party. But at 10:30, when the ceremony was to start and the public was filing into the theater, an Allied officer came to warn that the commemoration had to be non-political in character. . . . The Socialist Party preferred not to commemorate Giacomo Matteotti. . . .

*

RECOGNITION OF THE NEW POLISH UNITY Government by the United States and Britain is a good augury for the forthcoming Big Three meeting in Berlin. It is one step at least to the resettlement of Europe which is so urgently needed. But the problem of Poland cannot be regarded as completely solved; until the promised elections are held, which may not be for many months, we must fear the mischief-making propensities of the London die-hards who, although disbanded as a government, will no doubt attempt to continue their anti-Soviet propaganda in America and Britain. It ought to be made very clear to them that they can expect no official facilities, such as they have hitherto enjoyed, and a sharp watch should be kept to see that they do not abuse the hospitality of the countries in which they are refugees. The British government has, quite properly, promised not to send back to Poland exiles who are unwilling to return. But provision ought also to be made to insure that those who wish to go home are not deterred from doing so by any kind of intimidation. This is particularly necessary in the case of the 250,000 men in the Polish army in exile. Most of the officers appear to be anti-Soviet zealots and under these circumstances dissent in the rank and file is apt to be dangerous. Since this Polish army is under the command of the British, the latter should make certain that every man is given a free choice between acceptance of British citizenship or an honorable discharge and repatriation to his native land. Nor would it be politic to maintain as a unit those whose option is to stay in the West. That would be as challenging to Russia as the organization of a Soviet army of Indian exiles would be to Britain.

*

WHATEVER SATISFACTION WAS FELT OVER THE admission of Argentina to the new international organization did not last very long. The decision, pictured by the press and by columnists close to the Administration as a victory, has turned out to be what it actually was from the start—an unnecessary and shameful defeat. Even Señor Ezequiel Padilla, Mexico's Foreign Minister, who in San Francisco used all his considerable eloquence to force the immediate admission of Argentina, admitted in Washington last Wednesday that "the Argentine government had not lived up to the expectations of the countries which, in the interest of inter-American solidarity," had favored its admission to the United Nations organization. Señor Padilla was obliged to make this public admission before leaving for Mexico in order to temper the growing opposition that his attitude in San Francisco has aroused at home. Describing the widespread dissatisfaction that has arisen in Mexico over this departure from the uncompromising democratic foreign policy of the past ten years, Señor Narciso Bassols, Mexican ambassador to Moscow, who is on his way back to the Soviet Union after a brief visit to Mexico, published a devastating attack on Foreign Minister Padilla. The fact that the "rebel" ambassador was sent back to Moscow after an audience with President Avila Camacho seems to indicate that Señor Padilla, in taking the position he did in San Francisco, found his chief encouragement in that "dear Ezequiel" with which he was distinguished by "dear Ed" Stettinius. Both tasted an hour of victory at San Francisco, but the people of the United States will join with the people of Mexico in repudiating such frivolity in foreign affairs.

*

LAST WEEK'S RETIREMENT OF HARRY HOPKINS, more than any other of the recent Washington exits, may be taken as the final curtain on the New Deal drama. Whatever may be produced under President Truman's direction will be a new play, new authorship. Harry Hopkins will always be thought of within the Roosevelt shadow; many will think of him as the Roosevelt shadow. In the springtime of the New Deal, Hopkins was one of F. D. R.'s bright young liberals; in its sere and yellow, when big business was swarming all over Capitol Hill, Hopkins played a go-between role in that strange coalition of self-confident right and palsied left. His useful career might well have ended about the time of the war's outbreak. But it was at that very moment that Hopkins, a worn-out, sick man, grasped the opportunity to demonstrate his remarkable capacity in the field of international relations. First as Lend-Lease Administrator, then as confidential adviser and personal errand boy of the President, he played a part in forging the Allied coalition the importance of which it is impossible to overestimate. He acquired new stature and new authority. Those who watched him in conference after conference, meeting after meeting, say that his spectacular mission to Moscow, which may have saved the San Francisco conference, was but the last of numerous decisive actions which broke apparently insoluble deadlocks. *The Nation* salutes Harry Hopkins for his devotion, his ability, and his courage.

*

THE CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD, WITH THE approval of the President, granted on July 5 transatlantic flying charters to three companies—Pan American Airways, American Export Airlines (henceforth to be controlled by American Airlines), and Transcontinental and Western Airlines. Next day, the Senate Commerce Committee turned down by a narrow margin Senator McCarran's cherished bill providing for the establishment of a single American "Flagline" to operate all transoceanic traffic. An effort may be made to reverse this decision on the floor, but it seems safe to assert that Pan American has lost its long battle to secure a monopoly of the international skies. Before the war it had become "a chosen instrument" by virtue of its skill in lobbying as well as by its pioneering efforts. During the war, however, the domestic airlines nosed their way into the business as contractors for the Army Air Transport Service. In a new attempt to head them off, Pan American and its chief protagonist in Congress, Senator McCarran, put forward a plan for an all-American line in which the domestic operators would be permitted to invest. Pan American would, of course, have provided the nucleus for the new company and would have retained effective control. This proposal failed to satisfy the ambitions of the domestic companies, which united to press their claims for a share of the international routes and proceeded to give Pan American a lesson in publicity and pressure tactics—no easy task. The C. A. B. decision crowns their efforts, and competitive development is now assured. But while, under the Civil Aeronautics Act, competition between American air companies is controlled, there is no corresponding international body to regulate relations between the airlines of different nations. This question was sidetracked at the Chicago Conference last year, but it is bound to arise again if only because of the danger that competition for traffic on the basis of efficiency can so easily degenerate into competition for subsidies.

Our Policy Toward Japan

NO ONE knows when the war with Japan will end. It is conceivable that the Japanese will fight in Asia and in their homeland as they did on Okinawa and Iwo Jima. But it is also possible, as Lieut. General Holland M. Smith recently predicted, that the Japanese industrialists will try to stop the war before their cities are completely razed by American planes. In that event we may expect peace feelers in a matter of months, if not weeks. When they come, it is imperative that our responsible officials be ready with a program that will make a resurgence of Japanese militarism impossible.

Because the State Department under the leadership of Grew and Dooman has seemed disposed to deal only with the external manifestations of Japanese militarism, *The Nation* is devoting much of its space this week to an analysis of the Japanese problem. Laurence E. Salisbury, who served as a foreign-service officer in Japan and other parts of Asia for many years, describes the decisive role of the *Zaibatsu*, or big-business group, in the development of Japan's aggressive policies. Our Washington correspondent, I. F. Stone, has analyzed Mr. Grew's own account of his ambassadorship to Tokyo, showing how consistently he misjudged the situation in the months prior to Pearl Harbor and how naively he clung to his illusions about the good intentions of the Emperor and the Japanese liberals (*sic*). Finally, T. A. Bisson contrasts the State Department's limited program with the kind of policy that is needed to destroy the roots of Japanese militarism.

The State Department's program for a "soft" peace for Japan contrasts sharply with the firmness displayed toward Germany in the seizure of the I. G. Farben plants. Most Americans, conservatives as well as liberals, have come to realize that the Krupps and the Thyssens are basically as responsible for German militarism as the General Staff. But we have failed to realize that in Japan we have an even more pronounced concentration of economic power and an equally strong affiliation between the monopolists and the military. The public can hardly be blamed for its lack of understanding of the situation in view of the complexity of Japanese society and the dearth of reliable information. But the State Department cannot be let off on any such excuse. For years we have maintained a fairly large number of diplomatic representatives in Japan whose duty it has been to understand Japanese society. That the attack on Pearl Harbor came as a great "surprise" reveals the inadequacy of the top officials assigned to that duty. It will indeed be tragic if we permit the same State Department clique that is responsible for the disaster at Pearl Harbor to shape our post-war policies toward Japan.

Cabinet Changes

WITH the appointment of James F. Byrnes as Secretary of State and the replacement of Henry Morgenthau by Fred M. Vinson, President Truman's remaking of his Cabinet is nearing completion. Only four Roosevelt appointees now remain—Messrs. Ickes, Stimson, Forrestal, and Wallace. Mr. Ickes has been the subject of many rumors, but if he is scheduled for the ax, it is not to fall yet. Immediately he is to head a mission to London to negotiate an agreement with the British on Middle Eastern oil. Secretaries Stimson and Forrestal may stay on for a while also, and there seems no doubt that Henry Wallace will remain undisturbed at the Department of Commerce. Mr. Truman has shown himself skilful in balancing the diverse forces which make up his support, and the presence of one 100 per cent liberal in his official family is essential to satisfy the progressive forces.

As a whole the reconstructed Cabinet has a middle-of-the-road complexion. The selection of Mr. Byrnes did give it a conservative twist, but the President has done something to restore equilibrium by naming Mr. Vinson, who combines political "know-how" with a progressive outlook. Treasury and State are not only the senior departments but are central in policy-making. That is why, while recognizing the merits of Mr. Byrnes, we greet his appointment without enthusiasm. He has some of the qualities required for the job. His friends say he is a good administrator, and Heaven knows one is needed to clean the Augean stables of State and reorganize it for its enormously expanded post-war tasks. He is undoubtedly a shrewd negotiator who will deal firmly but diplomatically with foreign statesmen, and his understanding of Congress will prove very helpful in gaining approval for new treaties.

But even more important than these qualifications is the ability to conceive and carry through broad policies, and in this respect Mr. Byrnes is something of an unknown quantity. He backed Mr. Roosevelt strongly in the difficult days of the neutrality debates and the lend-lease bill; he certainly favors full American participation in the organization of world peace; he will presumably work hard for the removal of trade barriers. That is to say, he will carry on the Hull tradition, but it seems improbable that he will lift his vision beyond Mr. Hull's rather limited sights, or show any broader understanding of the emerging political and social forces in Europe and Asia on which we must build if the world is to be reconstructed peacefully.

It is not minimizing the importance of the Department of State to say it may be even more vital that the policy-making functions of the Treasury devolve on a strong and imaginative personality. For that department holds the key not only to prosperity but to world peace. The United States looms so large in the world economy, its proportionate share of production is so huge, that depression here is bound to be communicated to all other nations. As Representative George E. Outland of California told the House in urging action on the Murray bill, we cannot carry out the commitments entered into at San Francisco unless we eliminate in America the cycle of boom and bust. He went on:

> With full employment, we can be good neighbors; with unemployment, we can neither be friendly and cooperative with other nations, nor can we here in our own country be decent, fair, and democratic toward each other. Just as among ourselves, depression produces fear, discrimination, hate, and division among classes, groups, races, colors, sexes, and ages, so world depression leads down the same road to war.

Whether the Murray bill or some similar measure is enacted or not, the fiscal policies of the federal government will to a large extent determine levels of production and employment. Conservative estimates of the post-war budget place it at between $25 and $30 billion against little more than $8 billion in 1937. The manner in which this sum is raised and spent will be a major influence on the national economy as a whole. We can rejoice, therefore, that the President has ignored advice to appoint a man like Senator George, to whom a balanced budget appears the chief end of public finance.

Mr. Vinson some months ago indorsed the Murray Bill, and in a recent quarterly report as Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion he set forth a well-considered program for a rising post-war standard of living. To reach and maintain full employment, he declared, the fiscal system must be completely overhauled and taxes must be levied so that they neither hinder investment nor destroy mass markets. He advocated, therefore, a broad-based, progressive income tax as the backbone of the revenue system and the paring of regressive sales and excise taxes to a minimum. Other points in his program included stronger anti-monopoly measures, the broadening of social security, and the planning of long-term public works. Mr. Vinson, who is popular with Congress, should enjoy better success in putting over such ideas than Mr. Morgenthau, who upheld liberal standards courageously but was constantly frustrated on Capitol Hill.

Agenda for Berlin

ALL PREVIOUS meetings of the three greatest Allied powers have been devoted primarily to planning destruction. This time, with Hitler's Reich lying in rubble around their feet, they meet to agree on joint plans of construction. Together Russia and Britain and the United States face the staggering job of putting Europe and the Mediterranean world together again. No single meeting can do more than agree on objectives and the first steps to be taken toward them. But at least we have a right to demand a clear enough understanding among the Big Three so that those first steps will be headed in the same direction, so that purposes will not cross and create new conflicts. And we have a right to expect a few basic political-economic decisions.

1. *Economic help for Europe.* This should be the first item of business. For the solution of all other problems, political or territorial, depends upon the restoration of the continental economy. We have written a charter to preserve the peace, but we shall have no peace if Europe falls into a chaos of industrial collapse; if the people freeze and go hungry.

The situation of France can be taken as an epitome of the whole problem. Today the shortage of coal, the destruction of communications, and the lack, particularly, of rolling stock and motor trucks have brought French production to a standstill. In a recent issue, ***Business Week,*** reporting on the deepening economic crisis in Europe, said that of the normal imports of the western European countries only 5 or 10 per cent is now arriving, while the losses suffered by each country prevent recovery without help from outside. "France, for example, has only 6,000 locomotives out of a pre-war total of 16,000. In 1939 the French had 450,000 freight cars. Now, even with the slow return of rolling stock from Germany, they have only 200,000. Before the war, there were 500,000 motor trucks in France. Today only about 125,000 are usable." A nine-power emergency food conference is about to meet in London and British experts have just completed a study of France's internal production problems in time for the meeting. As a striking example of the shortages and their causes, beet-sugar production, normally 900,000 tons a year, was cut in 1944-45 to 600,000, but "because it required 500,000 tons of coal to transport the crop and handle the refining, and because the coal was not available, barely 300,000 tons of sugar were produced." It is the same for every basic necessity.

The three great powers must agree on methods of overcoming the crisis. Russia itself is desperately in need of the tools of industrial production, but it controls great food-, oil-, and coal-producing areas. These products it should be willing to share, on a planned basis, with the countries of the West. But the major part of the job of restocking must be undertaken by Britain and the United States. They control the bulk of the world's ocean shipping, and have the largest potential supplies of machinery. Even though one cannot expect agreement today as to basic methods and objectives between Russia and the West, a common policy for providing the necessities of European survival should be possible.

2. *A coordinated policy for Germany.* This will be even harder to achieve. Already the occupying powers are using different methods and consolidating their positions in their

own spheres. Russian methods are positive and aggressive; those of the Western powers negative, related to immediate problems of security and order rather than to long-range plans of development. Russia is interested in making Germany self-supporting; the Western authorities so far have left their areas economically stagnant. Russia is promoting political activity among the anti-Nazi elements; the Western authorities are suppressing such activity, as the article by Philip Jordan in this issue so clearly shows.

Again it may be that no common basic policy can be arrived at; certainly the Western Allies show little inclination for a more positive program for Germany. But at least we must have agreement as to such immediate problems as the kind and number of industrial establishments which are to be put into production; the use to be made of the products of German industries; the feeding of the country and the sources from which the necessary minimum of food is to come; the treatment of Nazis in and out of office; the disposition of the demobilized German army. The question of reparations must be jointly solved. And without too much delay, the new boundaries of the conquered country must be determined.

All of these items properly belong on the agenda of the meeting in Berlin, but not all can be finally disposed of there. For it would be improper, and indeed futile, to settle such questions as frontiers and reparations without consulting France, one of the occupying powers and the one most directly affected. The absence of France from the Berlin conference is a great misfortune from every point of view.

3. Palestine. It is inevitable that the disposition of the homeless millions in Europe—the armies of "displaced persons"—will come before the Berlin conference. It is a part of every other problem, economic and political. Related to it, but related also to the unstable situation in the Middle East, is the issue of Palestine. No longer can military necessity be dragged out as an excuse for the inexcusable. Winston Churchill himself has used as strong language as any Zionist in denouncing the betrayal perpetrated in the White Paper, and it is certain that the Jewish people of Palestine will no longer tolerate the restrictions. Palestine is an international question and it should be dealt with as such; Britain itself should be the first to welcome a joint move for its solution. Such a move should certainly be initiated by the United States. Mr. Truman has just been urged by thirty-seven state governors, meeting at Mackinac Island, to take up the question at Berlin. The Palestine issue was cold-shouldered at San Francisco, but it will not be settled until the Balfour Declaration is again recognized as a binding obligation by the British government.

4. Spain. Certainly the Spanish issue should appear on the agenda at Berlin. Since the San Francisco conference barred Franco from the over-hospitable ranks of the new security organization, it is more than ever absurd that Britain and the United States should carry on the farce of dealing with that tottering fascist relic. Only last week *Pravda* revealed in detail the extent to which, now as before the defeat of Hitler, Spain is the safe refuge for German capital and German business men. If Mr. Truman fails to bring up the question of Spain at Berlin we hope Stalin will do so. But it would be far better if this piece of unfinished business were laid before the meeting by the American government. The Friends of the Spanish Republic, supported by a large group of liberal organizations, has wired to Mr. Truman an urgent request that the Berlin conference be used as the occasion for joint action on Spain by the three big powers.

Pearl Harbor Diplomats

BY I. F. STONE

IN THE fall of 1941 Joseph Clark Grew had been our ambassador in Japan for almost ten years. His second-in-command, the counselor of the American embassy in Tokyo, Eugene H. Dooman, was born in Japan, had entered the foreign service there in 1912, and had lived in Japan most of his life. Both were proud of their friendly relations with the highest circles of Japanese society. Dooman is one of the few Americans who read and speak Japanese with fluency. It was on these two officials that the American government was dependent for accurate information and appraisal of political developments in Japan. .

Our main source of information on the views they transmitted to Washington is Grew's "Ten Years in Japan," a carefully edited selection from his diaries and reports. Grew can boast of two warnings to the American government. "There is a lot of talk around town," he noted in his diary on January 27, 1941, "to the effect that the Japanese, in case of a break with the United States, are planning to go all out in a surprise mass attack on Pearl Harbor. Of course I informed our government." Grew does not seem to have taken this report seriously, for there is no further reference to it. But he did send home a grave warning in a report to the department on November 3, 1941. This report supplemented a previous report on September 29, 1941. It is odd that, unlike all the other diary entries and reports in Grew's books, these two documents are not provided in their original text. They are marked "(Substance)" and "(Paraphrase of original text prepared by Department of State)." The paraphrase says the Ambassador reported that "action by Japan which might render unavoidable an armed conflict with the United States may come with dangerous and dramatic suddenness."

These two isolated warnings must be read in context. The complete record may never become public, but even in "Ten Years in Japan," which Dooman helped Grew to edit, the evidence is unmistakable: in the fateful autumn of 1941 Grew and Dooman completely misread events. They were guilty of wishful thinking not only about the Emperor and their aristocratic friends but also about Konoye and Tojo, and this wishful thinking continued even after Pearl Harbor.

Their attitude of mind must bear its share of the responsibility for Japan's successful stab-in-the-back attack. And it needs to be recalled and analyzed because, unlike Kimmel and Short, Grew and Dooman were rewarded with new posts of influence and honor: Grew as head of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs of the State Department and then as Under Secretary, and Dooman as the department's leading adviser on Far Eastern affairs. Both men are likely to play major roles in shaping our post-war policy toward Japan. The talk in Washington is that while Grew may be removed as Under Secretary, he will be sent to the Far East as political adviser to MacArthur. His position, like his fundamental political outlook, would be comparable to that of Robert Murphy, political adviser to Eisenhower. Grew would almost certainly be accompanied by Dooman, whom Grew in "Ten Years in Japan" calls "my *fidus Achates*." The implied comparison is unfair to the friend and armor-bearer of Aeneas.

Grew's reports were prepared with the help of Dooman, a far abler man than his chief. In the preface to "Ten Years in Japan" Grew says he "counted greatly in the formulation through those years of the views herein set forth" on Dooman's "long experience in Japan, mature advice, and incisive diagnosis of political developments."

One is inclined to suspect from the views set forth in Grew's report to the Secretary of State on September 29, 1941, that this was made public in paraphrase rather than in text to protect Grew. It was a plea for further appeasement of Japan, and it was based on a ridiculous misconception of the character of the Konoye government, which had taken Japan a long way toward fascism and war. Soon after becoming Premier in July, 1940, Konoye abolished the Japanese General Federation of Labor. In September he signed a treaty of alliance with Germany and Italy. In October he set up the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, Japan's closest approach to a totalitarian political party. At the end of 1940 he established a Supreme Economic Council. In January, 1941, he launched a ten-year program to expand food production in Manchuria. In April, preparing the way for a southward advance against British, Dutch, and American possessions, Konoye signed a neutrality pact with the Soviet Union and in June a trade agreement. After Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, Konoye moved troops into French Indo-China. In September, when Grew sent his report to the State Department, Konoye was trying to set up control associations for each basic industry, Fascist style.

What conclusions did Grew and Dooman draw from these developments? "The Ambassador," says the State Department paraphrase of the report of September 29, 1941, "recalls his reports to the department to the effect that Japanese foreign policies are inevitably changed by the impact of events abroad and that liberal elements might come to the top in due course as a result of the trend of events. He considers that such a time has arrived." The Ambassador thought there was "a good chance" of "Japan's falling into line" with the Atlantic Charter. He felt that the "impact of world developments" had "rendered Japan's political soil hospitable to the sowing of new seeds" which might "bring about the anticipated regeneration of Japanese thought and a complete readjustment of relations between Japan and the United States." The reader who desires to may study this fantastic analysis for himself on page 437 of "Ten Years in Japan."

Grew pleaded with the American government in the negotiations then going on with Japan not to insist on "the sort of clear-cut, specific commitments which appear in any final, formal convention or treaty." He asked instead that we place "a reasonable amount of confidence" in "the good faith of Prince Konoye." He pleaded that if we insisted on "clear-cut commitments" from Japan, the conversations would drag along indefinitely and Konoye would conclude "that the United States government is only playing for time." He warned that "the logical outcome of this will be the downfall of the Konoye Cabinet and the formation of a military dictatorship which will lack either the disposition or the temperament to avoid colliding head-on with the United States."

President Roosevelt was less trusting than Grew, and the conversations lagged. In October the Konoye Cabinet fell. On the 18th General Tojo became Prime Minister. It was announced that he would be his own War Minister and, significantly, that he was retaining his active rank in the Japanese armed forces. The Tojo government was in fact a military dictatorship, and events were soon to make it clear that Tojo's accession to power was the signal that war with the United States had been decided upon. Tojo took power just fifty days before Pearl Harbor, and actual fleet and military preparations for the widespread attacks on December 7 must have begun soon after. But Grew and Dooman continued optimistic in their reports, and trustful in their Japanese informants. On the day of Tojo's appointment Grew recorded in his diary that Konoye's private secretary had "conveyed through him to me from Prince Konoye a very interesting explanation of the circumstances which had led to the fall of the Cabinet *and the successful efforts of the Prime Minister to insure the appointment of a successor who would continue the conversations with the United States*" (my italics). Grew himself noted, "Tojo was one of the original five members of the Konoye Cabinet last spring who supported the opening of conversations with the United States in the face of the opposition of Matsuoka. This is important."

On October 20 Grew's optimism has grown. He reported that he had learned from "a confidant of Prince Konoye" that Konoye resigned because he felt the negotiations with the United States "would make more rapid progress if our government were dealing with a Prime Minister whose power was based on . . . the army, which is the controlling force in matters affecting policy." Grew concluded that it would be "premature to stigmatize the Tojo government as a military dictatorship" committed to policies which would "bring about armed conflict with the United States." On the contrary, Grew felt that Tojo, by "retaining his active rank in the army, will as a result be in a position to exercise a larger degree of control over army extremist groups."

Five days later Grew was jubilant. "A reliable Japanese informant" told him that before the fall of the Konoye government the Emperor demanded a guaranty from the army and navy that they would not involve Japan in war with the United States. "The Emperor's definite stand," Grew reported, "necessitated the selection of a Prime Minister who would be in a position effectively to control the army, hence the appointment of General Tojo." Grew wrote that his informant, "who is in contact with the highest circles," told him "that for the first time in ten years the situation at present and the existing political setup in Japan offer a possibility of a reorientation of Japanese policy and action." There is not a line or phrase to indicate that Grew did not accept these statements as fact.

On October 29 Grew reported that the Germans were disappointed because they had hoped for "a definitely interventionist government" when Konoye resigned. Grew said the Germans were "uncertain" of what Japan would do if the United States went to war with the Reich. "The Germans," he wrote, "are at present working primarily for a Japanese attack on the Soviet." This was forty-one days before Pearl Harbor.

This extraordinary series of misjudgments was capped by the November 3 report, the second one which is presented only in State Department paraphrase. In this report, the paraphrase says, "the Ambassador refers to his various telegraphic reports during several months past analyzing the factors affecting policy in Japan and says he has nothing to add thereto nor any substantial revision to make thereof." This would imply that he still felt the moment had arrived when, as he said in the September 29 report quoted above, "liberal elements might come to the top in due course" if we did not insist on clear-cut commitments in our negotiations with the Japanese. It also implies that Grew did not think the formation of the Tojo government had brought about any fundamental change in the situation.

It is in this report, as part of a plea against economic sanctions and for "constructive conciliation"—a phrase Grew said was preferable to the term "appeasement"—that we come across the warning on which Grew and the State Department pride themselves. In the final paragraph of the paraphrase, we read, "The Ambassador sees no need for much anxiety respecting the bellicose tone and substance at present of the Japanese press." Obviously, then, he did not consider this anti-American propaganda an emotional preparation for war. But, as a final argument for "constructive conciliation," Grew adds that it would be "shortsighted" to think that "Japanese preparations are no more than saber-rattling" and warns that action by Japan "which might render unavoidable an armed conflict with the United States may come with dangerous and dramatic suddenness." The phrasing is curious. Even a diplomat would hardly say that an attack on American territory "might render unavoidable an armed conflict." Strategically, the Dutch East Indies and Singapore could not be attacked without also attacking the Philippines. I believe that when and if the full facts are known we shall find that Grew still expected Japan to attack the Soviet Union.

One would be inclined to give Grew more credit for the November 3 warning if it were not followed by the same kind of wishful thinking and bad reporting which preceded it. But Grew is as blissfully idiotic about Kurusu as he was about Tojo. On November 4, after the Kurusu mission was announced, Grew noted correctly that Kurusu "was last ambassador in Rome and then in Berlin, and he it was who signed the Tripartite Pact," but he adds, "I have no reason to believe that he is any more friendly to the Nazis than to us." His basis for this conclusion is, "His wife is American, and his daughter, Jaye, was a great friend of Elsie's [Grew's daughter]. We had a long and very frank talk." Nor did Grew see anything other than "childishness" in the fact that even as Kurusu left for Washington the Japanese were continuing "to fill their press with hostile articles which tend to render an understanding impossible."

Grew went on happily whistling in the dark until the end. On November 20 he reports that the Japanese embassy in Berlin was embarrassed by the Kurusu mission "and resents it." Even Tojo's bellicose speech of November 29, in which he celebrated the anniversary of the Anti-Comintern Pact by threatening to "purge" American and British influence from East Asia, did not disturb Grew's cheerfulness. He thought the speech "utterly stupid . . . of course, it was chiefly for domestic consumption." The Japanese, Grew concluded, "are really children and should be treated as children." The day before Pearl Harbor Grew was further cheered by "a Japanese informant of known reliability," who told him that "neither the Prime Minister nor any member of the Cabinet had seen the text of General Tojo's speech . . . in advance." Since Tojo himself was Prime Minister, this is puzzling. But Grew was informed that the speech was "read by proxy, as is often done in Japan," and it was pointed out to him that "the substance and tone" of the speech "was different from all General Tojo's previous addresses." As they say in vaudeville, it must have been two other fellows.

Grew and Dooman were suckers to the end. Even Pearl Harbor did not end their weakness for gold-brick explanations. On December 9 Grew reports another happy discovery. Ohta, of the European section of the Japanese Foreign Office, called at the embassy that day. "Dooman asked Ohta," Grew recorded, "whether the Foreign Minister, in expressing reluctance to stay up very late to receive me, was trying to avoid having to meet me in person again after the beginning of the hostilities. Ohta burst out spontaneously and with considerable feeling. 'Not at all. The Foreign Minister knew nothing about the attack on Hawaii until early the next morning.' " Dooman discussed this with Grew, and Grew concluded, "Without pressing the point too far, it seems clear that His Imperial Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs had no prior knowledge that an act of war was to be committed by the Japanese forces." Unversed as I am in Shinto legend, I doubt whether it contains any instances of more touching faith in the Emperor and his officials.

Grew's past record and diaries, James R. Young's "Behind the Rising Sun," and talks with Americans who have served in Japan leave the impression that the Back Bay Bostonian, Grew, and Dooman, the son of poor Persian immigrants to Japan, are snobs and social climbers who were thrilled by the Imperial Court and aristocratic Japanese society. Their judgment was affected by their social contacts to the point of fatuity, and their eager gullibility was skilfully played upon by the Japanese for their own ends. They became pipe lines for misinformation intended to lull the United States into a false sense of security while Japan expanded in East Asia, and they cannot be trusted for realistic or rigorous advice as to the future of Japan. The Japanese, seeing the high positions Grew and Dooman still occupy in our government, must chuckle over an observation Grew confided to his diary in November, 1941. "The naivete of the Japanese," Grew observed, "is really amazing."

What Program for Japan?

BY T. A. BISSON

IN these summer months of 1945 the bases required for the final offensives of the Pacific War are being won and consolidated. No one can doubt that the military defeat of Japan is now only a matter of time. It will come suddenly, as the result of a surrender by the so-called "moderates" who today control the Japanese government, or more slowly, after Japan has been racked by a suicidal last-ditch defense. But whatever form it takes, the military end can already be foreseen.

These facts mean that the first task imposed by Pearl Harbor is being successfully accomplished. We are witnessing the eclipse of that vision of a "Greater East Asia" for which Japan's oligarchy precipitated a devastating conflict. The second, more basic, task is still to be done. The Japanese oligarchy responsible for this war, and capable of preparing another, has yet to be uprooted. This objective can be whittled down only at grave peril to the future. Unless it is completely attained, there will be no certainty that the war against Japan has been finally won.

The very dimensions of the victory now unfolding will make it fatally easy to become complacent, to consent to policies inadequate to cope with dimly seen future dangers. In coming months the terms of peace to be meted out to Japan should be a major concern of the American people, who are paying the full price of the victory: there is far too much evidence that their interests are not being fully protected in the official "peace" program. Their intervention is needed to assure a peace that will be as conclusive as the military victory.

What are the yardsticks of a settlement with Japan that may be accepted as adequate, as holding out the promise of being permanent? The most fundamental criterion is not a difficult one to grasp, nor one to which Americans conscious of their heritage should take exception. It is that conditions be established which will enable the Japanese people, all of them, to participate in the choice of a government responsive to their needs. By definition, therefore, the narrow oligarchy that has dominated Japan under the 1889 constitution must be driven from power.

At this point the State Department's policy makers, to the extent that they express themselves, immediately begin to throw up a smoke screen. The only Japanese to whom they are opposed, it would seem, are the "militarists." All other aspects of the Japanese state are so "peculiar" that one must beware of interfering with them. The area of "peculiarity" is an extensive one. It embraces the Emperor, the professional bureaucracy, and, even more important, the handful of big business men and monopolists *(Zaibatsu)* who have waxed fat on the four major wars fought by Japan since 1894. It also covers the landlords and the Diet politicians who have flocked into Japan's "totalitarian" parties since 1940.

These groups, however, along with the "militarists," make up the oligarchy that has controlled Japan for two generations. Merely to eliminate the "militarists" is not an adequate peace program for Japan, any more than it is for Germany. The German monopolists, the Junker landlords, and the Prussian bureaucracy proved able to prepare Germany for a new war in twenty-one years. Their brothers in Japan, left with the Emperor to head a continuing regime "of the few, by the few, and for the few," will not rest until they have repeated Germany's feat. The world security organization will be faced with the permanent and, quite probably, futile task of restraining the Japanese oligarchs.

Why not lighten this task by fostering democracy in post-war Japan? After the sacrifices we have made to defeat the oligarchy in war, there is no reason for the State Department to put it back in power. And there is every reason for the State Department to support a democratic program which answers to the true interests of the American people. Such a program would include the following points: (1) elimination of the Emperor system and the intrenched bureaucracy, modeled on that of Prussia; (2) abolition of the baldly authoritarian constitution of 1889, the "gift" of the Emperor; (3) drafting of a new constitution by a convention of freely elected representatives, one that will rest on the will of the people; (4) destruction of the *Zaibatsu's* armament factories and nationalization of all large peace-time industrial plants; (5) drastic agrarian reforms, designed to end the landlords' rack-renting of millions of tenant farmers.

Confronted with a fully democratic program of this sort, the State Department and its apologists raise another smoke screen. Who are we, they say, to decide such things for the Japanese people? Are we able to "impose" these terms without bringing on "even worse" after-effects? Is there any real popular support in Japan for such changes? The concern manifested here for the Japanese people is touching but thoroughly hypocritical. What Grew, Dooman, and their followers are really concerned about is something quite different. They fear a popular revolt which will topple the "moderates"—Emperor, *Zaibatsu,* landlords, and the rest—who, they hope, will retain power in post-war Japan.

This smoke screen conveniently ignores the fact that we do not have to "impose" anything directly save thoroughgoing demilitarization and effective punishment of the leading war criminals. For our basic policy the essential requirement is quite simple: *that we support the formation of a post-war government by leaders of the movements that will be in revolt against the oligarchy.* This is the essence of a genuinely constructive policy, on which everything else turns. It demands a choice; evasion is possible for a time, but ultimately the choice must be made. The American people have a right to ask: Where is a policy statement by any responsible State Department official which makes the democratic choice the basis of our post-war program toward Japan?

The burden of proof certainly rests upon the State Department. If a constructive and democratically based program is under preparation, there is not a scintilla of evidence to indicate it. Evidence that the department is seeking to have the old regime retain power, on the other hand, is voluminous, despite a careful effort during the past year to conceal from the American public the baldest aspects of this program.

On the Emperor issue, a touchstone in all post-war plans for Japan, Grew's own record is quite open and forthright, much more so than the department's position on most other aspects of our Japanese policy. In public addresses he has absolved Hirohito of war guilt by asserting that he labored "earnestly but futilely to control the military in order to avoid war." What is more significant, Grew has publicly favored maintenance of the Emperor institution. Speaking before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in December, 1944, he set against the "stabilizing force" which the Emperor might exert, the dread specter of our having to "control a disintegrating community of over 70,000,000 people." The juxtaposition of ideas is an unwitting disclosure of the fear that the oligarchy might collapse in the face of popular revolt if the Emperor's "stabilizing" influence were removed. Wilfred Fleisher, whose book "What to Do with Japan" follows the State Department line, makes the same point rather more bluntly. He writes: "The Emperor, whoever he may be, can serve us after Japan's defeat. It may be assumed that at the time of Japan's surrender there will be chaos in the country, and the first duty of an army of occupation will therefore be to restore order. The Emperor would provide a rallying-point and become a stabilizing factor."

After the Emperor come the *Zaibatsu*—the monopolists on whom the State Department would rely in the post-war era, despite their close ties with the "militarists." In this combination, which does not exclude strong rivalry, the *Zaibatsu* are far from being the army's pawns. Since 1940 they have defeated the military hands down on every issue of war-time economic control, to the advantage of their swollen profits. Yet a letter in *The Nation* for June 16 shows Eugene Dooman, Grew's trusted adviser, indoctrinating military-government trainees with the notion that the *Zaibatsu* will prove our "friends," through whom it will be expedient to "control" Japan's post-war economy. Under Grew's program they will remain in the Japanese government, which they have dominated for two decades.

In the light of these facts, consider Wilfrid Fleisher's words: "However much we may be opposed to monopolies and cartels, we cannot undertake to revamp Japan's business structure. This is an internal matter for the Japanese to handle in their own way. . . . There is at present no substitute for the business magnates." If the State Department is already determined to "use" the *Zaibatsu*, as it intends to "use" the Emperor, how can the Japanese people be expected "to handle in their own way" this "internal matter"? Incidentally, Fleisher devotes a page to the miserable condition of the farmers but does not once employ the word "landlord." Evidently the landlords will also be our friends in the State Department's post-war Japan.

The constitution of 1889 is another joker in the pack the diplomats are using to prepare a "peace" settlement with Japan. Imbedded in this constitution, especially in the preamble, is the God-Emperor concept which provides the "holy mission" for the "master race." The State Department school insists on the need for "reform" of this constitution. Wilfrid Fleisher devotes a whole chapter to a long list of needed "reforms," concluding with the suggestion that we "use" the Emperor to secure the changes desired, since only he has the power, under the 1889 constitution, to lay amendments before the Diet.

In this formulation of the issue a wild deuce has been added to the joker. No list of reforms, however long, ever mentions the preamble or Article 1 of the constitution, in which the Emperor's divine status is posited. For the State Department, as for the Japanese oligarchy, these provisions are sacrosanct. Moreover, the grave dangers of continuing this gift-of-the-Emperor constitution, fortified by "use" of the Emperor to amend it, are blandly ignored. This policy, clearly, is of a piece with all the rest. The Japanese people will never be able to build a democratic society on the foundation of a God-Emperor's "gift" constitution or with such a constitution be able to stop their rulers from launching predatory wars. Grew himself may be called as a witness. He once wrote: "So long as the constitution fixed sovereignty in the Emperor, it was impossible for any party to come forward with the doctrine that sovereignty resided in the people." The corollary would seem obvious. A new constitution, framed by elected representatives and based on the popular will, is needed to give democracy a chance in Japan.

For purposes of argument the State Department school affects great pessimism about the prospects of democracy in Japan. The people have had so little experience with democratic reforms, the feudal background is so close, the parties have been so corrupt, and so on *ad infinitum*. In point of fact, the conditions for a drastic social upheaval in Japan have long been present. Under conditions of defeat the tensions between landlord and landless peasant in the countryside, combined with the unrest of city workers, which has been expressed in great strikes even during the war, will almost certainly unleash a strong popular movement against the oligarchy. The reelection to the Diet in 1942 of the veteran anti-militarist Yukio Ozaki, despite attacks by the powerful military clique, testifies to the strength of the popular opposition to the groups which rule Japan. If our political warfare, controlled by the State Department, were to use the means available to fan the embers of unrest, a revolutionary uprising might shorten the war by months.

For all their pessimistic depreciation of democratic potentialities in Japan, the State Department and its followers are not unaware of the true situation. How else explain Grew's fear of a "disintegrating community of over 70,000,000 people," or Fleisher's outright assumption that "there will be chaos in the country"? The issue thus narrows down to a choice between support for the war-breeding Japanese oligarchy or encouragement of a popular revolt that will reshape Japan's outmoded feudal system on a democratic pattern.

On this question the State Department's program is unequivocal. It is determined to choose the members of Japan's post-war regime from representatives of the oligarchy, excluding only the "militarists." It intends to keep them in power in the name of "order." Does this mean that American soldiers will be used to crush popular revolts? If so, our military forces will be destroying the hope of creating a democratic Japan which can live at peace with its neighbors in the post-war world.

The Zaibatsu as War-Makers

BY LAURENCE E. SALISBURY

FOR many decades Japan has been ruled by a coalition of four groups—the military, the bureaucrats, the politicians, and the *Zaibatsu,* or big industrialists and financiers. However much one group may maneuver against the other three to improve its own position, all are united in one aim: to increase their power over their own people and in the world at large through policies of expansion—if necessary through military force. Today, with military means failing, we may expect a reversion to peaceful means designed to insure the four groups' continued control of Japan in the post-war world.

The *Zaibatsu* will take the lead in the peaceful approach. The Japanese leaders are aware that in the democratic countries there are powerful political and financial interests which fear the elimination even in an enemy country of the class which corresponds roughly to their own. Such elimination would make way for the rise of vigorous elements discontented with the concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a few and might impair in some degree the power of industry and finance in democratic countries.

Prior to the Restoration of 1868 Japan was a feudal country, with the farmer, the artisan, and the merchant existing for the welfare and comfort of the warrior (*samurai*) class. The warrior class numbered perhaps a half-million in a population of some thirty millions. After the Restoration—feudalism came formally to an end in 1871—the small group of former *samurai* in control of affairs, aided by a few rich merchants, gave little thought to the welfare of the common people, but devoted their energies to making Japan militarily strong enough to meet possible dangers from abroad. To impress Western nations and to allay internal discontent the ruling groups gave Japan the trappings of a constitutional monarchy but kept the actual power for themselves through such devices as the constitution of 1889, the corruption and intimidation of political parties, and legislation which permitted the imprisonment of malcontents. The *Zaibatsu* are the descendants of the rich merchants who in this period intermarried with the nobility or were themselves ennobled.

Many members of the *Zaibatsu* have been educated in Western universities. They speak the language of their associates in the democracies. They seem to be solid, able men with the "know-how" needed in international finance, men who could further the rapid rebuilding of a defeated country on a pattern to insure comparatively early resumption of that mutually beneficial association with big concerns abroad which existed before Pearl Harbor. The *Zaibatsu* will stand no nonsense from the intellectuals, the little business men, or the little leaders of the Japanese people who may strive to emerge after the war. In short, the *Zaibatsu* will reimpose pre-war conditions in Japan.

This description of the *Zaibatsu* though accurate is incomplete. It fails to show how the policies of the *Zaibatsu* helped to bring on the present war and would endanger any future peace. In the first place, the *Zaibatsu* kept both urban workers and farmers economically so depressed that they proved to be a fertile field for the propaganda of Japan's leaders that world conquest was the country's destiny. Secondly, by depriving the lesser business interests and organized labor of effective political representation, the *Zaibatsu* throttled opposition to their own plans and those of the military. Thirdly, the *Zaibatsu* actively and consciously prepared the way for military aggression by making commercial and financial considerations subsidiary to those of military power in their business operations throughout East Asia. The successes of the Japanese military in the China and Pacific wars owed much to the activities of the *Zaibatsu.*

In the corridors of Washington one hears the theory that there are two kinds of *Zaibatsu*—the militaristic *Zaibatsu* who worked with the Kwantung Army in Manchuria, and the good old families like the Mitsui and the Mitsubishi, whose members are in many ways like us—*nice* people. Unfortunately the theory is false. One cannot separate the *Zaibatsu* from the military, the bureaucrats, or the politicians. The four groups are inextricably bound together, not only by their intention to retain power and to expand territorially but by financial and economic interests, by intermarriage, and by a tradition of compromise and cooperation coexistent with acute business rivalry. They are also united by fear of the people whom they exploit, the impoverished Japanese millions.

It was not until the "enlightened" twenties that social legislation of any importance found its way into the statute books of Japan. This progress was not due to a change of heart on the part of the ruling groups but to such factors as the post-war boom, which made Japanese labor somewhat more articulate, and the influx of Western humanitarian ideas, which augmented the rulers' fear of socialism. The rice riots of 1918 showed the rulers the potential strength of the people.

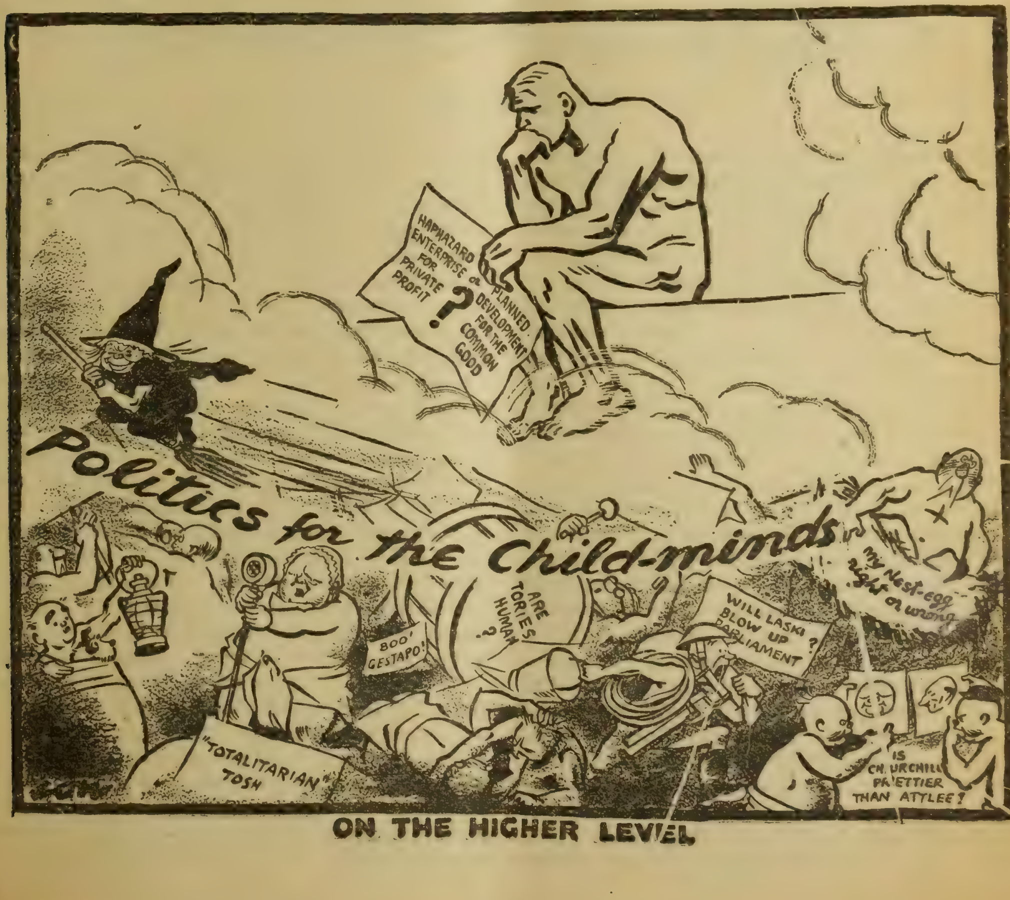
In 1920, for the first time, the welfare of the people became sufficiently important for a Bureau of Social Affairs to be set up within the Ministry of Home Affairs. For the next ten years, that is, until the situation was altered radically by the Kwantung Army's seizure of Manchuria, this bureau proposed considerable legislation intended to improve the condition of the people. But at every turn elements of the *Zaibatsu* staunchly opposed any reduction of their profits or their power. Exploitation of the people continued both in the factory and on the farm. Some of the legislation passed reads extremely well, but it was only partially enforced.

It was the Japanese military, ironically enough, and not the *Zaibatsu* or their close associates, the big landlords, that awakened belatedly to the necessity of improving the condition of the people. After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937 the military leaders became acutely aware that the poor health of the recruits for the army and of the men and women in factories was hampering the prosecution of the war. The military were not motivated by humanitarianism but by the cold logic that underfed and diseased people make poor cannon fodder and incompetent factory workers. So in 1938 the Social Affairs Bureau was elevated to the status of a ministry, the Welfare Ministry. As in the 1920's, a spate of social legislation was now proposed. But it came too late to aid the people. The war with China dragged on, and the Pacific War approached. The military could not allocate funds to implement social legislation without sacrificing funds needed for the more visible sinews of war. After Pearl Harbor such social legislation as did exist was largely thrown into the discard because of the "greatest crisis in Japan's history."

Had the *Zaibatsu* been willing to limit their inordinate ambitions, the people might have had enough money to buy more than a little rice and fish and have become healthy and contented. This would have had two results: (1) the expansionists who led Japan into the war would not have found the people so ready to follow because of their empty bellies; and (2) the *Zaibatsu* would not have been so in need of new markets—there would have been a market at home.

Americans who say that the *Zaibatsu* were unwilling victims of the military ignore their eagerness to acquire new and exclusive markets and their paramountcy within the ruling coalition of the four groups. Two years prior to the seizure of Manchuria by the Kwantung Army, a comparatively enlightened and able Premier, Hamaguchi, attempted to carry out financial and economic policies which would have made military expansion less necessary in the eyes of the Japanese. Important elements among the *Zaibatsu* sabotaged his efforts. It is probably true that some of them were at first apprehensive about the aggression in Manchuria, but when they saw that the Western powers were not going to take action, they devoted their efforts to directing the expansion along sounder economic lines than the military unaided could evolve and to exploiting the victories of the military. Their ruthlessness toward their own people increased. For example, trade unions were suppressed in 1940; the elimination of the little business man and the small factory worker was accelerated; and the farmer was further oppressed by enforced enrolment in "cooperatives" and other measures.

The *Zaibatsu* did not object to war: they objected to policies which would impair their power and reduce their profits. In every important conflict behind the scenes between the military and the *Zaibatsu* the latter either won their point


HAPHAZARD ENTERPRISE FOR PRIVATE PROFIT ? or PLANNED DEVELOPMENT FOR THE COMMON GOOD
Politics for the Child-minds
ARE TORIES HUMAN ?
BOO! GESTAPO!
WILL LASKI BLOW UP PARLIAMENT ?
My Nest-egg right or wrong
"TOTALITARIAN" TOSH
IS CHURCHILL PRETTIER THAN ATTLEE ?

ON THE HIGHER LEVEL

or effected a satisfactory compromise. Frequently the *Zaibatsu* gained the victory through an alliance with high military officers who had become sufficiently "moderate" to realize that cooperation with the *Zaibatsu* would enable them to pursue aggression more effectively. In recent years an increasing number of army and navy officers have joined the great industrial concerns, an indication that the policy of mutual accommodation continues.

Consistently the *Zaibatsu* have increased their strength. In the agencies which were established during the five years prior to Pearl Harbor as part of the movement toward a controlled economy, virtually all leading posts were allotted to business men. In 1940 a group of bureaucrats, with military support, advanced a plan—originating with Naoki Hoshino—to reorganize industry so that control would be wrested from the *Zaibatsu*. The *Zaibatsu* succeeded in emasculating the plan: the Minister of Commerce felt impelled to announce that the government had never thought of separating capital from management, and the author of the plan was shortly afterward dropped from the Cabinet. Again, during 1942 and 1943 when the Japanese leaders realized that the tide of war had turned against them, the *Zaibatsu* were successful in modifying Premier Tojo's effort to obtain virtually dictatorial powers over the war economy. Tojo found it necessary to create a Council of Cabinet Advisers consisting of seven leading men of the *Zaibatsu;* and in February, 1943, it was reported that he denied any intention of placing the country's chief industries under state control. Similarly, when the Munitions Ministry was established in 1943, the strength of the *Zaibatsu* was so great that they obtained great advantages in return for abiding by certain rules. In fact, after Pearl Harbor the *Zaibatsu* enjoyed an unparalleled boom: they enlarged their plants, launched new enterprises, and obtained phenomenal increases of capitalization.

Ever since 1931, when the current program of expansion began, there has been abundant evidence that the *Zaibatsu* not only have failed to oppose military aggression but have directed that aggression to their own profit, have employed the resulting situation to enhance their power within the coalition, and have used their enlarged control further to oppress the people, not only in order to augment their own wealth and power but to render the people impotent to challenge that power even in the empire's defeat. Under conditions of defeat, the *Zaibatsu* will prepare for the next war if given the opportunity.

Conscription or Enlistment?

BY MILITARIS

PRESIDENT TRUMAN, with the support of his Cabinet, has asked Congress to pass legislation now for compulsory military conscription in peace time. It is a dangerous request. Decision on such an important matter should not be taken without the fullest public discussion, and it would be grossly unfair, not to say undemocratic, to rush the thing through without giving the present members of the armed forces a chance to join in the discussion—at home, where they can hear and be heard. Nothing in the present situation calls for such haste.

Moreover, the discussion to date has not been notably realistic. With slogans ringing in our ears, we tend to overlook the fact that conscription is an old institution, with a history that might afford us some light. France inaugurated conscription in 1793, Austria in 1805, Prussia in 1808, Russia in 1864, Japan in 1873, and Italy in 1875. On the record, it cannot be said that conscription either created or destroyed the republican character of the French government or the autocratic character of the Russian or Austrian. Conscription, then, is neither democratic nor anti-democratic by nature, and arguments for or against it on grounds of political theory have no relevance. The record is equally impartial as regards the danger of war. Conscription has not secured peace for the countries that have adopted it, nor has its absence prevented England and the United States from engaging in numerous wars, offensive as well as defensive. And finally, there is no historical evidence that conscription guarantees victory or that its absence insures defeat.

The current proponents of conscription in the United States have two favorite arguments, unrelated but usually coupled: (1) it will improve the health, character, education, and patriotism of the conscript, thus performing the functions of social-service agencies; (2) in a world not yet at peace, and in the absence of a foolproof collective security organization, conscription is a military necessity.

The social-service argument is almost unbelievably thoughtless. It assumes (1) that the home, school, church, synagogue, club, union, and community have not made and cannot make Johnny and Janie healthy, intelligent, honest, and patriotic, and (2) that the armed forces can and will do these things. It is of course true that our present civilian social services leave much to be desired; but the armed forces are peculiarly unfitted to replace them. If 20.9 per cent of the rejections in the present war were for dental defects—to cite one well-known example—the answer is adequate food and dental care from childhood on. A year of military service would hardly be a substitute. Nor is it likely that educational and moral deficiencies of eighteen years' standing would be remedied. The army is not a school or a health resort; certainly it is not an ancient Greek ephebeum.

The purpose of military training is to produce efficient killers, not gentlemen or scholars or social-minded democrats. Whatever training is given to the conscript, be it physical, vocational, or moral, is conditioned by one supreme and abiding military motive: to kill the enemy. It could be truthfully argued that certain physical and educational improvements do accrue to the conscript, but the army has always frankly avowed that they are merely incidental to the basic job of acquiring proficiency in the art of killing. It could be truthfully argued that some character-building values inhere in being a member of a disciplined collectivity; the esprit de corps of a battle-seasoned group is high, and their civilian prejudices tend to dissolve under common danger—this extends even to Negro-white relations on the battlefield. But this sort of thing doesn't happen in the training camps, because it isn't allowed to happen. The armed forces have never claimed to be social pioneers. They haven't the time, the knowledge, or the will.

And even the incidental benefits are largely canceled out by the evils that go with military life. There is a fierce attack on the individual personality to make it fit the common mold of group discipline; there is a large gap between theory and practice in the fields of education and orientation. The removal of home and community restraints tempts many eighteen-year-olds into premature experiments, under bad conditions, with sex and alcohol. And it cannot be argued that the armed forces offer the best teachers, or even qualified teachers, in the field of democratic education. There is a wide gulf between officers and men—a gulf not warranted by the demands of discipline and representing primarily a survival of the military caste tradition. Segregation even extends to separate toilets for officers and men.

All in all, there appears to be little basis in fact for the idea that the armed forces are the best institution to give eighteen-year-olds health, education, and character development. This conclusion does not invalidate the idea that "a year of service to the country" would be a good thing. But there are many services and many agencies.

The argument that conscription is necessary for national defense stands on much firmer ground. To reject compulsory military service as a possible course of action, without full consideration, is to seek escape from a world not yet at peace and not yet practiced in the ways of peace regardless of good intentions. We cannot at this stage rule out the possibility of war. Only a world fully committed to economic and political cooperation can hope to have enduring peace. To this end we devoutly work. Meanwhile, conscription for defense is a legitimate issue for debate.

National defense, however, involves much more than military conscription. To consider this one resource in isolation from all others is unrealistic. Germany has demonstrated that no matter how powerful a nation may be it cannot overcome the military strength of a combination of enemies. No nation can defend itself alone against all comers; national defense for America cannot be divorced from participation in an international security organization.

The quantity and character of men and matériel needed for defense-by-helping-to-keep-the-peace are not precisely determinable, but we do know that the United Nations could provide a sufficient combined force without requiring a tremendous contribution from each nation. The commitment will probably entail a comparatively small but highly trained and highly mobile ground force, a two-ocean navy and merchant marine, and an independent air force. Since no one nation can ever attain a "defense" greater than all the others combined, the purely national defense units of the respective countries can be scaled down. Skill and mobility, not size, will be important.

In the light of this conception of national defense—and none other is valid except on the premise that we must prepare now for another world war—should we have universal military conscription? Would it assure us an adequate armed force? Probably not. A gunner on a Liberator or Flying Fortress today gets three months of basic training, three months of gunnery instruction, and three months of combat training before he goes on his first mission. Every other member of the crew—pilot, navigator, bombardier, engineer, and radioman—needs additional months of training. Altogether, the crew of a B-24 or a B-17 needs fourteen or fifteen months of preparation—*intensive* preparation. No peace-time air force would willingly accept the grueling schedule imposed on these men in the last phase of their war-time training. The process would almost inevitably be slowed down by 30 to 40 per cent. In short, one year of conscription would not be enough to train a bomber crew; and even if it were, the crew would have to be retrained within two years or be hopelessly out of date. The techniques of modern warfare change so rapidly that continuous training is essential. In an emergency it would do no good to call up airmen trained two years previously. And what is true of the air forces is more or less true of every branch of the services. For the most part, conscription would be good only for the sort of elementary training that can be acquired in a Boy Scout troop or a high-school R. O. T. C.

If, then, conscription is ineffective to produce adequate national defense, what are the alternatives? Surely we don't want to revert to the pre-war standards of voluntary enlistment, which made the uniform of the United States Army a social stigma except for officers. The only proper alternative is to raise the standards and increase the rewards sufficiently to assure an adequate professional army. I shall not argue the merits of the following proposed incentives, but I am sure most G. I.'s would approve them.

1. Promises as to training and assignment, except in the event of war, should be rigorously kept. There should be adequate aptitude and other tests before induction, on the basis of which the recruit should be given an assignment for which he is fitted or, if unfit for military service, he should be returned to civilian life. The air forces eventually saved a great deal of time and expense by testing candidates *before* sending them to training schools.

2. The minimum period of enlistment should be three years, for training and assignment will take almost that long.

3. Rates of pay for all enlisted men, particularly for the lower grades, should be considerably improved. At present rates it is impossible for married men below the grade of staff sergeant to live on army pay unless their wives work. This curtails their ability to have children, which is bad not only for the individuals concerned but for the nation.

4. Adequate housing and commissary, on or near military reservations, for all personnel, both married and single.

5. Real training and supervision of cooks. The possibility of abolishing K. P.—except as punishment—should be investigated. Civilian personnel should be employed here, as they are in PX cafeterias.

6. Standardization of promotion practices. Arbitrary freezing "in grade" reduces incentive. The experience of the Civil Service could be a useful guide here.

7. Direct commissions should be available for men with special skills, but generally the practice of sending good men to officer-candidate schools should be maintained.

8. Replacement of the caste system with true discipline. Good officers, like good teachers, good foremen, or good employers, have no trouble in enforcing discipline. They receive a personal loyalty from the men which no artificial distinctions can replace.

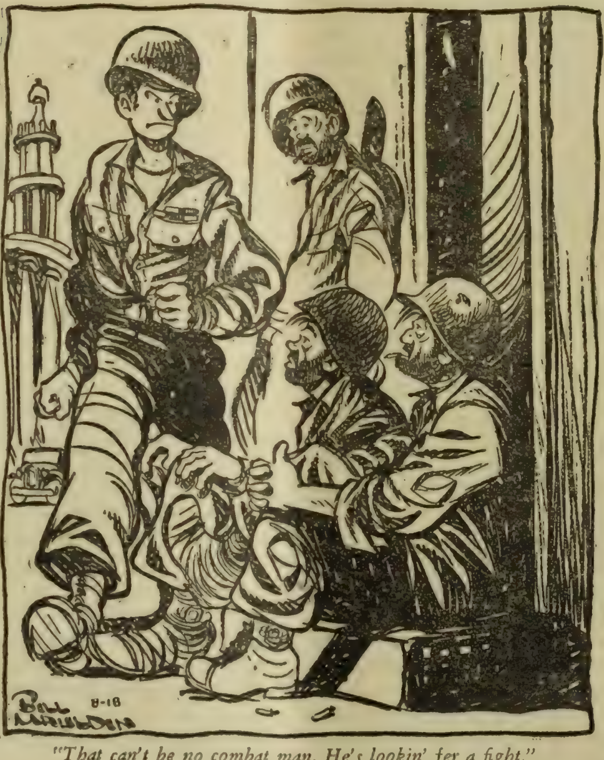
With these incentives, it should be possible to build a real citizen army. The military caste system would be modified, and the old stereotypes of the "drunken sailor" and "the bad boy who ran away to join the army" would tend to disappear. The armed forces would be elevated to a new and better place in our national life, partly because they would contribute to the national well-being and partly because they would fulfil the legitimate needs of the individual.

Conscription can only encourage the worst aspects of a necessarily hierarchical system; voluntary enlistment under enlightened conditions can make the armed forces a calling to which free men in a democratic society will gladly dedicate themselves. Surely the cause of preserving peace in the world is worthy of such dedication.

Bill Mauldin's War

BY KING GORDON

I HEAR you have just left the army, Bill Mauldin, after putting in five years, collecting about a hundred service points—I don't know how many medals — and reaching the mature age of twenty-three. I've been looking at your cartoons for quite a time now and have come to the conclusion that you have done about as well as anybody could to give the folks back home an idea of what life "up front" is like. It's not easy to get the idea across to those of us who have put in a pretty safe and comfortable war over here. As you yourself say, "I guess you have to go through it to understand its horrors. You can't understand it by reading newspapers or by looking at pictures or by going to newsreels. You have to smell and feel it all around you until you can't imagine what it used to be like when you walked on a sidewalk or tossed clubs into horse-chestnut trees or fished for perch or when you did anything at all without a pack, a rifle and a bunch of grenades."



"That can't be no combat man. He's lookin' fer a fight."

So it's not easy for a civilian to write in praise or blame of a book* that comes right out of an experience in which he has no share. Probably I wouldn't have let out a peep had it not been for a review in last week's *Nation*. Now *The Nation* is scrupulous about respecting the independence of reviewers, but in this case it seems to me that another opinion is worth recording. I hadn't read your book when I saw the review, but I knew that whatever else your book might be it was not "dedicated to the proposition that war is funny." Because I never saw a cartoon of yours that didn't hit me closer to the midriff than to the funnybone. I couldn't judge, then, about your being "illiterate"; I would have been surprised to discover you were or that you had "bad taste." Without reading a word of the text I was prepared to bet that it was a pretty dignified and perceptive job and that if you did not quite have Ernie Pyle's flair for words, you and he probably talked—and understood—the same language.

Well, I read your book last night and my hunch was right. If I were you I wouldn't worry too much about literary style or grammar or standards of taste. You've given us a picture of the combat soldier in this war that will stick for a long time, and in about twenty-five years some wizened old ex-infantryman who spent the early '40's in northern Italy will pick up your book and say: "Yes, it was like that."

I was right too about you and Ernie Pyle. Your craft is drawing and his was writing, but your minds worked the same away. Remember he talked about "that stare" in the eyes of a soldier who has seen a lot of action, "a look of dulness, eyes that look without seeing, eyes that see without conveying any image to the mind. It's a look that is the display room for what lies behind it—exhaustion, lack of sleep, fear beyond fear, misery to the point of numbness, a look of surpassing indifference to anything anybody can do." You put it this way: "Look into an infantryman's eyes and you can tell how much war he has seen. . . . If he is weary and resigned to the fact that he is probably going to die before it is over, and if he has a deep, almost hopeless desire to go home and forget it all, if he looks with dull, almost uncomprehending eyes at a fresh-faced kid who is talking of the joys of battle and killing Germans, then he comes from the same infantry as Joe and Willie."

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* "Up Front." By Bill Mauldin. Henry Holt. $3.

The humor of your book is a very special kind. It is humor that comes out of the mud and misery and boredom and fear of death that is modern war. It is a humor that asserts the ultimate bravery of the human spirit faced with unending distress and anguish. Frequently it is sardonic, sometimes it is impertinent (there were a good many brass hats who didn't appreciate you), almost always it is compassionate. It is never slapstick, never forced, never insensitive. Sometimes it simply states the wonderment and relief at being alive in the context of death. Sometimes the point is lost on the civilian through his sheer inability to identify himself with a front-line situation. Occasionally you stumble on a made-to-order formula, as in the case of the motorized cavalryman shooting his wounded jeep. But usually the humor comes naturally out of the experiences of your two weary dogfaces, Joe and Willie.

Most of your readers will understand what you mean when you say, "Since I'm a cartoonist maybe I can be funny after the war, but nobody who has seen this war can be cute about it when it is going on." There was nothing very funny in your description of the men staying for days and weeks in the wet foxholes in Italy and contracting trench foot. "If they couldn't stand the pain they crawled out of their holes and stumbled and crawled (they couldn't walk) down the mountain until they reached the aid station. Their shoes were cut off and their feet swelled like balloons. Sometimes the feet had to be amputated. But most often the men had to make their agonized way back up the mountain and crawl into their holes again because there were no replacements and the line had to be held." Most of your readers will get what you mean when you speak of the "certain nobility and dignity in combat soldiers and medical-aid men with dirt in their ears."

You've done a lot in throwing across a bridge—and there are all too few bridges—between the combat soldier and the civilian. Those who read your book are not going to frown heavily and escape responsibility by talking of the "problem of the returning veteran." Instead, they are going to think of a young American who has been away for a while doing a different kind of job and leading a different kind of life that has produced certain important changes in the way he looks at things. As you say, "If he is lucky, his memories of those sharp, bitter days will fade over the years into a hazy recollection of a period that was filled with homesickness and horror and dread and monotony, occasionally lifted and lighted by the gentle, humorous, and sometimes downright funny things that always go along with misery." You've helped us understand the man that's coming back from up front. It's probably going to be harder for him to understand us who stayed put at home sweating over our income taxes and Victory gardens.

Anyway, thanks for your book. And good luck to you.

In the Wind

THE TRIAL OF LORD HAW HAW in London drew forth this editorial comment from the Los Angeles *Herald Express* on June 20: "His trial is being watched with interest, particularly by Americans, for there are in this country many persons who are living on the borderline of treason. Jap lovers who want California again infested with wild, brute-animal Japanese are among these. Communists who love Russia more than the United States are another group. People of any race who use radio and women's clubs or other mediums of propaganda to overthrow the American Way of Life for foreign ideologies are another. . . . They should get the same kind of mercy from this country that Lord Haw Haw is going to get from Great Britain."

UNDER THE OPA-WPB low-cost clothing program, manufacturers are required to pre-ticket certain garments with their ceiling prices. The tickets are there, but in many cases they are hard to find. Sometimes they are hidden under the size labels, and sometimes they are sewn inside a seam in such a way that the customer must turn the garment inside out in order to see them.

THE NEW YORK *DAILY MIRROR* (Hearst) devoted its editorial on July 3 to the Nation Associates' dinner for Thomas Mann. It seems the affair was part of a plot to make the United States join Russia in a war against England.

THE WAR DEPARTMENT will release 10,000 light and 20,000 medium trucks for sale to farmers.

REVERSE LEND-LEASE from France in the year after the Normandy invasion amounted to $400,000,000.

AT THE ANNUAL commencement day luncheon of the University of California Alumni Association, June 23, the guests brought their own lunches. A good time was had by all.

HEADLINE in the Santa Monica, California, *Evening Outlook* for June 12: "RACKETEERS PLAN TO MILCH PUBLIC—Better Business Bureau Leads in Campaign."

LEGISLATIVE MEMO: H. R. 776, which would make it possible for Filipinos to become American citizens, has been passed by the House and is now in the Senate Committee on Immigration, headed by Walter Franklin George of Georgia.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay $1 for each item accepted*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

AMG Fumbles the Ball

BY PHILIP JORDAN

Kitzbühl, Austria, June 19

A CURIOUS but by no means inexplicable dichotomy is manifest today in the minds of both Bavarians and Austrians. (I write only of Bavaria and American-occupied Austria, since these are the two regions I have been able to observe.) They resent with much overt bitterness the Allied Military Government's retention of former active members of the Nazi Party in positions of authority; and, simultaneously, they are beginning to wonder whether perhaps they were not better off under the rule of the Nazis before their two countries were defeated and unconditionally surrendered. It is particularly distressing to find this hankering for a discredited regime, whose sudden ruin overwhelmingly disillusioned them, among sections of the population where it had never been truly popular.

An examination of the causes of this unwholesome state of mind discloses that much is lacking in the conception, as opposed to the execution, of Allied military government; the disclosure is the more disturbing in that it shows how "higher levels"—who will ultimately, one assumes, be responsible for the peace—have refused to learn anything from the mistakes they made when they set up military governments, first in North Africa and subsequently in Italy. Or else, of course, it shows a light-minded obstinacy happily rare in the annals of democratic government.

Let it be said at once—and all that follows must be read in this context—that, with a few neurotic exceptions, the personnel charged with Allied administration are doing conscientious and honorable work in exceedingly difficult conditions. Their business is to govern conquered enemy territory; but since no real policy, other than the brutally stupid policy of non-fraternization, has ever been formulated for their guidance, the areas under their control are necessarily ruled by capricious and empirical methods, varying from day to day and even from hour to hour. No over-all line of conduct exists to guide them: a string of negatives circumscribes the opportunities for setting a bewildered people a democratic example, with the natural result that each small area, in some cases each hamlet or village, is governed along lines totally different from those followed in neighboring communities.

AMG officials, many of them unable to speak a word of German, are frequently more bewildered by the problems that face them than are the people over whom they have been appointed to rule. In the resulting chaos Nazi officials may be retained in power simply because their knowledge of local conditions and of administration at least insures that the wheels of community life will continue to turn, albeit at a much-reduced speed. Such Nazi officials inevitably obstruct the efforts of Military Government officers to discover men of administrative ability who have not been corrupted by contact with the party.

Were it not for the policy of those responsible for psychological warfare, it would be a simple matter to discover this talent, to test its good-will, and at the same time to show these people how the workings of democracy can better their rapidly worsening lot. But, alas, psychological warfare is in the hands of one Brigadier General Robert McClure, in whom those who know him can have neither confidence nor hope. It was he who headed the reactionary censorship department installed in Algiers when the Allies first landed in North Africa; it was he who prevented correspondents there, infinitely better informed than himself, from stating that there was no need either to use Darlan or to employ the servants of the Vichy regime, since a fund of administrative ability friendly to our cause was available to us at any moment we cared to employ it. It was he who daily described as "highly inflammable" any dispatch which ventured to suppose that the appointment of Darlan was not the wisest move made since the war began. Sources of friendly aid also exist here, but because General McClure's old-fashioned ideas still prevail, they are difficult to find. All that his methods have achieved is to drive the people of these two areas, at least, to listen to the Berlin radio in preference to the drivel which comes nightly from the BBC and Luxembourg, and, by the prohibition of local newspapers produced by local people, to prevent AMG officials from discovering what the people under their control are thinking.

If we were anxious to discover what people are thinking, the way to achieve our object would be to allow them publicly to say what they think. If they were allowed to produce newspapers or to enjoy the right of free assembly—always under the possible veto of the local AMG of course—we should very shortly find out who was thinking what and be able to judge in some degree the qualities of various citizens who might be useful both to us and to their fellow-countrymen. Above all, perhaps, by granting such privileges we should have offered an example of the democratic principle in operation at a moment when it would be most persuasive.

In some communities here 90 per cent of former Nazi officials are still employed; and because some of the young men appointed to govern are losing heart, it is possible that these Nazis will continue in power for a long time to come. In other localities, where more imaginative or more optimistic governors have been appointed, there has been a change; and the mental health of the community has noticeably improved.

In the little town of Strobl, not far from Salzburg, a young American captain with nothing to lose—and that is important—has performed a wonderful piece of work. An ardent anti-Nazi himself, he first dismissed the Nazi mayor and deputy mayor. His difficulty was then to discover replacements for these men, and he solved it in a manner that has impressed his "pupils in democracy" with the efficacy of the American doctrine.

He called in a dozen of the "city fathers" and astonished them by saying that as it was their community over which he was temporarily ruling, it would be for them and their fellow-citizens to nominate and then to elect a mayor and deputy mayor. He would set only one condition: no Nazis were to be nominated; but in the elections the Nazis were to be allowed to vote. They above all, he went on to explain, needed to learn what voting meant. The next day 60 per cent of the town's adult population turned out to present their nominations, and the six men with the most supporters were chosen to run in the election. A week later the ballot boxes were set up, each guarded by an American soldier to see that the votes were not falsified, and 70 per cent of the town came out to register their wishes. Despite original official disapproval of this exhibition of common sense, the process is now admitted to have been a success, but it has not been recommended elsewhere.

Strobl, alas, is an exception to the rule. In most places the AMG is no more than machinery for forbidding people to take action rather than for guiding them toward more healthful political methods than any they have known for many years.

Life in most communities is at a wholly unnecessary standstill, and food is growing short. Food was bound to grow short, and can grow a lot shorter before the people are down to the standard of Britain, let alone France, Holland, and Belgium. But the shortage, combined with that inertia which lack of policy has made inevitable, is causing many people to wonder whether they would not prefer the Nazis. However oppressive and uncivilized the Nazis may have been, there was some purpose in life, some organic direction, and you knew where you were going. The rule of non-fraternization is not teaching what democracy means; indeed, its impact on the population is hardly easier to bear than the former arrogance of the Nazis. How, indeed, *is* democracy to be taught to these people if none of its elementary decencies are manifested?

Downing Street and the White House have much to answer for in their conduct of our political warfare since September, 1939. Their lack of vision is now plainly revealed here in southern Germany and in Austria. "High-level" officials, "policy-making" officials, have had six years to think out a plan for Germany, and all they have produced is non-fraternization and a total black-out on our way of life—except for a few pompous platitudes uttered over the radio, to which the defeated can listen only with great difficulty. Small wonder that they are beginning to want to believe what Berlin and Vienna stations tell them; those stations offer them hope, however spurious it may be.

In the American Zone

There was a sound of revelry bei Nacht
For Ribbentrop and Kesselring and Schacht.
Herr Ribbentrop, a connoisseur of wine,
Declared the drinks were only fit for swine.
Reporters called his manners into question,
But Robert Murphy noted the suggestion.

J. M. M.

Censors or Reporters?

BY DONALD DOWNES

Milan, June 21

IT IS fashionable now to blame America's ignorance of what goes on in Europe on the military censors, but it is possible that American correspondents are also guilty of doing some pretty superficial reporting. Many hot spots of Europe which may cause another war and send another generation of Americans to Europe to die are not well covered in the American press. One of these is Italy.

The current *Stars and Stripes* carries a story which Leigh White of the Chicago *Daily News* sent home from Milan on June 18. In it Mr. White compares Lieutenant Colonel Hershenson to Major Joppolo of John Hersey's "A Bell for Adano," and says, "But it was not a church bell that was wanted by the people of Milan; it was something far more complicated—namely, a workable system of rapid justice capable of punishing the more important of local Fascists without degenerating into anarchy or civil war." The *Stars and Stripes* adds, "White says that Colonel Hershenson created orderly courts, paid every Italian patriot according to a specific scale of benefits, and started an investigation of prisoners taken by the partisans." White says further, "The purge of Fascists is being carried out by the Milanese themselves with a minimum of Anglo-American supervision. *Everybody, even the most radical of Partisans, now agrees that justice is being done in a fair and impartial manner*" (italics mine).

This Mr. White wrote on a day when thousands of North Italians were picketing with indignant banners the offices of the AMG in Milan, Genoa, Turin, and other cities because one Basile, who had ordered more than six hundred patriots shot and had procured forcibly for export to Germany more than six thousand Italian slave laborers, received a prison sentence instead of death. And on a day—June 17—when the Italian press of Milan carried four stories of men either pardoned by the Allied-supported royal family or given sentences considered too light by an overwhelming majority of the press and the public alike.

Mr. White credits Colonel Hershenson with the new Extraordinary Assize Courts. In point of fact these courts were established by decree of the Italian government at Rome on April 22 and accepted by Admiral Ellery Stone, U. S. N. R., for the Allied Commission. On all sides one hears criticism of these courts from Italians of all parties because the Bonomi government and the Allied Commission prefabricated them before the liberation in such a way as to leave very great influence to the judiciary which held office under Mussolini.

Mr. White also credits Colonel Hershenson with the fact that the street cars and public utilities run. They never stopped running. I arrived here on April 30, the fifth day of the anti-Fascist revolution, and ahead of the Fourth Corps, and I found all utilities and local transportation operating normally, traffic policed, and the central military command of the partisans in complete control. This was so because Ferruccio Parri and his associates had planned and executed a partisan movement against the Germans combined with a revolution against Fascism with such precision and force that there were few open hostilities and no damage to the necessary utilities or the factories—not because the AMG and the Fourth Corps were preparing to enter the city.

Colonel Hershenson is in every sense "a good guy" and has succeeded for the most part in giving the Milanesi a good government with a minimum of interference in small local matters, so far as the directives from on high, the Allied Commission at Rome, and Allied Forces Headquarters at Caserta, would allow. But to say that the AMG for Milan or for Lombardy, the latter under Colonel Charles Poletti, pleases "everybody," or even a majority of the Italians, or even the Americans themselves is misleading.

For instance: on June 8 the newspapers here received an order from PWB dictated from "on high" threatening them with suspension if they used news sources other than the United Nations News Service (predigested and selected by PWB), the BBC, or an American program relayed from London called "The Voice of America." One editor had a copy of Mussolini's orders muzzling the press, and the similarity to ours was frightening. "How," he asked me, "can we establish a democracy without freedom of the press?"

Today again the paper carries stories of wrist-slapping sentences against Fascists. Our canned news service has failed to give out a story of paramount interest to Italians—namely, that two such important Americans as Sumner Welles and Walter Lippmann think our policy toward Italy, and toward England in regard to Italy, needs radical revision. The AMG continues to ignore the black market. The wealthy industrialists who backed Mussolini and made millions out of Fascism continue at liberty to make eyes at British and American big business. The armistice terms are still a frightening secret, and Italian initiative is paralyzed by uncertainty about the future. Prince Umberto remains in power. And Italian disillusionment with our brand of democracy mounts daily.

But the good people of Chicago—and New York and hamlets beyond and between—continue to read either nothing about Italy or a report like Mr. White's that all is well because Anglo-American Major Joppolos are everywhere dispensing sweetness, light, justice, and democracy.

This is because political news, *peace* news, is being reported by *war* correspondents who flit by plane from here to yon, being an expert on Syria today, on Italy yesterday, and on Norway tomorrow. They live in comfortable hotels supplied by the army and see few "natives" except officials who dare not talk. Their reports are based on the wishful handouts of the public-relations sections of various army commands. They have neither the time nor the inclination to dig locally for the sad facts which might reveal that we are expending American prestige wholesale and reaping suspicion and distrust by making a fetish of order as opposed to revolutionary justice and by backing reaction against liberalism.

The American people are charged with decisions on foreign policy which will determine whether another generation must fight and die in Europe. World War III may come upon us while the readers of the Chicago *Daily News* and thousands of other papers are congratulating themselves on what a wonderful job we have done in democratizing Europe—in the opinion of reporters who may have written excellent stories about how bravely John Doe of 1313 Main Street, Oshkosh, Michigan, behaved at Cassino but who are wholly out of touch with the disillusioned peoples of Europe.

Attack from the Left

[The letter from which we take the following excerpts was written to an American friend by a young Frenchman who escaped from France in 1942, joined the Fighting French, and is now convalescing from tuberculosis brought on by the hardships he suffered.]

I'VE sent you another letter in which I do nothing but speak of personal things, so this letter shall be mainly about the situation in France. It's very simple: the resistance, lacking political experience, has not lived up to the hopes of the "alive" section of France and of our foreign friends that it would guide the regeneration of the country. The trusts, far more versed in these matters, have it, for the moment, in the palm of their hand. Practically in its entirety the resistance was and still is left. The question before the resistance then was not to know what political ideology to pursue but to know what methods to use in order to make its ideology prevail after the liberation. It is there that the resistants, honest, idealistic men but like many idealists naive, committed their gravest error. They believed that platonic suggestion would be sufficient to resolve the problem "amicably." They thought that because they were heroes they had only to speak and they would be listened to, and a new France, in their mold, would arise. "The others" let them talk, loaded their arms with flowers, and then maneuvered and jockeyed until now the resistants are sidetracked. They will go down in the history books, but they're not "to stick their noses into serious affairs." . . .

Among the resistants the Christian Democrats are largely responsible for the calamitous tactic of conciliation. The Christian Democrats deserve respect; they furnished the resistance movement with an important contingent of fighters and martyrs. But as far as domestic policies are concerned, they are swimming in a sea of rose water. Their idea is to transform society by transforming men. They think that all they need do is preach sermons to the bosses, and bad bosses will become good bosses and everybody will love everybody else. Perhaps in the next three thousand years the bosses may begin to listen to them, but have we the right to make starving people wait three thousand years? The Catholics are illogical, for in foreign affairs the theologians admit the legitimacy of force when no other way is left. Why not admit it in domestic affairs? Christ didn't preach homilies to the "sixty families" of the Temple—he drove them out with a whip. Today it would be a machine-gun.

Perhaps you may ask: You tell me that the resistance has been shunted to one side, but isn't it true that a large number of resistants are now in the government? Yes, that's true. But the resistants chosen have not been always the most talented, and many are men who came back from London and from Algiers. Most of these resistants in office have been selected from among the people of the right or of middle-class origin. There were, it must be said, many bourgeois in the resistance. They were honest and courageous. But a bourgeois reasons, just the same, like a bourgeois. With the best will and intentions in the world, unless he has a special kind of genius, a sort of atavism molds his views. . . .

Anyway, as I've said, the fight has merely been postponed.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

THE GREAT RETURN

Some day ten million Ithacas will have them;
They will come steaming home, come banking home
Past the big cloud the god of our suspense
Built high above sweet springs and shingled houses.
Some day, some day, the oceans and the air,
Man loud, will bear them hither in slow swarms—
Slow, but a host will gather, and long shores
Live with familiar feet, and inland acres
Shudder beneath fond weight, and cars and cattle
Caper again; the factories, the highways,
Fields, and old hedges musical with raincrows,
Parlors, and potato-scented kitchens,
Be as ten million nests for homing men.
Who as they nod and settle will remember
Others that never flew—the jungle holds them,
And the exploded abbey, the shrill street
Where snipers are no more; nor comrades either.
Sweet is the land that death too once desired,
Sweet the acknowledged waters, the roof ridges
That faded in a far dream or did not—
Not now, except for these who are the world's
Forever as they halfway too come home.

MARK VAN DOREN

IS "FREEDOM ROAD" TRUE?

BY COLEMAN ROSENBERGER

THE literary quarterly *Sewanee Review,* recently rejuvenated under the editorship of Allen Tate, has attacked the historical accuracy of Howard Fast's novel "Freedom Road." But more, Fast is pictured as the leader of a "cult" which has as its purpose the deliberate distortion of Southern history. In a review of twenty-one current novels *Sewanee* finds that "nine bear the taint." The "members of this cult," runs the *Sewanee* argument, are "anti-historical propagandists" and "prophets of a new past, the past being overhauled to meet the specifications of some immediate political pressure." The area of their activity has included the "liberal" weekly (the quotation marks are *Sewanee's*), and "the most disturbing achievement of this cult, if its influence shall continue, will be an actual past fanatically destroyed and replaced by a 'scholarly' past existing only in the fictions of research."

What is the truth of this? I suspect that what is really agitating the intellectual apologists for the Old South is that for the first time their interpretation of history is being challenged and subjected to a searching reevaluation.

Sewanee notes with satisfaction that "the world of serious scholarship" has not been "invaded" by "propagandists" like Fast, and regrets that "sober Southern historians" are being ignored. Let us, then, call a "sober Southern historian" to witness. A recently published volume, which has been all too little noticed, casts much light upon Reconstruction history. It is the careful, 500-page biography of Senator Benjamin R. Tillman by Francis Butler Simkins, "Pitchfork Ben Tillman: South Carolinian," published by the Louisiana State University Press in 1944. The author was born in the same county in South Carolina as was the subject of his biography, so he would hardly be, as *Sewanee* charges of Fast, "guilty of the elementary ignorance of not knowing that South Carolina is a part of the Deep South."

Simkins's book includes a chapter, The Campaign of 1876, which describes the young Tillman's "yeoman service in the struggle to rid South Carolina of Negro and Carpetbag rule." It is a completely documented account, which, I think, will be very difficult to explain away. It is much to the point of the questions raised about the authenticity of "Freedom Road."

What does the South Carolinian Simkins say about the campaign of 1876? Tillman and his neighbors decided upon "the use of intimidation and fraud as the only means of forcing the blacks back into subordination." They "felt no compunction in applying lawless tactics to the political situation." Under the command of a former Confederate officer, Tillman and nearly half a hundred of his fellows developed what became known as "the Straightout, the Shotgun, or the Edgefield policy." The enemy was the freed slave. Simkins quotes Tillman's statement of the strategy: they "agreed on the policy of terrorizing the Negroes at the first opportunity, by letting them provoke trouble and then having the whites demonstrate their superiority by killing as many of them as was justifiable."

Incidents were not long in coming. The house of one of the white citizens was burned. Although, in Tillman's words, only "circumstantial evidence and suspicions" pointed to any Negro as the incendiary, a warrant was issued for the arrest of a Negro leader. When he was not found at his home, the members of the white military company were made a *posse comitatus* which hunted through the countryside for ex-slaves.

In the summer of 1876 an "opportunity for bloodshed" was provided at the town of Hamburg, which may or may not have a resemblance to Fast's Carwell, but which Simkins describes as "a once prosperous town which had degenerated into a refuge for Negro criminals and politicians." A trial was called after a disturbance when two white men in a buggy forced their way through the town. Tillman is quoted: "It was our purpose to attend the trial to see that the young man had protection and, if any opportunity offered, to provoke a row, and if one did not offer, we were to make one."

The description of the "Hamburg massacre" which followed may best be read in Simkins's book. It may be noted that after a number of prisoners were taken it was asked "whether the lives of only two blacks should pay for the death of one white. The answer was an emphatic negative."

Simkins observes of Tillman: "That the entire North as well as liberal Southern circles condemned the so-called

Hamburg massacre caused him no heartaches; he was contemptuous of such opinions. As he neared home that morning, he stopped at a neighbor's house and ate heartily of watermelon; he felt elated."

The feeble attempt of the state government to bring the rioters to trial on charges of conspiracy and murder was met with "defiance and derision." Simkins notes that "there were no judicial authorities in South Carolina with the temerity to reckon with Ben Tillman and his neighbors."

With its local success, the Edgefield policy became the model for the rest of South Carolina. Two of the Edgefield leaders captured the state democratic convention and engineered the nomination of Wade Hampton as Governor. The "Red Shirts" were organized to put the Edgefield "Straightout" on a state-wide basis. In one of the first clashes several former slaves were killed in a swamp, and Simon Coker, a mulatto state senator accused of making a "very incendiary speech," was executed.

Two months later Hampton became Governor.

This, very briefly, is part of the story which a "sober Southern historian" has to tell. His book is the result of long and thorough historical research. It deserves consideration in judging the historical "distortions" of such a novel as "Freedom Road."

Polemic Against Fatalism

FATE AND FREEDOM, A PHILOSOPHY FOR FREE AMERICANS. By Jerome Frank. Simon and Schuster. $3.

WHEN a lawyer, judge, and former chairman of the Securities Exchange Commission writes a book on the philosophy of history, every impartial reader will admire and respect the intellectual versatility which makes such an achievement possible. Frank's previous books have dealt with social and political themes and have marked him as a student who transcended his specific legal discipline. In his latest volume he goes even farther afield and essays a treatise on one of the most vexing problems of historical interpretation—the relation of human freedom to the casual sequences and "trends" of history.

Frank's interest in this problem is not academic. He believes that modern culture has been too much inclined to determinism and fatalism and that this tendency contains a threat to a democratic culture. He therefore marshals every possible resource of his wide erudition and imaginative mind to counter the influence of what he calls "inevitablism" and to establish the thesis that a healthy democratic culture requires confidence in the reality of human freedom and responsibility.

Few would quarrel with the main burden of the thesis, though it may be questioned whether it is possible to carry it through as unqualifiedly as Judge Frank attempts. In his polemic against "inevitablism" he not only challenges historical determinism but adduces all possible evidence against the concept of causality in the physical sciences, bringing indeterminism in the physical world to the support of a pure voluntarism in the interpretation of history.

In this unqualified defense of voluntarism, the paradoxical relation of freedom to fate is not fully comprehended. Mr. Frank admits, for instance, that "both Freudians and Marxists paradoxically aim to alter the inevitability which they proclaim to exist." That is equally true of older determinists, such as Moslems and Calvinists. The determinists are, in other words, not so consistently deterministic as they pretend and as Mr. Frank assumes. They assert human responsibility even while they seem to deny it. Mr. Frank is quite right in insisting that they violate logic in doing so; but the important point is that their system of thought may do more justice to the fact of human responsibility than his polemic against them implies.

On the other hand, Mr. Frank is forced to qualify the rigor of his indeterminism and voluntarism. He makes his reservation in his introduction but unfortunately fails to elaborate its full implication. He declares:

> Much is said in this book about the impossibility of accurate history writing. The reader, noting that I have engaged in considerable historical discussion, may feel that I have refused to take my own medicine. The answer is that, unlike most professional historians, I frankly acknowledge that my versions of history are "just-so stories." Indeed, my fundamental thesis is that all human interpretations of experience are "just-so stories," some of which are more desirable, or plausible, or useful than others.

The words "plausible, desirable, or useful" are weasel words which leave one in the dark whether or not Judge Frank desires to escape pure relativism. If the words imply that some stories are more truthful than others, there must be criteria of truth; and history cannot be a chaos of pure contingency from which no significant concepts of meaning can be derived. If the words do not imply "truthfulness," there is no reason why anyone should read the "just-so stories" of anyone else.

The issue between determinism and voluntarism, in short, is not so clear-cut as Judge Frank assumes. Determinists make concessions to the fact of human freedom and responsibility; and voluntarists, such as Frank, must make their concessions too, or they will reduce the realm of historical events to such a chaos of contingency that nothing can be said about it.

The undue rigor of the thesis of the book does not, however, invalidate many wise and searching observations upon the central theme. The pretensions of the historical sciences to scientific exactness are nicely debunked. In dealing with the relativism of all historical judgments, the contingent character of historical events is perhaps unduly emphasized, and the relative perspective of the historical observer, as a source of the relativity of judgments, is not fully dealt with. But the problem is illumined from a wide field of learning.

One very confusing element in Frank's treatise is his belief that historical determinism is somehow or other related to asceticism. I have read and reread the chapter entitled Our Ascetic-Fatalistic Science in an effort to understand the connection between asceticism and fatalism, but it still eludes me. Judge Frank writes:

> The makers of modern physics were (to use the modern jargon) sublimating the fierce ascetic drive that formed the central part of their social heritage. It was easy for men steeped in Platonism and in the gospel of St. Augustine to make a scientific gospel of Democritus's ascetic-deterministic doctrine.

Judge Frank rightly regards the determinism of the eighteenth-century physiocrats as the root of many modern social illusions which prevent us from dealing adequately with the problem of poverty and justice. He admits that this kind of determinism is part of a commercial civilization which reacted strongly against medieval asceticism, "liberating greed and making it a virtue, indeed the highest virtue." So the relation between determinism and asceticism remains a mystery.

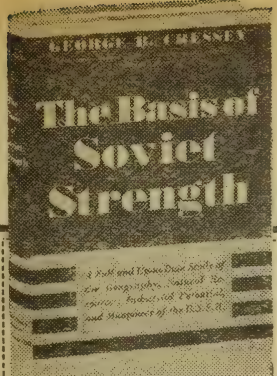
Yet this book is a book to be read for both instruction and enjoyment, even if the central thesis cannot be accepted unqualifiedly. REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Caruso

ENRICO CARUSO, HIS LIFE AND DEATH. By Dorothy Caruso. Simon and Schuster, $2.75.

IF CARUSO were alive today he would be seventy-two years old. He died in 1921, at the age of forty-eight, the greatest singer of his own and perhaps of all time. To the people who were fortunate enough to hear him from the stage, he remains, after all these years, a unique recollection; but even for those of us who know his voice only from recording, it is a still-present wonder. Part of the wonder is its extraordinary range and power; much more of the wonder is, I think, its emotional quality. It is a quality in response to which our usual class protections and vulnerabilities seem miraculously to disappear. Whether we are opera lovers or scorners, whether we look upon singing as the noblest or the least noble of the arts or as no art at all, when Caruso sings, the discriminations and prejudices bred of education no longer obtain; only Caruso obtains. I doubt that there has ever been an art performance more widely shared and more unanimously received. At once the most personal of artists, who would seem to sing to each listener alone, and the most impersonal of artists, who refuses to be made the property of any social or aesthetic coterie, Caruso is an occasion for that sense of community with our fellow-men which has been set down as a purpose of art but which art in actuality seldom aims for and even more seldom achieves.

I suppose it is an expectable irony that the man who could dispel our loneliness was himself a very lonely man, a frightened and finally a tragic man: the lives of artists constantly teach us this pattern by which the artist's unhealthiness becomes our health, his suffering our pleasure. Yet as it uncovers the background of pain to a performance that gave the appearance of being, above all things, easy and "natural," Dorothy Caruso's account of the three years of her marriage—they were the last three years of Caruso's life—is almost unbearably newly poignant; and perhaps it is always so; perhaps the suffering of any individual artist is always without precedent. In Caruso's case there was, first, the anguish simply of being a singer—of having as one's instrument one's own body, so that added to the not uncommon anxieties for the flesh, there was the uncommon invitation to identify flesh and art. There was the anguish of being the *greatest* singer: how terrible it must be to live with an awareness of being the greatest anything! There was the anguish of being a public person—the usual threats and invasions, the destroying emotions of not daring to trust. At last, there was the anguish of



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MACMILLAN

the long sick prelude to death, the coming to terms with the annihilation of all of self and power.

Although Mrs. Caruso's memoir supplies personal details about Caruso—his tastes, his relations with family and friends and servants, his program of work—for which we have a boundless curiosity, in the long run what she tells us about her husband is much less interesting than what she lets him tell about himself, through the letters he wrote on tour. (Herself, Dorothy Caruso is a character conceived by Edith Wharton and given moral stature by Henry James; she would seem to have been born only for Caruso's need of her.) Caruso's letters to his Doro are written in what must be a quite precise transliteration of his Italian American speech. They reveal no slightest trace of the consciousness of possible posthumous publication. They ring with a directness of statement which I doubt has been equaled in the correspondence of any public figure. Caruso complains of the difficulty of translating his feelings to paper, but here too the performance is deceptively easy; and after all, how small was this effort of art compared to the effort of translating his feelings into music. The weirdly spelled words, the strange and beautiful locutions, "pour out" on to paper just as the Caruso voice poured out into air.

Of course there is always this mistake about singing: because it is an art of the body, it is taken to be mindless, a primitive art without thought or discipline. And similarly Caruso's personality, so demonstrative of emotion and apparently so little of the head, is a temptation to oversimplification: he is a peasant with God-given vocal cords, he is "all wop" with a voice. But could the letters be so heartbreaking except for their constant interplay between the simple man and the complex artist? Here, for instance, is Caruso himself to contradict any false assumptions about the nature of the singer's art; from Havana he is writing about a performance of "Carmen": "But where I made everybody crazy was at fourth act, the big duet, I do not know myself where I find all this power of voice and drammaticity. I think this came from my brains in which is the motto, 'Before you will kill me, I will kill you,' and, for consequence, I put all my soul in what I do." It is a primitive formulation, it you will, of the sublimative process, of art's desperate offensive-defensive. But that anyone can be called a primitive person who is able to forge such a statement, I very much question.

Indeed, my own sense of Caruso's personality, from his letters, is of a primitive nature upon which the gigantic endowment of gift gradually thrust large responsibilities of maturity and wit and wisdom, then the responsibilities themselves created or found in Caruso the necessary maturity and wit and wisdom. The letters which are so plentiful, for instance, in neurotic—that is, symbolic—fears, are also plentiful in proofs of Caruso's capacity to cope with the world; the pointedness of his social protests is always in exquisite contrast with the "emotionated" tone of his personal protests. Thus, the same letter which begins, "Then, sweetheart, you cry on my letter? Wy? Have I the power with my bed englisch to let you cry? I dont want that your beautiful eyes cry . . ." can continue, "At 2 p.m. we went outside of the town for lunch. There was Mr Trepiedi who invited us, but this man must be called 'Onepiedi', because he is short of intelligence. He say that the lunch will be 'en famille' but there was many people of the Italian colony, beginning from the Ministre. That was nothing. The dinner was fine. At the end Mr Trepiedi come up and make speek and say, 'I must thank Commendatore Caruso and the Ministre for the honor which they had to come to my house.' I was making a sketch [one of his caricatures, which were so remarkable] and I heard what he says, and with laughing, I sad, 'Here, here! The honor is yours.' Everybody laughing. He sad, 'Excuse me, I have a little cognac in my head and made mistake.' It very funny until here. But he continue and invited me to remember that the Italian colony is poor, and ask if I will sing for the poor. This was the point of the lunch. I stopped to sketch and told few words in thanking, and let remark that it was not necessaire to give me such a Lucullian dinner which was better to give to the poors, and showing himself to be charitable. But all this was telling with laughing, but the concret was that I dont need a lunch to make a charity. I dont know how the presents took my words but there was a silence like when the people make a 'gaf.' "

Or here is the Italian peasant who may know sorrow but no confusion, when he is confronted with the sophistications of Southampton internationalism. A summer charity fair has been arranged, and Caruso is the chief attraction; he has offered to do his caricatures at ten dollars each, and a lady of fashion leads him to his booth, decorated with red, green, and white streamers, two Italian flags, and thick fringes of dry spaghetti. Mrs. Caruso reports the quick blankness of Caruso's face. "I am sorry, Madame," he says, "but I cannot make my drawings in there. Please have the spaghetti taken down." And he adds with a smile, "Spaghetti, you know, is for the kitchen and I am not yet hungry." It is on the way home that he comments sadly to his wife, "They do not imagine such things will offend because many people think of Italians only like that. What surprise me is that such nice people make such mistake."

Nice people? And yet, perhaps they were nice people—for the moment, at least, in which Caruso needed to see them so. There is always the artist's uncharted perception of the decencies; and there is also his taste for aristocracy, his need—often quite open—of a superior social class with which he can make some fraction of common cause—enough, at any rate, to account for his own superiority. The changeling fantasy belongs to all children, but it belongs especially to artist-children; and the youngest of a big, undistinguished family, Caruso explained his distinction by the fact that he was nursed by a Countess, whose own baby had died. Perhaps the fantasy helped him carry the burden of his uniqueness.

Certainly one has the impression that at the age at which we meet him, the burden has become—deep down within him—unendurable; when he becomes ill and allows himself to be given such bad medical treatment, the suspicion is bound to occur to us that his choice of doctors is not wholly without some profound inner direction. Of course, in a quite literal sense, just as he paid for his art in anguish, he paid with his life for his art: there are the Italian specialists, for instance, who because they fear to take chances with so eminent a patient, let Caruso die. But before that there are the medical errors which Caruso himself permitted, even seemed to ask for—the doctors he suffered because he could not bear to hurt their feelings. When we recall that this is the man

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By

LEWIS MUMFORD

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CITY DEVELOPMENT

By

STUART CHASE

ORDWAY TEAD: "Stuart Chase presents in the best tradition of creative journalism, the findings and experience in significant areas of business personnel and economic pioneering... No manager—of factory, store, philanthropic agency, hospital or college—could fail to carry away a score of workable ideas from this notebook record of social experiments."—*Survey Graphic*

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Men at Work

who told someone to go home and brush his teeth because his odor was offensive, and put it together with Caruso's recurring "premonition" of death, we get a glimpse of what otherwise would seem only an excess of delicacy. The life-giving artist is also the man weary of life. The precarious balance between the two impulses is finally destroyed, and as Caruso dies, the story seems even to by-pass our usual notions of tragedy. We confront an elemental realm, where the idea of tragedy is too intellectual for what is happening: the mind turns to images of great noble animals and their long death throes, to the tremendous overwhelming of the force of life by its opposite. DIANA TRILLING

BRIEFER COMMENT

About the Russians

RICHARD E. LAUTERBACH'S "These Are the Russians" (Harper, $3) is a book by a foreign correspondent which can be warmly recommended. It is, to be sure, written in *Time* and *Life* style, and in its chapters on Stalin and such military leaders as Zhukov and Novikow it says little that has not been said before. Nor are the author's findings about the status of religion in the U. S. S. R. original. Mr. Lauterbach is not a student of revolutionary theory, and can be extraordinarily naive, as when he says, "The Russians like Tito. So do the British." There is much of this sort of thing. Like most correspondents he is convinced that Russia will collaborate with the rest of the world, on a basis of realistic security interests. What distinguishes the book is the author's energy. He gets around, he is persistent, even brash, with his questions, and usually they are the right questions. (He speaks Russian.) He has vitality and warmth; his interviews are convincing; he sees not merely the small but the large human realities. As a result there is a surprising amount of new information in the book, particularly about the reconstruction work now being done. RALPH BATES

Catholic Views on Race

TEN CATHOLIC SCHOLARS of various nationalities have contributed essays to "Race, Nation, Person: Social Aspects of the Race Problem," which is edited by Bishop Joseph W. Corrigan and G. Barry O'Toole (Barnes and Noble, $3.75). It is the second of two symposiums. The first dealt with the biological aspect of race. The present volume discusses race in the context of history, philosophy, ethics, jurisprudence, and politics. The prevailing point of view of the various contributors is indicated in the following sentences from a foreword by one of the editors: "The need of the hour is for an antidote to secularist thought, which by its denial of the personal dignity of man saps the foundation of American democracy, making for the triumph at home of the very totalitarianism we are fighting abroad." "It is only by returning to Christian personalism that America can hope to avoid state socialism, the despotic extreme to which reaction against the abuses of an unreasonably anti-social individualism will inevitably lead." Since the discussions of such problems as the relation of individuals and occupational groups to the state and to church and national cultures are based upon Catholic philosophy, the reader with a secular attitude toward such questions would naturally expect to find certain postulates which he could not accept. Even so, readers who place their trust in "secularist thought" may be surprised to find that in one of the essays John Dewey is accused, with the logical skill characteristic of such writers, of preaching an irrationalism which provides a philosophical justification for German racial theories. It would probably be futile to ask the author how, if one would avoid the unreality of scholastic thought, the universality and objectivity of truth can be established except through the generalization of empirical and pragmatic knowledge. Although this volume is based upon premises which are not compatible with secular science, some of the essays will appeal to persons with a modern scientific outlook. For example, the essay by Professor Joseph T. Delos, of the Catholic University of Lille, is a penetrating analysis of the individual's rights vis-à-vis the state and the race. E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Democracy on the Job

MANY OBSERVERS have been distressed at the waste and inefficiency in the average office or shop resulting from the gulf between "management" and the "staff." Yet it has never been quite clear what the remedy was. Scientific management has too often been merely a polite word to cover up a speed-up or a reduction of staff, and labor unions have often only intensified the existing suspicion and strife. Stuart Chase shows us in "Men at Work" (Harcourt, Brace, $2) that modern industry can be made far more efficient—as well as more pleasant—if the workers are encouraged to participate as a team both in planning and operation. He cites a number of dramatic instances in which workers have banded together with management to achieve results not dreamed of under the old-fashioned autocratic management. In a word, democracy works as well in economic life as in political life—if we really give it a chance. MAXWELL S. STEWART

The Hancock Fortune

IT IS EASY TO DWELL on the many weaknesses of John Hancock; one of the better modern historians has referred to him as an "empty barrel." Yet his services to the Revolutionary cause were very real, though derived less from his ability than from his economic and social position. That position was a legacy from his uncle, Thomas Hancock. The methods by which the Hancock fortune was created are established in an exhaustive study by William T. Baxter, professor of accounting in the University of South Africa—"The House of Hancock; Business in Boston, 1724-1775" (Harvard University Press, $3.50).

This volume has important implications for the political historian, but its greatest value lies in the field of economic history. Too little economic history has been written, and too much of what has appeared has been inadequately done. Professor Baxter, a trained accountant, has skilfully analyzed the Hancocks' business records and made a distinctive contribution to our understanding of the business life and procedure of their time. RALPH ADAMS BROWN

Return to India

THE EFFORT TO CHART a personal course through a complex situation is most rewarding when the environment is revealed by the reaction to it. Then the place as well as the person falls into focus, and insights of general interest emerge. That, happily, is the case with Santha Rama Rau, who at the age of sixteen returned to her native land, India, after ten years in England. Her story is told with the distinction that comes from honesty and unpretentiousness in "Home to India" (Harper, $2.50). It covers the years between 1939 and 1941. The slim volume has no statistics but is full of sense and sentiment. And it is one of the most useful aids I have seen to the understanding in human terms of an important segment of Indian life. Miss Rau was a foreigner at home. Her grandmother's rigorous Brahman code was strange to her. And equally unknown were the multitudes who slept on the Bombay streets, the upper set with its parties and tennis games, and the earnest workers for India's freedom, to whom prison terms were sometimes a goal, sometimes a casual excursion. And of course she found that some of the most ardent workers for a new India were, like her mother, members of the upper class. Either as observer or participant Miss Rau sought out all these groups and through them came to know India's varied life. Humor and an inquiring, discerning mind helped her to find her own bearings, which, like those of every truly well-balanced person, appear to have a slight imbalance. The result of it all was the decision to come to America to find out how a democracy really works so that the knowledge might later be applied to India. Another equally important result was a book that sheds genuine light on the surface of one of the most talked about yet least understood countries in the world.

VIRGINIA MISHNUN

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THE attitude I have been objecting to—the preoccupation not with the piece of music but with ideas about its style, period, and tendency—turns up in unexpected places. It isn't only the New Friends of Music audience that, instead of listening to a quartet of Haydn or Mozart, reads in its program-notes a history of chamber music by Dr. Curt Sachs, or a discussion of the style and tendency of the particular quartet (which is difficult to correlate with the details it refers to even when it has such real connection with the work). A museum which finds it possible to hang its pictures and simply let people look at them cannot do the same thing with music: it must have a musicologist to construct programs and write program-notes that will teach the audience about styles and developments (with results that I will soon get around to describing). And—most absurd of all—a record company which decides to reissue some outstanding recorded performances of jazz cannot offer them as something to be listened to and enjoyed; it must offer them as something to teach styles and developments, with the help of booklets containing the fantastic inventions, the confusions and obscurities, and the sheer illiteracies of the "authorities" in this field.

The latest instance of this is six albums of recordings of what Victor calls hot jazz that it has reissued for educational purposes. Jazz, says the Victor announcement, "has mainly been considered as pleasant listening, but of little serious value for the music student"; but "before hot jazz can be incorporated into serious American music, each giving to the other, there must come about a better understanding of jazz" by musicians and listeners; and it is to achieve this that Victor has reissued the performances with booklets by Charles Edward Smith. This "well known jazz authority" seems to have refrained tactfully from pointing out to Victor that hot jazz is nothing that can or will be incorporated into serious American music; or that not all of the performances reissued by Victor are hot jazz. Of those I have heard the Jelly-Roll Mortons (Set HJ-5; $2.50) are hot jazz, with vitality and good invention in the collective operation of the small groups. But the McKinney Cotton Pickers (Set HJ-4; $2.50) are large-band arrangements in a hot style that doesn't sound very hot today, and are quite dull. And the Louis Armstrongs (Set HJ-1; $2.50) are purely "commercial" affairs, with Armstrong vocals and exhibitionistic trumpeting against arranged gilt-and-plush large-band backgrounds. As for the notes on the performances, they go through the verbal motions of describing styles and developments which they actually don't describe at all.

Louis Armstrong's early career is documented by Decca's Armstrong album in its Brunswick Collectors' Series (Set B-1016; $3.50), containing "Terrible Blues" and "Santa Claus Blues," recorded by the Red Onion Jazz Babies, a Clarence Williams five-man group, in 1924; "Static Strut" and "Stomp Off, Let's Go," recorded by Erskine Tate's larger Vendome Orchestra in 1926; "Georgia Bo Bo" and "Drop That Sack" recorded in 1926 by Lil's Hot Shots, another name for the Hot Five that included Johnny Dodds and Kid Ory; and "Wild Man Blues" and "Melancholy," recorded in 1927 by Johnny Dodds's Black Bottom Stompers, with Earl Hines at the piano. I have found all but two uninteresting—the two exceptions being "Georgia Bo Bo" (80060), which is a good performance in simple Hot Five style; and "Wild Man Blues" (80059), which is one of the greatest jazz performances on records. In Armstrong's other Hot Seven "Wild Man Blues" (originally on Okeh 8474, later on Vocalion 3193) his trumpet solo is an uncontrolled and extravagant outpouring in comparison with the one in this Brunswick performance, in which the control and power one feels in the rhythmic and stylistic coherence of the extraordinary flow of invention are tremendous. Dodds's clarinet solo and Hines's support at the piano are also superb.

There is another attitude of the musicologists that turns up in jazz. They have a habit of establishing the original form of an art as the only legitimate form, of which the inevitable modifications and developments into new forms are sternly condemned as degenerations from the primitive *typus*. In the same way the original New Orleans style—produced by "cornet lead, and clarinet and trombone countermovements, over a two-beat rhythm section," as one reader described it to me—has been set up as the only authentic form of jazz, with much the same result: any departure from New Orleans style is not jazz, and all the different departures are equally terrible. The reader I have mentioned spoke of Chicago style as though it were as far from the truth as "powerhouse arrangements for 27 trumpets and 89 saxophones"; and for him the Louis Armstrong Hot Five played jazz, whereas the Armstrong-Hines-Robinson-Strong combination merely played *like* jazz.

This of course is all nonsense. Jazz could not stop with the New Orleans style; and among the departures and developments we have to distinguish those, like the Chicago style, that are jazz, from those, like the "powerhouse arrangements," that are not. Moreover we have to recognize value in whatever style it appears in—to recognize that the Armstrong "Wild Man Blues" in the Decca album is an incomparably greater jazz performance than the Hot Five "Georgia Bo Bo"; that the Chicago Rhythm Kings' "I've Found a New Baby" and "There'll Be Some Changes Made" are more exciting than the New Orleans style performances in Victor's Jelly-Roll Morton album.

And so, even though they did not originate in the brothels of New Orleans for which some of the jazz authorities have such a strong nostalgia, the following, on Commodore records, are excellent jazz performances: "Tin Roof Blues" and "Royal Garden Blues," with Davison on trumpet, Brunis on trombone, Schroeder at the piano (556; $1); "How Come You Do Me Like You Do" and "Struttin' With Some Barbecue," with Butterfield on trumpet, Wilbur de Paris on trombone, Bowman at the piano (561; $1); "Memphis Blues" and "Sweet Sue, Just You," with Spanier on cornet, Mole on trombone, Russell at his worst on clarinet, Schroeder at the piano (1519; $1.50). Also good is "St. Louis Blues," with Hackett on trumpet, Mole on trombone, and Russell doing his strangling act on clarinet (1518; $1.50), and with an unbearable "Peg o' My Heart" on the reverse side; and as good playing as I have heard from Teddy Wilson in recent years is in "Caravan" and "It's Only a Shanty," with some coarse-toned and spasmodic clarinet-playing by Edmond Hall (557; $1). Wilson also is exciting in the fast-paced Benny Goodman Sextet performance of "After You've Gone (Columbia 36781; $.50); but he is at his aridly tortuous and ornate worst in a dreary duet with Goodman in "Body and Soul" on the reverse side.

Mr. Agee, now on vacation, will resume his film column in the issue of July 28.

Letters to the Editors

A Veteran Wires

Lyme, Conn., by Western Union

Have spent unhappy afternoon in country reading and rereading John Senior review of Bill Mauldin's magnificent book in current *Nation.* Review consists of three sentences by Senior and one quoted from Mauldin. Am I wrong in thinking that only the one from Mauldin makes sense? Mauldin in both cartoons and text says plainly that war is not funny but that there are occasions of grim humor to relieve the horror and boredom. Far from being "characteristically illiterate," the text is, in fact, artful and extremely accurate reporting of the way soldiers feel. Advise rushing one Ross dyspepsie tablet and/or stomach pump to Senior at once.

CHARLES G. BOLTE

Full Employment Is Possible

Dear Sirs: Leo Barnes's article, The Anatomy of Full Employment, in your May 26 issue is doubtless as good an estimate of post-war employment prospects as can be made from a limited point of view. But to achieve a complete picture, anatomy must be supplemented by physiology. Mr. Barnes barely takes into account the organic functioning of our economy. There is no limit to employment outside of the economy itself—except the willingness of people to work. Mr. Barnes ignores this fact and tacitly assumes that the very best we can hope for in the post-war years is to provide as much employment in most lines as in our best pre-war years. Of course he does attempt the difficult job of estimating the effect of changes in public demand and of technological development, but he does not examine the factors which might either facilitate or retard the employment of everyone who wants to work, whatever the size of the labor force.

This, actually, is the most important aspect of the problem. The core of the matter is the utilization of income, which is itself derived from the productive process. Income can be used in ways which will support full employment or in ways which will produce unemployment. Mr. Barnes correctly assumes a continuing check to full employment in our economy on the basis of past performance. But he is probably wrong in tacitly assuming that this will also be true in the immediate post-war period.

In taking this position, I do not rely too heavily on the allegedly imminent consumer buying spree based on accumulated war-time savings. S. Morris Livingston's War-Time Savings and Post-War Markets in the September, 1943, *Survey of Current Business* and your June 9 editorial, The Threat of Deflation, discuss that problem realistically. What I do rely on is the great volume of investment opportunities created by reconversion to peace-time production and the application of all the technical advances made during the war. Morris Livingston and E. T. Weiler, in an article, Can Business Finance the Transition? in the February, 1944, *Survey of Current Business* estimate that in the aggregate business will have resources adequate not only to reconvert but to expand production. How great the outlet and need for investment may be in new industries, neither these authors nor any others, so far as I know, have attempted to estimate. Livingston and Weiler estimate maximum reconversion needs at 36 billion dollars. New industries and new facilities in plastics, electronics, and light metals will certainly add several billions, despite prospective bargain prices for government-owned plants.

For the first few years after the war at least, business capital expenditure offers a good prospect of supplementing direct consumer expenditure sufficiently to maintain substantially full employment. This conclusion does not, of course, take into account the inevitable transitional unemployment during reconversion. There are many pitfalls in the path toward full employment, and we may fall into them. But Mr. Barnes fails to consider the possibility that we may not fall into them. And if we don't, we may reach new high levels in both employment and national income within the next few years.

ROBERT D. PATTON

Galena, Ohio, July 2

The Austrian Riddle

Dear Sirs: Among those who have criticized my article on Austria in your May 26 issue are Socialists who feel that I dealt too unfavorably with them and Catholics who think that I commented too favorably on the writings of Ernst Fischer, the new Communist Minister of Education in Catholic Austria. I refer both these groups to the following passage about the Jesuits in Fischer's pamphlet "Der Oesterreichische Volks-Charakter" (London, Austria Center):

> Austria had become 90 per cent Protestant when it was changed back into a thoroughly Catholic country by the Counter-Reformation. The terror of the Counter-Reformation is known. Yet its victory cannot be explained by terror alone. Jesuit "propaganda," to use a modern word, played no small role. In the first place there were the Jesuit schools, which led the young people back to Catholicism and exerted a powerful influence on the most intelligent and gifted sons of both the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. The Jesuit schools were far more attractive, many-sided, and consistent than anything that had yet existed in the field of education.
>
> I would not dream of whitewashing the Jesuits and their reactionary tendencies, but we must also rid ourselves of the Greater German, anti-clerical legend which onesidedly glorified Protestantism and stigmatized the Jesuits as the essence of damnation. The Protestant Leibnitz admired the Jesuit schools, and sadly

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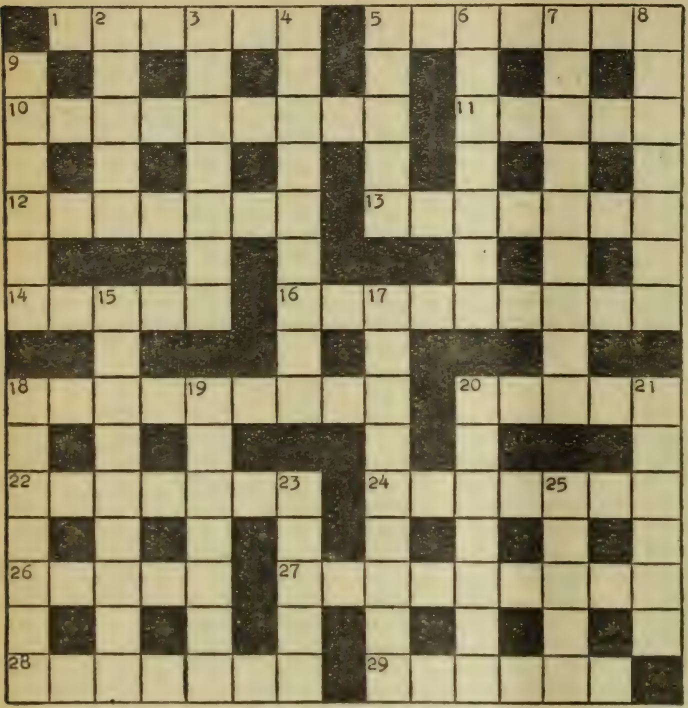
Crossword Puzzle No. 121

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Famous artist's retort when asked what he mixed his paints with
5 Fancy describing an aircraft carrier as a teetotal flop!
10 It is not for chanting before meals (hyphen, 5-4)
11 Aptly put
12 Daughter of Ahab and Jezebel in Racine's tragedy of the same name
13 A singular species of bindweed
14 The festive board
16 They regarded bootleggers as legitimate prey (hyphen, 2-7)
18 League started by a typical German
20 Wife of Isaac — had her first child when she was ninety
22 Champagne for the buffoons? Er — Mumm's, perhaps
24 Not a gumboil, but a kind of molasses
26 Central African animal that goes around trying to look like a giraffe
27 By Sheraton, Chippendale or Hepplewhite, perhaps
28 They often bear traces of lipstick
29 A force of 200, *decimated* by enemy fire, has how many casualties?

DOWN

2 Insect or fish
3 Floating slab of frozen aqua pura
4 The mark perhaps of a churchman's crowning labor (two words, 6 & 3)
5 "Big ----- have little ----- upon their backs to bite 'em, and little ----- have lesser -----, and so ad infinitum"
6 I am a car (anag.)
7 Where the foot that speeded the parting guest was applied (three words, 2, 3 and 4)
8 Though engaged to both Lord Mountararat and Lord Tolloller, she was unhappy because she loved Strephon (*Iolanthe*)
9 Rooted to the spot with terror
15 How one would be judged destitute (three words, 2, 2 and 5)
17 He and his wife form a fine combination in domestic economy (two words, 4 and 5)
18 They finally made Socrates drink it
19 Kermit the Hermit
20 Wolsey was weary and old with it (*Henry VIII*)
21 "Nothing but a lot of quotations!" was Simple Susie's verdict on this Shakespearean play
23 Furnishings of a s.s.
25 Den, relatively speaking to some extent

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 120

ACROSS:—1 DESPAIR; 5 MINERVA; 9 NIGGARD; 10 SQUEERS; 11 EMS; 13 UNTRUE; 15 SERENE; 16 SCHOLAR; 17 NODS; 19 ERSE; 20 EXEMPLARY; 21 HOPE; 23 EDIT; 26 POLITIC; 28 ACUMEN; 29 NUNCIO; 30 STY; 32 DEPRIVE; 33 AUTOMAT; 34 DAYBEDS; 35 DRESSER.

DOWN:—1 DON JUAN; 2 SIGHTED; 3 ABACUS; 4 RYDE; 5 MOSS; 6 NEUTER; 7 ROE-DEER; 8 AUSTERE; 12 MOOT POINT; 14 ECHELON; 15 SALADIN; 18 SEE; 19 EYE; 21 HOARDED; 22 PAUL PRY; 24 DECAMPS; 25 TROTTER; 26 PETITE; 27 CUPTIE; 30 SETS; 31 YARD.

acknowledged that teachers were despised among the Protestants. The principle of Jesuit education was to adhere stubbornly to its goal in all decisive questions; but at the same time its methods were designed to meet the interests, needs, and peculiarities of its pupils. . . . The Jesuits utilized the arts, and primarily the theater, to the utmost in the service of their educational method. A strange double game of gaiety and danse macabre, . . . of liberty in small matters and obedience in great ones, characterized the pedagogy and thereby the theater of the Jesuits.

It may well be that this interpretation of Austrian Catholic history by a leading Austrian Communist intellectual will serve as a key to the many riddles that will be posed in Austria.

ERNST KARL WINTER

Tenafly, N. J. June 30

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The Shape of Things

THE GUNS OF ADMIRAL HALSEY'S THIRD FLEET, striking at the steel heart of Japan, have ushered in a new phase of the Pacific war. The cities of the eastern coast, from Sendai in Honshu to Abashiri on the northern tip of Hokkaido, were raked by naval shellfire which met with no resistance from coastal batteries or enemy aircraft. Particularly devastating were the attacks on the great steel centers of Kamaishi and Muroran, the latter in the land-locked entrance to the strait between Hokkaido and Honshu. The destruction or beaching of six out of the seven train ferries which plied across this vital strait connecting the mining and steel centers of the north to the war plants on the southern island should have a crippling effect on the Japanese industrial organization. The daring fleet action followed hard on last week's strafing by carrier-based planes and the war's heaviest single day's bombing by fighter-bombers and Liberators from Iwo and Okinawa and B-29s from bases in the Marianas.

*

THE FAST CARRIER FORCE PROVIDES THE NAVY with the most mobile striking air arm in the world. Operating from movable bases, the carrier air force has a highly desirable offensive capacity for short-range attack and surprise, and an equally desirable defensive capacity through the great fire-power of the escort ships. Moreover, its bases can be withdrawn when necessary from under the enemy's attack. It is thus admirably suited to what may be its chief new role—darting close in to the Japanese islands to bomb and strafe enemy airfields, harbors, and the small war plants or targets of opportunity which the big land-based bombers are not so well-fitted to handle. Last week's operations gave further proof of what can be done in this fashion. They were provocative in the extreme, but were carried out without drawing serious enemy counter-attacks on the carrier force itself. This suggests an important deterioration in the enemy's air strength. However, Japanese aircraft losses, in the air and on the assembly line, have only recently begun to mount higher than the monthly production rate, and it is too early to assume that the enemy's first-line air strength has fallen dangerously low. General Chennault has a more plausible explanation: the Japanese are shifting aircraft to Manchuria. Such a shift would be of a piece with the shift of ground forces in continental Asia toward the same region—the innermost redoubt of the powerful defensive triangle from which the Japanese will have to meet the major blow of a Red Army offensive when it comes. Like everyone else, the Japanese must suspect that this will be a high-priority item on the agenda of the Big Three.

WHILE STRENGTH IS GATHERED FOR THESE MAIN thrusts toward the Japanese heart, peripheral offensives far from Tokyo are being fought which must seem anything but peripheral to the Allied troops who are doing the fighting. One is killed no deader over Tokyo making headlines than in forgotten New Guinea, where Australian troops are still heavily engaged, with only about half the island cleared of the enemy. Other Australians are doing an excellent job of rewinning the Balikpapan oil fields on Borneo—an operation which may pay fairly quick dividends in the form of shortened supply lines for oil. In Burma, completely out of the news, the enemy is counter-attacking in an effort to establish a defense line covering the approaches to Thailand and Indo-China, but neither he nor the monsoon has been able to halt the advance of the British Fourteenth Army. When the monsoon is over, two months from now, this battle-wise force, two-thirds of which is Indian, will be joined by the new Twelfth Army in operations which, though perhaps peripheral, are essential to the successful conclusion of the war against Japan.

*

THE MOST EXCITING NEWS FROM WASHINGTON last week was the absence of excitement at the Senate hearings on the United Nations charter. This was the event that summoned memories of the great betrayal of twenty-five years ago. Last week, the astonishing thing was the absence of any substantial opposition. The opponents represented a handful of dissenters and commanded no important following. Those who testified in favor of the Charter spoke for millions in all parts of the country. One or two Senators asked a few questions; there were no indications that there would be any serious Senatorial dissent when it comes up for vote some time next week. Even the question of the powers of the American representative on the security council, which was raised last week, is not likely to lead to any serious debate. This unanimity throughout the country and in the Senate is something more than a spontaneous change of heart since the bitter days of the isolationist rampage before Pearl Harbor. The war, of course, has had a lot to do with hoisting sky-high the isolationist delusion. But of even greater importance has been the solid educational work carried on by all kinds of organizations interested in assuring America's participation, fully and without reservation, in the world organization. The State Department's campaign to inform people of the meaning of Dumbarton Oaks also had its effect. Perhaps most important of all was the decision of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull to call on the Republican Party leadership to assume active responsibility in the sponsorship of the charter. The solid Republican bloc which kept America out of the first League shows no signs of materializing, chiefly because Senator Vandenberg, a bitter critic of the Roosevelt Administration, has been converted into a sincere advocate of the Charter. It has taken twenty-five years and a second world war, but out of time and trial the nation has learned some world geography and a little political wisdom into the bargain.

*

BEFORE PRESIDENT TRUMAN ARRIVED IN BERLIN important steps were taken to create an atmosphere conducive to friendly and frank discussion. The tangle that had developed over the joint administration of the giant waste city was resolved by giving supreme authority over the four zones of occupation to a Kommandatur made up of representatives of the four main powers. Already there have been adjustments to lessen the discrepancies between the policies of the Soviet Union and those of the Western Allies. If within Berlin the four powers can arrive at a workable common policy, then the capital may turn out to be a school for inter-Allied cooperation in Germany as a whole. The larger zones of occupation can no more be isolated from one another than the zones within Berlin's limits. Even now it has been found economically necessary to link Berlin—an island in the Russian zone—to the American and British areas, since the Russian zone is incapable of producing sufficient food. And if reason demands the working out of a common economic policy, so also a common political policy must be devised. At the moment, ironically enough, it is the Russians who are encouraging free political discussion and organization, while American AMG officers, for whatever reason, appear intent on preserving a political vacuum. The Eisenhower-Montgomery order easing the non-fraternization ban should do something to bring together Russian and Anglo-American practice, but obviously the larger question of a common Allied policy must be placed high in the agenda of the Postdam conference.

*

ONE PROBLEM FOR WHICH THE BIG THREE MUST find at least a provisional solution is the future of the Germans now living in the Sudetenland and in the territories claimed by Poland. Both the Polish and Czech governments have begun to deal with this matter unilaterally by deportations, and both have announced a policy of ridding these regions of all Germans. So far as Poland is concerned, its western boundaries have yet to be fixed by the peace conference, which must also decide the fate of the inhabitants of any lands assigned to Poland. The position of the Sudetenland is different since this is territory stolen from Czechoslovakia which has been recovered. Yet in this case, too, the disposition of the German population cannot be regarded as purely a Czech problem. Thrusting some ten million landless, propertyless Germans from these two areas into the diminished Reich will enormously increase the difficulty of contriving any solution for the economic problems of that country—a matter of concern for all the United Nations and particularly for those with the responsibility of occupying and administering Germany. Moreover, such wholesale transfers of populations will mean an immediate, if not permanent, loss of production, increasing the strain on the resources of the rest of the world. Until Poles and Czechs can be found to take the place of the expelled Germans, fields will go untilled, coal unmined, and factories unproductive. According to reports, the provisional Polish government is planning to move some two and one-half million Poles into areas which have supported more than six million. It is doubtful whether even this quota can be filled by voluntary methods. Peasants do not move readily. There is hopeful talk of the "re-immigration of Poles from abroad," but how many of the millions in America, for instance, are likely to be attracted by offers of land in Pomerania?

IN ANNOUNCING THE BREAKDOWN OF THE Simla Conference, the Viceroy of India, Lord Wavell, asked that there be no recriminations. "The responsibility for the failure," he said, "is mine. The main idea underlying the conference was mine and I cannot place the blame for its failure on any of the parties." This was a wise and tactful statement, but actually the main cause of the deadlock was the instransigence of the Moslem League and its leader, Mohammed Ali Jinnah. Lord Wavell's proposals for the reconstruction of the Indian government on representative lines, as a first step toward the renewal of constitutional discussions, provided that "caste Hindus" and Moslems should each have one-third of the places, with the remainder divided among the Untouchables, the Sikhs, and other minor communities. This plan was more than fair to the Moslems, but Jinnah was not prepared to cooperate unless only Moslems nominated by the League were appointed to the Cabinet. The All-India Congress, which has a Moslem president and claims a large Moslem membership, obviously could not accept this condition; nor could the Viceroy, on whose prerogative it encroached. Mr. Jinnah justified his stand on the ground that he represented 90 per cent of the Moslems. Most observers believe this claim to be very inflated, but it needs to be tested. The best method would be to hold new elections for the provincial assemblies, which have mostly been in a state of suspended animation since 1939. The Simla Conference has, at least, reestablished relations between the Congress leaders and the Viceroy, who seems to have convinced everyone of his sincere anxiety to forward Indian aspirations for self-government. A small flame of good-will has been lit; it would burn more strongly if the remaining political prisoners were released. But above all, some new initiative is needed to lift India out of the sterile morass of communal squabbles.

* * *

THE VETERAN-VERSUS-LABOR SITUATION IS serious enough without John Rankin maliciously stirring it up with a bill to exempt veterans from the necessity of joining a union in an organized plant. The bill is ostensibly designed to insure the veteran a job; actually it is intended to smash unions and lower the bargaining power of all workers, including veterans. For if the bill that Rankin sneaked through the House Veterans' Committee when most of its members were absent ever became law it would only invite the use of returning veterans as strike-breakers. And after strike and union were broken, what would become of the rights of the veteran as a worker in industry? As the June 15 bulletin of the American Veterans' Committee puts it, with reference to similar legislation proposed in California: "What [the veterans] probably would receive, in return for the privilege of not having to join a union, is a return to the good old days of lowered wages, worsened working conditions, wildcat strikes, violence on the picket lines, jurisdictional disputes between competing unions, and cheap scab labor driving them off their jobs." The belated "minority" protest of the majority of the committee members should have some effect in making the House hesitate before jamming through a measure so packed with dynamite. It is utterly characteristic of Rankin that he drafted his bill in spite of a report issued by former Veterans Administrator Frank T. Hines, which stated that such legislation was quite unnecessary to guarantee veterans a job. This report came out of a nine-man committee made up of representatives of the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the Department of Commerce, the A. F. of L., the C. I. O., the Railroad Brotherhoods, and three veterans' associations, including the American Legion.

* * *

MILLIONS OF NEW YORKERS WHO HAVE BEEN deprived of their daily papers for more than two weeks by a strike of newspaper deliverymen may well cry "a plague on both your houses." They are the victims of a collision between a tough and unreasonable union and a tough bunch of employers anxious to seize an opportunity to "put the workers in their place." The men's organization—the independent Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Union—has adopted a foolish strategy by defying the War Labor Board. It claims, however, that the nub of its dispute with the publishers—a demand for a 3 per cent payroll levy for a welfare fund—cannot be acted upon by the WLB, whose policy is not to order such clauses in contracts, though it will approve them if freely negotiated. The publishers, well aware of this fact, have insisted nevertheless that the issue must be certified to the WLB. If they had really wanted to avoid the strike they might have offered to arbitrate this point. They have preferred, however, to settle comfortably into a pillbox behind the WLB, whence they broadcast unctuous statements about the wickedness of the union in disobeying government orders. They forget how much they themsleves (the New York *Post* excepted) have done to undermine the authority of the WLB when it has cracked down on recalcitrant employers. Remember how they hailed the heroism of Sewell Avery! Now having got a ruling from the WLB that the old closed-shop contract with the union is null and void, the publishers are threatening all the men with dismissal. Just how they are going to recruit replacements is not quite clear; 1,700 strike-breakers are not easy to come by in these days. Perhaps the publishers will be content to sit tight, hoping the union will weaken when its funds run low. They know that the paper they are now accumulating can be used to sell extra advertising later on, while what they are losing in revenue they are saving in taxation. They do not have to depend on "virtue" for their rewards.

* * *

ON JULY 16, 1945, THE NEW YORK *TIMES* revealed in a special dispatch from Rome that on November 28, 1938, a distinguished Jewish author and publisher, Angelo Fortunato Formiggini, had committed suicide by leaping from the campanile of Torre Ghirlandina in Modena, but because he was an anti-Fascist Jew "not a word about it ever appeared in the papers." The *Times* is to be congratulated on catching up on the meaning of fascism, for on January 28, 1939, a letter in *The Nation* told of Formiggini's tragic death. It concluded: "His death was a protest against the senseless brutality of racial persecution. But no newspaper dared to print the news of his death, for the names of Jews, even in obituary notices, must no longer contaminate the columns of the Fascist press. (Signed) Michele Cantarello, Max Salvadore."

Power Politics in the Middle East

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

An attempt to explain the conflict in the Middle East in simple terms of Gaullist intransigence or British ambition is worse than useless. No situation today is more complex; none illustrates better the multiform tensions between the powers and the obstacles that block understanding.

The British, having taken over the enforcement of "order" in the Levant, stolidly maintain that the dispute is a local one between the French and the Levantine republics. This is manifestly untrue. First, the world knows the record of British intervention from the period of Lawrence and his Arab raiders down to the present. French-British rivalry forms the big-power background to all the unrest in the Levant and conditions every statement made by any official of either country. Less well known are the economic roots of that rivalry. Some day, I hope in these pages, the full story of commercial intrigue in the Middle East, centering largely around oil, will be told in all its lurid detail. It is a story that involves the United States and explains our government's consistent indorsement of Britain's acts in Syria and Lebanon in 1943 and today. The source material for the story is buried in company reports and State Department and Foreign Office files, but when it has been dug out it will be far more enlightening than the public pronouncements of heads of states.

The French, outraged at Britain's bland assumption of "impartiality," maintain that the dispute is not essentially between them and the local authorities at all. They had, they insist, practically restored order when the British intervened, and since then the British have conspicuously failed to prevent widespread brutal attacks on isolated outposts, on French civilians, on disarmed French troops. They reiterate their charge—flatly denied by Churchill—that the British themselves supplied arms to Syrian rioters and that British agents are still busy stirring up trouble. They point out that French troops charged with attacks on Syrians are, in almost every instance, Syrians belonging to the *troupes speciales*. Very well; one may accept the French case or dispute it, but even if every accusation against the British were substantiated, there remains the fact of native unrest put down forcibly by French arms. It is true that the French had voluntarily acknowledged Syrian and Lebanese independence and were trying to negotiate treaties which would protect their special interests, as Britain has done in Iraq and Egypt. But suspicion of French intentions remained. The politicians of Damascus needed no instigation by foreign agents; they seized upon the first plausible pretext to proclaim their grievances, refuse further negotiations with the French, and rally the British, who were not reluctant.

Behind all this local activity stands the rather ambiguous silhouette of the new Arab federation. This league of Moslem nations may have been a British invention, but it is rapidly developing a character of its own. For while it may be true, as old Middle East hands insist, that the Arab states can never carry out a unified positive policy, it is equally true that the league is adept at showing publicly a single face to the West. And its leaders are masters of the art of expediency, capable of welcoming British intervention in Syria and Lebanon while preparing to knife the British in Palestine and Egypt. Only the other day the Paris press carried a London dispatch describing the spread of tension from Syria into Palestine, where both Jews and Arabs were said to be armed, and pointing out that only a "strong British force" could guarantee order there. One can imagine the reaction to this report of Arab leaders primed with pious British pronouncements in favor of Arab independence—in areas of French influence!

British-French rivalry and Arab nationalism are the main ingredients of the struggle for power that has, momentarily, centered in Syria. They are not the only ones. Less visible but never to be ignored is the growing influence of Russia. Its interest in the Middle East is far more immediate than that of the United States. Russia has made demands on Turkey for a more favorable position in the Dardanelles. Russia has demanded a hand in Tangier. Russia is interested in oil, like the other powers. Indeed, Russia's firm determination to share in the future control of the Mediterranean basin can no longer be questioned. Toward the Syrian dispute Moscow has so far taken a reserved attitude. It insists on the independence of the Levant states but is not willing to see French influence supplanted by British. It may be assumed, however, that Russia will take a hand in any settlement that goes beyond the immediate, local issues.

Today the newspapers hopefully assume that a settlement is near. The French, with what grace they could muster, announced last week that within forty-five days they would turn over to Syria and Lebanon the special forces recruited in those countries. Direct negotiations with the British and the two Levantine republics have been under way for some days in an attempt to settle the outstanding immediate issues. But it would be a mistake to assume that any fundamental solutions have been found. What all this adds up to, of course, is surrender by the French of their cherished position in the Levant. They have backed out because they had not the power to remain; they have yielded to major force. And they will not forget. Undoubtedly they will do their best to retrieve what they can of their commercial and cultural investment in Syria and Lebanon. The atmosphere that surrounds their retirement is one of resentment, however it may be described in the cables. The underlying rivalries, the conflicts of interest that lie at the back of the whole dispute, remain untouched. A breach has been opened between the two leading European democracies just when unity is most needed.

There is only one possible way of salvaging the situation—the way proposed by De Gaulle and refused by Churchill and Truman more than a month ago. No matter what local agreements may be made, the larger problem of the Middle East should be taken up at a general conference of the interested powers, including Russia and the United States.

For the issues involved are neither merely local, as the British have tried to persuade us, nor merely between Britain and France, as the French sometimes claim. The issues reach out to the edges of the Arab world and beyond.

They interest all the major nations of Europe, and the United States as well. In their solution will be found the fate of the Jews of Palestine as well as of the Christians in Lebanon. The security of a critical strategic area is at stake, with decisions to be reached regarding bases and the presence of Western armed forces. It is easy to talk about withdrawing the French army from the Levant; is Britain prepared to leave the policing of the whole Middle East to the local Arab governments? This question will have to be answered very quickly now that France has made its applauded gesture of conciliation.

Under whatever guise it operates, Western colonialism in the Eastern Mediterranean is a poor expedient. But its faults will not be cured by shoving one power out of control and installing another in its place. The British say they do not want to do this in the Levant. Perhaps not, but in effect they have already done it. And in the process they have precipitated the whole question of mandates and special treaty rights so carefully avoided at San Francisco. Only a conference called for the specific purpose can effectively deal with this question, and it is such a conference the French have demanded. It should not be postponed much longer, for certainly the conflict in the Middle East is one problem that cannot be dealt with at Potsdam. For France is not represented there.

The Specter of Famine

CLINTON P. ANDERSON, the new Secretary of Agriculture, has told us with admirable candor that the food situation is bad, that there is little hope of its early improvement, and that it may easily take a turn for the worse. The present most serious domestic worry is the corn crop, which threatens to be the smallest since 1941 and well below the demand. Shortage of corn means a smaller production of meat, milk, butter, and eggs. It means also increased pressure on other cereal crops and the diversion of wheat to stock-feeding. But wheat is the one primary food which we are able to supply to Europe in quantities which have some relation to needs. If wheat shipments to the liberated countries had to be curtailed, it might prove impossible to avert widespread famine.

Already Herbert H. Lehman, director general of UNRRA, has prophesied "catastrophe" in Europe next winter unless there are greater sacrifices by those of the United Nations which are comparatively well supplied. Recently UNRRA has been forced to make drastic downward revisions in its delivery schedules. Yugoslavia, which has been receiving food relief at an average rate of 41,000 tons monthly, is to be reduced shortly to 15,000 tons. Its estimated minimum needs are 90,000 tons. Louis Swenson, coordinator of procurement for UNRRA, has stated recently that practically no fats or oils, "the foods that starving people most crave," have yet been sent to Europe. Brazil had promised 10,000 tons of cotton-seed oil, but local demand has been heavy and export permits have not been granted. Meanwhile the United States has canceled a commitment to supply 200,000,000 pounds of canned and fat pork after furnishing only 14,000,000.

Mr. Anderson, in the speech already referred to, said correctly that "America cannot feed the whole world." He added, however, that we must do whatever we can, not only for Europe's sake but for our own. The peaceful resettlement of Europe is very much an American interest, and it will prove a tough enough task unattended by famine and pestilence. If Americans could see for themselves the conditions in many parts of Europe they might understand how incomparably better off they are and be prepared to accept shorter rations of some commodities. As it is, too many of us grumble because we cannot get our accustomed foods in the accustomed quantities and express resentment that any scarce goods are shipped abroad at all. We hope that President Truman, who undoubtedly will spend much of his time in Berlin discussing food problems, will report faithfully to the nation when he returns and dramatize the necessity of affording more aid even if it means tightening our own belts a little.

This problem has not taken the world by surprise. In 1943 the conference of the United Nations which launched UNRRA foresaw the urgent need of relief when the war ended and proposed to meet it by a new form of international collaboration. The results have been extremely disappointing, and UNRRA itself is being made the whipping boy. But as John Corson shows in an article on another page, the organization has been hamstrung by the military authorities, on whom it was dependent for supplies and shipping space, and constantly hindered by the political maneuverings of the big powers and the political fears of the small.

One of its greatest handicaps is that it has not been afforded the means to carry out rehabilitation, which, properly organized, could do much to scale down the size of its relief job. Nothing can be done now about the current European harvest, which is much below normal, but if the danger of famine is not to continue into the winter of 1946-7, more help must be given to Europeans to help themselves. That means larger shipments of seed, fertilizer, tools, and, above all, transport facilities, since it is no use having food on the farms if it cannot be transported to the cities. Beyond this, steps should be taken to increase the supply of staple consumers' goods in Europe by making available more raw materials and machinery. Farmers must be given a greater incentive to produce; if the money they get for their crops cannot be used to buy clothing, household equipment, and other necessities, they are not likely to exert themselves to raise output. Food is Europe's most immediate need, but its supply cannot be fenced off from other problems. Relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction must march hand in hand.

We apologize to our readers for an unfortunate error in an editorial two weeks ago when it was stated that Mr. Grew was "wholly without European experience." It is true that Mr. Grew was out of direct touch with Europe during the momentous days when Hitler was building and expanding the Third Reich, the days of appeasement, the days leading up to and away from Munich. From 1932 to 1941 Mr. Grew was in Tokyo. But before that Mr. Grew had served in Turkey, Switzerland, Denmark, France, Austria, and other countries—in fact, had had rather a wide European experience.

Negrin's Plan for Spain

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Mexico City, July 15

THE arrival of Negrín in Mexico brings to a sharp issue one of the chief political problems left unsettled by the war—the problem of replacing the fascist Spanish regime with a democratic regime entitled to admission into the United Nations. News from inside Spain and the Big Three meeting, at which, according to reliable reports, Spain is to be discussed, have intensified public interest in the conversations beginning here this week with a view to reaching an agreement among the Republicans. These talks coincide with frantic attempts on the part of Spanish fascism to delay its collapse by a change of façade. Ministers like Arrese, secretary of the Falange, who in Hitler's time enjoyed the special favor of the Führer, have been removed in order to create a Cabinet free of notorious Falangists. Should it prove necessary, the Falange itself will be dissolved. Everything possible will be attempted to provide that section of Allied diplomacy which is hostile to the Republic with "proof" that a "new regime" has come to power in Spain and, consequently, that the San Francisco resolution is no longer valid.

All these facts taken together furnish an incentive for Republicans to overcome their differences. The desire for unity overshadows every other consideration. And the man who appears to the mass of refugees best fitted to bring them together automatically becomes their leader. For the great majority here, that man is Negrín. This explains why, had he chosen to reveal the hour of his arrival in Mexico, an immense public demonstration of welcome would have taken place. A similar ovation would have greeted him had he been willing to address a public meeting. But Negrín wanted no reception. He was determined to arrive quietly, just as he had arrived in San Francisco and in Washington. He left the plane at Monterrey and continued to Mexico City by car. It was a disappointment to the great mass of Spaniards, but they have found a certain compensation in discussing in packed coffee-houses what Negrín plans to do.

The first thing he will do is visit President Avila Camacho. After that he will preside at a meeting of the Cabinet with all those members now in Mexico, several of whom will later participate in a meeting of the executive of the Socialist Party, of which Negrín and I are members. Then he will begin negotiations with the different groups.

I am now in a position to reveal for the first time Dr. Negrín's plan for Spain, about which so much speculation has been going on since he left England in January to go to France.

Until a few months ago Dr. Negrín had consistently opposed any change in the government which, under his leadership, had conducted the war and which had continued, even after the defeat, to regard itself as the legal government of Spain. He had no objection to replacing one or two ministers who for various reasons had voluntarily resigned their Cabinet posts when the government left Spain. But he believed that a complete change of government in exile would be extremely dangerous. And this for the following reasons:

1. The controlling influence of public opinion, essential to the effective functioning of every truly democratic regime, was necessarily lacking after the government was forced to abandon national territory.

2. Even if a new government could have been created in strict conformity with the constitution, it would have required extraordinary precautions to prevent a situation in which the executive—the most delicate arm of government in a parliamentary system—could exercise arbitrary powers which would weaken and discredit republican institutions.

3. Once the government that left Spain had been altered, there would have been no guaranty that new crises would not arise, producing a succession of governments during the period of exile. This, obviously, would have damaged the Republic's prestige and weakened its authority.

4. Even if the personal animosities and differences produced during the period of exile were overcome, they had already created an atmosphere which would make the solution of pressing political problems extremely difficult. No government created under these conditions could have counted upon the united support of the parties and organizations, all of which have been subdivided into contending factions.

5. The authority of Parliament has suffered during the past few years as the result of attempts by some of the Republican leaders to use it in their factional maneuvers.

6. Any general change in the government would have meant a corresponding dilution of responsibility. It has been one of the chief contentions of Dr. Negrín that, no matter how long the period of exile lasted, the legal government had an obligation to give an accounting to the Spanish people and submit itself to their judgment.

7. Not only would responsibility have been diluted, but, even worse, differences of conduct among the individual leaders would have been blurred. It is most important for the future of the Republic that every leader be held to strict account for his own behavior; a change of government would tend to put everyone on the same basis.

8. No government re-created in exile could enjoy the *formal authority* of the government formed in Spain in 1937, which received a unanimous vote of confidence from Parliament shortly before it was forced to abandon national territory in January, 1939. Parliament, moreover, on that occasion—the historic meeting at Figueras—ordered the government to continue its mission even if it had to leave Spain. Nor could any regime set up in exile claim the *moral authority* of the "Government of Resistance" which fought

until the last possible day in Spain; and when forced to leave, continued abroad the same policy it had followed during the war with the approval of the people, Parliament, and the President of the Republic.

For all these reasons Dr. Negrín was opposed to changing the government while it continued in exile. He still maintains this point of view. But he is enough of a realist to recognize that the campaign carried on against the government during these years by certain factions of the political parties and by certain individuals has reduced its capacity to act effectively, especially on international matters. Because of these dissensions he has been forced to limit his functions as Prime Minister, speaking only on those occasions when he felt morally obliged to do so. Obviously this situation cannot be allowed to continue now that the Spanish issue has come to the point of imminent decision. Dr. Negrín has therefore reluctantly agreed to the necessity of changing the government without further delay. A regime must be organized which can command the unequivocal support of the majority of Spanish Republicans in order to direct the fight inside Spain and to promote the cause of the Republic outside.

The first thing to be done is to fill the vacant post of the Presidency of the Republic. For until there is a Chief of State to whom the Prime Minister can offer his resignation, the change cannot be made constitutionally. Señor Azaña's resignation in February, 1939, left Spain without a President. Señor Martinez Barrio, who, as president of the Cortes, would have succeeded Azaña until the next presidential election, refused to do so. The government, which had moved to Madrid in order to continue the resistance in the Central Zone, invited Señor Martinez Barrio, then in Paris, to come to the capital. He imposed certain conditions, which the government accepted. But he remained in Paris. In the meantime Casado's Madrid putsch occurred, organized by British and French agents in the very spirit of Munich capitulation. The government was obliged to leave the country, but as soon as it arrived in France, Dr. Negrín again requested Martinez Barrio to become Provisional President. He again declined. A few weeks later he resigned as president of the Cortes, turning over his functions to one of the vice-presidents. Therefore, the first step that must now be taken in Mexico is to name a Provisional President of the Republic.

The republican constitution provides the means for doing this. According to its by-laws a quorum of a hundred members is required for the election of a president of the Chamber of Deputies, who then automatically becomes the Provisional President of the Republic. When Dr. Negrín is asked, in conversations here, who he thinks should be elected, he always answers that it is up to Parliament to decide; but personally he thinks that the best solution, under existing circumstances, would be to instal Señor Martinez Barrio in his former post. The process of changing the government is already complicated enough without introducing the problem of finding a new president of the Cortes.

The one thing on which Dr. Negrín insists is that the change be made constitutionally—not through excessive legalism but because he is convinced that adherence to the republican constitution will strengthen the government's position at home and abroad. Take, for example, the question of extra-territoriality. Legally the Cortes can exercise its functions only in a place where it possesses sovereignty. Extraterritorial rights, even when they have not been established through legal codes or treaties, have frequently been granted by many countries. The most recent example is that of Great Britain, where all the governments and parliaments in exile set up in London during the war exercised sovereign rights in their official premises.

In the case of Spain several solutions could be applied. Mexico, which has refused recognition to the Franco regime, could authorize the use of the former Spanish embassy for the meeting of the Cortes; or it might declare any other place where the Cortes convened Spanish territory for the duration of the session. There is even the possibility that the deputies may come together on a ship flying the Spanish flag and anchored beyond the five-mile limit.

Once the Provisional President of the Republic is elected, the political crisis can be resolved by constitutional means. Should Dr. Negrín be confirmed in the post of Prime Minister, he would, in line with his policy of Republican unity, attempt to form the broadest possible coalition government. Only those Republican groups would be excluded which excluded themselves. Dr. Negrín would want the representation in such a government of all parties, trade-union organizations, and even their various subdivisions formed during the period of exile. He would also urge the participation of outstanding national leaders. Only men who prepared or aided the rebellion would be left out. This automatically excludes Gil Robles, leader of the ultra-reactionary clerical party, Acción Popular, who was involved in the revolt of July, 1936, although he early broke with Franco and took refuge in Portugal. It also excludes Colonel Casado, author of the 1939 coup—which was no less an act of rebellion than the Franco uprising itself.

The thing Dr. Negrín hopes to obtain through his conversations here in Mexico is an agreement on certain vital issues. He has always insisted that it is more exact to talk about agreement than about unity. Absolute unity at this moment on all the complex problems facing the Republic, both in exile and after its return to Spain, is impossible. The Spanish Republic is not a single-party regime. It is a democracy in which each party has its own ideas about the republic of tomorrow. The issues on which agreement should now be reached are:

1. Coordination of efforts inside and outside Spain to hasten the liberation of the Spanish people and the reestablishment of the Republic.

2. An amnesty which opens the way for a general policy of national reconciliation.

3. Election in Spain of a new Parliament—with the least possible delay after liberation.

4. Continuation of the policy of solidarity with the United Nations, of which the Republic feels morally a part.

To his present mission in Mexico Dr. Negrín brings a record of detachment from the internal conflicts of the emigration. He has always insisted that there are issues which the Spanish people alone can decide, and that these should not be aired abroad. As a result of this attitude Dr. Negrín has been accused of inactivity even by some of his closest friends and followers. But now, because of his silence in the midst of factional dispute, he is in an excellent position to carry out the task of conciliation he has undertaken here.

During his visit to France early this winter there was not a single Republican party or group, not a single individual who had taken an active part in the Spanish political and labor movements, whom Dr. Negrín failed to approach. Nor did he ignore those who had distinguished themselves by opposing his policies during the war and after; indeed, he even visited and sought the agreement of men who had denounced and slandered him.

In Mexico Dr. Negrín will follow the same course. His dominating concern is to bring about the restoration of the Republic with a minimum of violence and to establish rapidly the peace and order necessary for reconstructing the country. If his plan were put to a vote, an overwhelming majority of Spanish Republicans would support it. In fact, it is hard to see how it can be opposed, especially since he refuses to make an issue of his own retention of the Premiership. He is determined to facilitate the formation of a government under any Republican leader chosen according to constitutional requirements; with only one condition—that the new regime is truly inclusive and represents substantial agreement among the Republican groups. Dr. Negrín will oppose a solution that excludes any party or labor organization that fought to the end in defense of the Republic, first, because such exclusion would be morally unjustified, and, secondly, because he wishes Spain to avoid the experience of Greece, where civil war followed close on the heels of liberation. While it goes without saying that Dr. Negrín would, if it became necessary, fight for the reestablishment of the Republic with the same determination that he displayed in defending it against Axis aggression, he will do everything in his power to create peace in Spain and harmony among Spaniards. He looks upon this as essential if Spain is to play the part it should in the rebuilding of Europe.

We Spaniards are not interested only in bringing back the Republic and enjoying a deserved peace after nine years of war—because for us the war that began in 1936 is not yet over. We are not indulging in quixotic fancies when we claim that no country understands better than Spain the meaning of the fight against fascism. Political victory in this world war is far from won, and we know that Spain can help immeasurably to win it. We are not arrogant, but we are confident; our record gives us the right to believe in the contribution the Spanish Republic can make to the democratic reconstruction of the world. A Republican government in exile must be formed now to carry out this program and to break the present diplomatic stalemate that operates to keep the Franco regime in power.

At the San Francisco conference the first official steps were taken to present the case of the Spanish Republic to the governments of the United Nations. In addition to the direct, personal activities of the Republican Prime Minister and myself, and to negotiations which cannot now be discussed, a letter was addressed to the four chairmen of the conference on April 27. This communication, which has not been made public until now, reads as follows:

> Mr. President: As a Minister of the constitutional government of Spain, and by decision of the government, I have the honor to express to Your Excellency the most categorical reservation in regard to the decision to consider Spain a neutral country in the present world war, thus preventing its participation in the San Francisco Conference.
>
> Such a decision ignores the fact that during three years, and before any other European people, the people of Spain fought alone against German-Italian totalitarianism in defense of its independence and its democratic institutions; it ignores also the fact that neither the Spanish people nor their legitimate representatives ever yielded or gave up the fight.
>
> Conscious, nevertheless, of the great responsibilities which in the present hour rest upon all of us, I limit myself to expressing this reservation to Your Excellency and to stating our solemn protest, without adding any petition or demand, since we take into account that two of the inviting powers and a considerable number of participating powers maintain relations with the regime of force established in our country by the rebels as a consequence of an internal aggression provoked by Mussolini and Hitler in a form and under conditions identical with those used by fascism in its later attacks on other countries.
>
> Accept, Mr. President, the expression of my highest consideration. (*Signed*) JULIO ALVAREZ DEL VAYO,
> Foreign Minister of the Spanish Republic

The resolution introduced by the Mexican delegation excluding the Franco dictatorship from the World Security Organization was approved by acclamation. It will be immensely useful in exposing to the people of the whole world the character of the present Spanish regime. But it might also have produced decisive practical results had the legitimate government of Spain been able to speak for all Republican groups. In that case the nations which have never recognized, or have broken relations with, the Franco regime might well have issued statements in support of the Republic which would have been equivalent to recognition. Public opinion in the United States, always sympathetic to the Republic, would have been galvanized into action; there would have been swift repercussions in London; and a new chain of events would have been initiated that would have fully exploited the diplomatic value of the San Francisco resolution.

But the disunity of the Spanish Republicans has prevented even nations favorably disposed toward our cause from taking positive steps toward recognition. No government wishes to give the appearance of supporting one exile political group against another. This is true even of Mexico, which more than any other country has demonstrated its ardent sympathy for the Republican position. Both President Avila Camacho and former President Lazaro Cárdenas have done their utmost for the Spanish Republic. But their efforts have been hampered by the conflicting claims of various factions. Other governments less favorably disposed have used these divisions as a welcome pretext to avoid taking the logical step after San Francisco—breaking relations with Franco.

Because Dr. Negrín's visit to Mexico holds out the hope that, through reconciliation of divergent elements, a peaceful restoration of the Republic can be brought about, the great mass of Spanish exiles, here and everywhere, are following his activities with passionate interest.

Can UNRRA Stop Famine?

BY JOHN CORSON

AMID the rejoicing over the signing of the United Nations Charter there sounds a discouraging, realistic note. It is the voice of Herbert H. Lehman, director general of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Governor Lehman pleads for real international collaboration—not the kind that is concluded with the signing of a charter, but the kind that will deliver food, clothing, and medicines to the victims of this war.

Less than two years ago there was similar rejoicing when the agreement creating UNRRA was signed. In it the United Nations promised to collaborate in bringing prompt relief to the war-ravaged countries. But though these countries have been liberated, their peoples continue to suffer. Reports accumulate of hunger, cold, distress, starvation, and death. International collaboration has not yet fed or clothed these people as well as the Germans did. And in the coming winter food, clothing, and coal will be scarcer in Europe than in any other winter for decades. Has the UNRRA failed to measure up to its job or is international collaboration already faltering?

Look back over the past two years. A committee representing all European Allied governments and the United States estimated as early as September, 1943, the minimum amount of "foodstuffs, raw materials, and articles of prime necessity" needed in each Allied country during the six months following liberation. But Allied military authorities, who controlled shipping and supplies, never accepted the responsibility of providing for these minimum needs. Rather, they scaled down the estimates of food and other basic imports for civilian populations to an amount calculated to be sufficient "to prevent disease and unrest."

Not even supplies sufficient to prevent "disease and unrest" have been provided. Last autumn the Allied leaders decided that the liberated peoples would be aided most by knocking out Germany finally, completely, and immediately. Hence the bulk of all supplies was given to the armies. Civilians were allotted only the bare minimum necessary to prevent disorder. If the war had ended in Europe sixty days after this decision, the choice would have been justified; as the war continued, people in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Greece, and elsewhere starved on hopes.

Take France, for example. During the six months following liberation the military authorities shipped in for civilians 262,150 tons of food, clothing, medical supplies, and petroleum. This volume represented *less than one-fifth* of the supplies estimated to be necessary "to prevent disease and unrest." And the need was greater than had been estimated. But there were not enough ships to bring supplies both for the armies and for French civilians.

The Allied radio had promised that relief would be available after liberation. "Strike down your oppressors and win both freedom and food" was the line. Military government and the distribution of food, clothing, and medicine by soldiers was not what these long-suffering people were led to expect. But UNRRA, in each country, instead of doing the emergency job of civilian relief for which it was organized, has had to await the military's pleasure.

The governments of the liberated areas themselves have also kept UNRRA waiting. France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Norway announced that they would not require UNRRA's assistance. And the first resolution adopted by the representatives of the forty-four collaborating nations that make up the UNRRA Council dictates that UNRRA shall not operate in any country unless the government of that country requests aid.

But why should these governments, whose peoples are suffering, not request aid? In the first place, each of the Western European countries had substantial balances of foreign exchange with which supplies could be bought, and they proudly believed that, when liberated, they could cope with the urgent needs of their own people. Then, too, the men who made up these exiled governments feared that reliance on "outsiders" would weaken their position at home.

In the second place, UNRRA's resolutions require each nation that requests aid to pass a "means test"—that is, the nation must reveal its resources to representatives of five other nations and must take a "pauper's oath" that it is unable to pay for aid in foreign exchange. Nations, like individuals, can be dissuaded from seeking relief by the application of a means test.

In the third place, these governments allege that they fear UNRRA's encroachment on their national sovereignty. Marshal Tito, for example, refused for months to accept aid for Yugoslavia, fearing that the presence of Allied staff members in his country to observe that the supplies were distributed equitably, as UNRRA's charter requires, would abridge the national sovereignty of Yugoslavia. China eagerly looked for supplies but asked why UNRRA should want an office in China and a nuclear staff to report on the use made of these supplies. Similarly, Premier Osubka Morawski of the new Polish Provisional Government objected to having UNRRA's representatives visit Poland and received the backing of the Soviet Union.

Taxpayers in this country, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and Brazil view UNRRA as an agency through which their philanthropy is distributed. But the heads of state in liberated countries have a different view. They believe assistance is due their peoples for resisting or throwing back the common enemy. If as sovereign members of the fraternity of the United Nations they are to receive aid, they insist it be on their terms. Only Greece, destitute and flat on its back, seeks help without reservation. Mr. Hoover, heading an agency responsible only to itself, could distribute relief on a "take it or leave it" basis. Governor Lehman, distributing relief for an association of nations, must conform not only to the will of the group but to the will of each member nation.

But even if UNRRA had received the cooperation of the military authorities and been welcomed by the governments of the liberated countries, it would have been unable to meet the people's needs. UNRRA simply has not been able yet to translate the promises of its member nations into food, clothing, and medicines. Great Britain agreed to contribute £80,000,000, and Parliament promptly appropriated this sum. The United States agreed to contribute $1,350,000,000 and has already appropriated $800,000,000. Canada has provided $77,000,000. Australia, Brazil, Iceland, Mexico, New Zealand, and others have formally agreed to contribute their respective shares—*90 per cent of which must be used to purchase supplies in the contributing country.* But legislation confirming the UNRRA agreement, or even appropriations, won't fill hungry stomachs or clothe children. Relief means flour or meat unloaded at Le Havre, clothing delivered in Brussels or Antwerp, shoes given out for bare feet in Athens, medical supplies deposited along the Dalmatian coast. UNRRA can go on with its job of aiding the tragically displaced persons of all nationalities to find their way home from Germany, but to discharge its primary duty it must have supplies and ships.

In Great Britain the total production has so far been inadequate to provision the British troops at home and in Europe and to meet the sharply rationed needs of civilians. In Australia available products are insufficient to provision the armies and navies operating in the Pacific, feed the population, and leave any substantial quantities for UNRRA. Even in Brazil, Canada, and Mexico essential food, textiles, and other supplies have been competed for by the armies and local consumers.

The United States' contribution to UNRRA's resources is proportionately no greater than that of our less rich collaborators. Yet it represents UNRRA's principal source of supply. So far the drain on this reservoir has been very small. The real sacrifices ahead only became apparent in March when former "Assistant President" Byrnes created a committee of government executives to consider how a scarce food supply should be distributed. On March 13 three members of the United States Senate rose to demand that the committee should "dam the flow abroad of food" while shortages of meat, butter, and other food staples existed at home. President Roosevelt immediately countered with the hope that the United States would, as a matter of common decency, share its food.

As yet his hope has not been realized. Of 200,000,000 pounds of meat promised to UNRRA for the second half of this year, 14,000,000 pounds are to be made available. UNRRA's requirements of dried fish, milk powder, and dried eggs for babies and mothers and of essential fats have also been drastically cut. If UNRRA is to meet the minimum needs of Europe's liberated peoples during the second half of this year, this country's consumption of evaporated milk, meat, fats, soap, cheese, eggs, and margarine must certainly be curtailed. This is the price of preventing starvation among the Greeks, Yugoslavs, Czechs, Chinese, and Poles. Is the desire of the American people to collaborate in this international humanitarian undertaking equal to the test?

Perhaps the United Nations did not foresee that their pledges of collaboration would be put to such an earthy test. But surely the statesmen who created this new international institution knew that national political and economic interests must be subordinated to the common desire to relieve human distress. UNRRA's experience is hardly a good augury for other international institutions.

First, consider its experience with Poland. In September, 1944, discussions with the Polish government in exile, which had been going on since 1943, were interrupted by a telegram from the "Lublin committee" requesting aid. UNRRA offered to send a group of technical experts at once to survey Poland's needs and plan UNRRA's action. From that moment until the Big Three officially buried the Polish government in exile at Yalta UNRRA was "in the middle." It expressed full willingness to deal with whichever group could bring relief to the Polish people. But supplies could be delivered only through territory of the Soviet Union and to a Poland controlled by the Red Army. For four months, from September, 1944, until February, 1945, just before the Yalta conference, the Soviet Union failed to reply to repeated inquiries as to whether supplies for Poland could be shipped through Soviet territory. The Soviet Union did not grant visas applied for by UNRRA's technical experts in November, 1944, until July, 1945.

Yugoslavia is a second example. Hunger and distress there have been acute, particularly along the Dalmatian coast. Representatives of the Soviet Union vigorously urged, as early as July, 1944, that UNRRA should deliver supplies to Marshal Tito for the small area then liberated. UNRRA was willing. Anglo-American military authorities said it was impracticable to distribute relief in Yugoslavia and refused to turn supplies over to UNRRA for this purpose. But subsequently Allied military authorities negotiated with Tito as to when and how their forces might bring relief to the Yugoslavs. Tito apparently did not relish American and British soldiers distributing relief in his country: his partisans had liberated the land; the Allied armies were not needed to fight Germans. Did not the Anglo-American authorities trust their partisan Yugoslav allies sufficiently to turn over relief supplies? he asked. And he doubtless wondered whether the Anglo-American authorities wanted to have their uniformed forces bring relief in order to counteract the influence reflected in the often-displayed hammer and sickle and the use of the new personal address—"Comrade."

The third and most costly example is Greece. UNRRA's staff went into Greece with the first Anglo-American military forces as the "agents of the military." Two United States Senators, Harold H. Burton of Ohio and James M. Tunnell of Delaware, visited the Middle East shortly after the strife in Greece and had an opportunity to appraise the results of this arrangement. Each reported to his Senate colleagues in February that in his opinion the British military forces "used that relief organization in an improper manner by integrating its representatives with the armed forces." In short, the British made UNRRA's representatives seem benevolent agents of their military forces.

UNRRA's representatives, let it be said to their honor, did their best through the civil strife to see that relief supplies were distributed to both ELAS and government supporters.

Seven UNRRA staff members were shot while carrying on their tasks, and one was killed. But UNRRA lost its impartial international status in the eyes of many of our friends in the Balkans.

To cope with these problems of national pride, competition from the military forces, promises of collaboration only partially met, and international politics, UNRRA has had a devoted but inexperienced staff. UNRRA has brought together 3,000 persons of more than 30 different nationalities. They are located in London, Paris, Cairo, Athens, Rome, Belgrade, Addis Ababa, Rio de Janeiro, Sydney, and Chungking, as well as Washington. Within eighteen months UNRRA has had to mobilize this variegated group, weld them into an integrated efficient unit, and improvise methods of doing its job while actually carrying on the job. That so much is still uncompleted is not surprising.

UNRRA has been severely criticized for its ineffectiveness. Lord Strabolgi in the House of Lords has dubbed it "UNRRA the unready," and Lord Beaverbrook's *Daily Express* lambasts it as a "top-heavy, muscle-bound bureaucracy." American newspapers describe it as poorly organized, over-cautious, over-centralized, and lacking essential imaginative leadership and drive. Having been a part of the organization so recently, I cannot appraise these criticisms objectively. Yet I believe that within a year UNRRA has built as efficient an organization as the time would permit. The machinery still creaks, but less than it did six months ago. Given a chance, Governor Lehman and his colleagues can do the job. To charge UNRRA's failures to weakness of organization is to miss the salutary lessons which its experience teaches.

UNRRA's existence reflects the popular will, throughout the United Nations, to collaborate in making the future world secure. But UNRRA's experience indicates that effective collaboration for relief demands more than good-will. Though its failures are due in part to the unyielding scarcity of essential supplies and ships, they are due also to the unwillingness of the various states to compromise on matters affecting their political and economic interests or to restrain the bureaucrats—in brass hats or in Homburgs—who would substitute their own or their department's policy for this country's avowed policy of international collaboration. The hope of a world made secure by the cooperation of its states in relief, finance, agriculture, civil aviation, and the maintenance of order can be brought nearer realization if advantage is taken of the lessons to be learned from UNRRA. Its experience to date makes the promise of San Francisco appear somewhat less bright.

Ferruccio Parri

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

FERRUCCIO PARRI is fifty-five years old: that is, he belongs to the generation that was twenty-five or thirty when the Fascist movement came to power in Italy. He and his contemporaries saw pre-Fascist Italy, and after the tagic experience of Fascism they can appreciate with a mature mind its faults, which were many, and its merits, which were few. It is they who must assume the gigantic task of rebuilding their country on the ruins caused by twenty-five years of evil and stupidity. It is they who must fight against the domestic and foreign forces which will do everything possible to hinder the second Italian Risorgimento. Ferruccio Parri is one of the best of that generation.

In 1915, when Italy joined the Triple Entente in its war against the Central Powers, Parri was an instructor in history in a high school. Tall, pale, with beautiful dark eyes and a great shock of black hair, as severe with himself as with others in the fulfilment of duty, Parri was adored by his pupils. The free Italy of those days had many similar teachers, men who devoted their lives to study and teaching, content with a humble economic status, incorruptible ministers of the faith in truth which will save mankind. Even in the worst years of tyranny these teachers kept alive the scholastic traditions of the old free Italy.

Parri, like all the best youth of his generation, was an "interventionist": that is, he favored Italy's intervention in the European war. English and French politicians announced that they were not waging war for territorial conquests in Europe or for colonial expansion outside Europe. The European map would be redrawn according to national self-determination. The rights of the smaller nations would be as securely guaranteed as those of the great powers. Parri was one of those who wanted Italy to share the sacrifices in that war which was going to obtain justice for all, and then to get its share of justice. He never supported the campaign waged by the Italian nationalists, the forerunners of the Fascists, for the conquest of Dalmatia. The Italian Risorgimento had stopped at *"Trento e Trieste."* Parri was faithful to that tradition. He wanted no less, but certainly no more. Italy's war with the Central Powers was to be the last war of the Italian Risorgimento and was to give the final touch to national unification.

As a rule teachers in all countries prove excellent officers. For his intelligence and bravery Parri was promoted from lieutenant to captain and then to major. He took part in nine offensives. He was decorated four times for acts of valor and also received the French *Croix de Guerre* and the Italian *Croce per Merito di Guerra.*

He followed President Wilson's work with enthusiasm. When Leonida Bissolati resigned from the Orlando-Sonnino Cabinet because he would not associate himself with its demands for Dalmatia and openly defied the nationalists and Mussolini, Ferruccio Parri took sides with him, while Ivanoe Bonomi, who had been Bissolati's follower and friend, betrayed him by taking his place in the Cabinet.

After his discharge from military service, Parri worked as an assistant editor of the *Corriere della Sera* until November, 1925, when the chief editor, Senator Albertini, was forced to give up his post to a Fascist. Parri refused to work under the new editor, although he was offered an excellent salary. But he did not remain idle. He became secret correspondent of the daily *Corriere degli Italiani,* put out, under the direction of Giuseppe Donati, by anti-Fascists who had taken refuge in France. Almost all the reports from Italy published by this paper in 1926 were the work of Parri.

In November, 1926, the reports ceased. Parri, together with Carlo Rosselli, was planning to effect the escape from Italy of the leader of the Socialist Party, Filippo Turati, a man of seventy, ill, kept in house arrest, and threatened with internment on a penal island. Turati escaped through a service stairway while the guards posted at his front door were chatting. A taxi driver, one of those humble heroes who were to be found by the thousand in Italy, and whose name, unfortunately, I do not know, drove the three fugitives to a country house near Varese which belonged to a close friend of Turati. From Varese, passing from one person to another and never being betrayed, Turati, Rosselli, and Parri arrived at a point near Savona. Here they boarded a motor boat piloted by Italo Oxilia, another humble hero. Carlo Rosselli paid all the expenses with the generosity which his wealth allowed him.

Parri and Rosselli, after bringing Turati to safety, returned to Italy. Italy was their field of battle against Fascism. There they intended to take up the fight again. As they landed on the coast of Tuscany, they were stopped by customs guards. The police, of course, suspected that they had had a hand in Turati's escape. They did not deny the "crime." Since they were in the hands of the enemy, the best tactics were to challenge him openly, come what might. According to Fascist law, persons charged with the "crime" of complicity in "unauthorized expatriation" were granted liberty while awaiting trial. The judge at Savona, therefore, ordered the two defendants to be set free. But the police intervened and sent them to the island of Ustica for internment until they should be tried.

Persons sentenced to internment were transported in railway coaches divided lengthwise by a passageway into two lines of cells, one for each prisoner. A chain went from one cell to another through apertures in the side walls and bound all the prisoners together by their wrists in such a way that if one of them made an abrupt motion the others were injured. The only ventilation in each cell came through a tiny observation hole in the door leading to the central passage. The cell was bitterly cold in winter and suffocating in summer. Each evening the train stopped at a station, and the prisoners, handcuffed and chained together, with their packs on their backs, were taken in closed horse-drawn vans to the local jail, where they ate supper and spent the night. They received no other food. Some men traveled under these conditions of torture for two months. Mussolini hoped by this means to undermine either their will-power or their health.

Carlo Rosselli has described the night which Parri and he spent in the prison at Palermo before they were taken to the penal island of Ustica:

> There are at least a hundred of us in the "well," which is the section for transients in the Palermo prison. Around us confusion and squalor. Convicts enjoying a break in their usual routine, gangsters evacuated from their customary sewer-like quarters, prisoners technically freed who still have weeks to wait before their release, political prisoners like ourselves. . . . Sleep is impossible. I look at Parri. His slender, pale face framed by a three weeks' beard is the picture of nobility, Parri is my second conscience, my elder brother. If my imprisonment had given me nothing more, his melancholy friendship would be enough of a reward. . . . Before I knew Parri the hero of the Mazzini stamp seemed to me abstract and rhetorical. Now I see him lying near me with the sorrow of the world, and all its spiritual energy, engraved on his face.

In May of 1927, while Parri and Rosselli were confined on the island of Ustica, Mussolini told the Chamber of Deputies that the anti-Fascists sentenced to compulsory domicile were beginning to see the light and that several of them had written him letters of submission. When Parri, Rosselli, and another man of unyielding character, Riccardo Bauer, read in the newspapers what Mussolini had said, they wrote him that they had made no act of repentance or submission and did not intend to do so. This letter Mussolini did not read to the Chamber of Deputies.

After a month at Ustica Parri had to make the painful trip back to Savona. Here, on the eve of the public trial, he and Rosselli decided to define in writing their attitude toward the Fascist regime. I give Parri's statement in part:

> I have no personal grudge against the Fascist regime. I pride myself on having served the Italian state in peace and war with loyalty and self-sacrifice. I have never followed extremist political movements. I have never had any political ambitions. I have always kept out of political parties. I have no responsibility for the disorder of the years immediately after the war. . . . My hate of Fascism has moral grounds. I uncompromisingly repudiate the whole atmosphere of Fascism. My feelings are shared by thousands of young men. Yesterday soldiers fighting for their country, today they are enemies of the rhetoric and corruption typical of the Fascist regime. To these young men Fascism must and will render strict account of the wounds it has inflicted on the nation. The regime can persecute and scatter them; it will never stifle their opposition. . . . We hold as certain that the ideals of liberty and justice, misunderstood and mute in times of servitude, are imperishable. We recognize each other by our faith in these ideals; we recognize Fascism in its contempt for them. Against our persons Fascism can use bludgeons and handcuffs; against our faith it is powerless. Fascism brands us as "unpatriotic." But after teaching Italian history in our schools, after serving my country in war, I know that the example of the Risorgimento and of 1915 shows us our duty today.
>
> When in November of 1926 all remnants of resistance were suppressed in Italy, I felt it my duty to make a protest which should declare my faith in a better Italy. This protest could only be made public abroad. . . . Thanks to his fine character and an honorable and dignified life, Signor Turati is well fitted to present to civilized Europe our protest against the darkness that has fallen upon our country and our faith in an Italy which will give equal liberty to all Italians. Since Fascist law calls us to account for what we have done, we assert with pride our responsibility. Our pride is the greater today when the degradation and hypocrisy of public life and the cowardice of the ruling classes call for an example of sacrifice and of loyalty to ideals. Today

> there is no break in the clouds on the horizon. But we have steadfast faith in the future. Gentlemen, the Fascist regime, in sentencing us, will honor us.

At the trial Parri and Rosselli resolutely took the offensive, accusing the Fascist government of having treated Turati illegally and unjustly and having compelled him to go into exile if he were to save his dignity and, indeed, his life. Tall, thin, and pale, Parri described the infernal conditions of existence in Milan in November, 1926. "Had I been in England, that is, in a civilized country," he said, "I could have legally contested the legitimacy of Fascist law. In Italy that was impossible. But I refused to recognize its legitimacy. That is why I violated it with open eyes and full awareness of what I was doing." "Bravo," came a voice from the audience. It was the voice of Parri's old father. Then came Rosselli's turn. Claiming a full share of the responsibility for Turati's escape, he said that half a century earlier one of his ancestors had welcomed and hidden the dying Mazzini in his house at Pisa. When he himself had carried one of the finest of Italians to safety outside Italy he had only followed the example, almost the command, of his heritage.

The judges were amazed at the spirit of these two young men; the public was electrified. During the wait for the sentence the courtroom, the halls, the stairways, the whole neighborhood were crowded with people. Fascist law made the crime of unauthorized expatriation punishable by a minimum of ten months of prison if there were no political motives and by a maximum of six years if there were such motives. After four hours of discussion the three judges gave the accused the minimum sentence of ten months for their complicity in an unauthorized expatriation without political motives. The crowd burst into wild applause for the victory of the two young men against an oppressive government which no one had hitherto dared to challenge.

After he had served his ten months in prison, Carlo Rosselli was interned on the penal island of Lipari, from which he escaped a year later, in July of 1929. Parri was freed, but from 1928 to 1943 the police of Milan kept special watch over him. He was by no means inactive during those years. He took part in the underground *Giustizia e Libertà* movement. He escaped arrest by a miracle when, toward the end of 1930, various leaders and members of this movement—Ernesto Rossi, Riccardo Bauer, Nicola Fancello, and Nello Traquandi, among others—were seized and sentenced first to jail and later to internment on a penal island, where they remained until 1943. Amid the general hopelessness Parri steadfastly refused to make any compromise with the victorious Fascist regime.

I am not so well informed as I should like to be on Parri's activities since the fall of Mussolini. Last autumn very few of us knew which of the partisans was "General Maurizio" or "the Uncle," and those who did know guarded their secret. Many times in recent months I have been asked whom I would suggest as leader of the democratic Italian republic. I always answered, "It is not up to me any more than it is up to Mr. Churchill to name the future leader. The Italians will choose their own leader when they can." But Parri was in my mind.

One story of his life as a partisan reached me two months ago from Switzerland and has now been confirmed by an O. N. A. dispatch from Milan dated June 18. In January of 1945 Parri fell into a trap laid by the Gestapo. He was saved by the generosity and quick wit of an American major, who signed the name of General Clark to a message addressed to the German command saying that if Parri were not released at once to Switzerland, high Gestapo officials held by the Allies would pay for his life with theirs. This was language that the Germans could understand. Parri was taken immediately to the Swiss frontier. From there he quickly returned to Italy and took up his work again.

And today he is Premier of Italy.

Chicago the Beautiful

BY RAY RUNNION

THE rest of the country associates the name of Chicago with gang killings and the radio voice of Mayor Kelly's sewer commissioner, who was the phantom cheerleader at the 1940 Democratic National Convention. Local citizens have an ingrained belief that the city is incurably ugly, noisy, inconvenient, and rapacious. But strange as it may seem, Chicago is currently exhibiting symptoms of a civic conscience. There is evidence that it is entering a period that should produce something more deserving of community pride than livestock receipts or lake-front embellishments.

Since the first of the year the voters have approved by referendum a state law creating a public transit authority for the acquisition and modernization of the decrepit and bankrupt elevated and surface lines. (Seventy-five years of private ownership have left a legacy of rattling elevated trains that carry kerosene tail lanterns and of street cars that were new in the Theodore Roosevelt era.) The legislature has passed a series of laws to permit far-reaching slum clearance under municipal auspices. The Chicago Park District has been voted $24,000,000 to finance the first four years of a ten-year program of bringing green open spaces to the city's congested areas. The Chicago Plan Commission has prepared an extraordinary post-war improvement program, ranging from new schools to new subways. The Mayor's Race Relations Committee is attacking in a down-to-earth way the factors that foster racial discontent, with special commissions covering the fields of housing, employment, health, law and order, education, and recreation.

The transit and slum-clearance programs are the product of an unprecedented collaboration between Mayor Kelly, a Democrat, and Governor Green, a Republican, which brought about the enactment of the necessary laws by the legislature, both houses of which have Republican majorities. In the ideal political society such cooperation between state and municipal executives for the public welfare would perhaps be taken for granted. In Illinois the discovery that the waters of Lake Michigan had suddenly acquired a pleasant vanilla flavor would have been hardly more astonishing.

Kelly fought Green hard in the November election and lost, though President Roosevelt carried the state. A few months later Kelly went to Springfield to confer with the Governor on a legislative program for Chicago. Kelly's political doctrine, he frankly announced, is, "If you can't lick 'em, jine 'em."

To soothe downstate Republicans, who always view Chicago as a sink of iniquity, Green enlisted the forensics of Werner W. Schroeder, Republican national committeeman. Schroeder brushed up on the tortuous transit problem and made several persuasive appearances as a witness before legislative committees. The legislators were impressed by the spectacle of a deep-dyed conservative arguing for a public-ownership policy that once would have been denounced as socialistic. As a result the transit and slum-clearance laws were passed with scant opposition, though not without grumblings from Republican members from rural sections who feared the political consequences of collaborating with the Chicago machine.

The Kelly-Green alliance is not hard to explain. It was simply good politics for both men to take up the causes they are jointly supporting. The two apparently realized that the mass of Chicago's citizens, like those of many other cities, want to see something worth-while emerge from the disruption of the war period. People were beginning to scrutinize the city's lacks and defects and to protest against their continuation. There was no answer to the argument that private ownership of the transit facilities had completely broken down under the dead weight of receiverships and wrangling bondholders' committees. To have opposed slum clearance would have been to approve the undisputed social decay that slums produce. Kelly, who had seen himself depicted throughout the country as the symbol of political bossism, is credited with a sincere desire for constructive accomplishment. Green is young and seems politically ambitious.

To the credit of both, the public-ownership program came into being without demagogic promises of lower fares. A subsidized five-cent fare like that of New York is in effect outlawed by a requirement that the Chicago Transit Authority must make good by its own efforts. The proponents of public ownership argued frankly that since a publicly owned transit system would be free of income and other taxes and could sell its tax-exempt securities at a low price, it would have greater resources for modernization and expansion. A $100,000,000 replacement program has been scheduled for the next ten years. A transit board appointed jointly by Kelly and Green has begun to function, but actual acquisition of the properties awaits the conclusion of bankruptcy litigation in the federal court.

For slum clearance an initial fund of $10,000,000 is provided, half through a special bond issue and half through an appropriation from the state's accumulated surplus. Since this sum will only do the spadework in correcting Chicago's vast housing deficiencies, present plans are regarded as the nucleus of a far-reaching program to be carried out after the war, entailing the possible expenditure of $100,000,000 of city, state, and federal funds. The City Council's housing committee is basing its policies on the statistical fact that in 1940 the income of 23 per cent of Chicago's families was $1,200 or less. The Chicago program, therefore, emphasizes the construction of low-rental housing units.

Despite all this there are no signs that Chicago is nearing a bipartisan millennium. Kelly and Green failed to cooperate in a citizen-sponsored movement for a new constitution and in efforts to obtain a state fair-employment-practices act; both proposals were rejected. Moreover, there has been a revival of commercialized gambling, with eight gang killings since the first of the year. What has happened is that Chicago, made self-critical by the disturbing events of the war period, has discovered that its physical development has become, in Lewis Mumford's phrase describing American cities, "a crystallization of chaos." The discovery is late, and the corrective surgery will be costly. The important thing at the moment is that Chicago is a more humble and more introspective city than the one which a few years ago gaudily celebrated its glories in a "Century of Progress" exposition that prominently featured the fan-dancing of Sally Rand.

In the Wind

A SOLDIER JUST IN from Italy brings this story. The American ambassador, Alexander C. Kirk, gave a reception in Rome for members of the staffs of *Yank, Stars and Stripes,* and the American Expeditionary [radio] Station. He told a soldier connected with the station, "Broadcasting is one of the things that will survive the war." The soldier said, "Soap opera will die with us," and the Ambassador replied, "I manufacture soap."

THE FAMOUS ANGLO-EGYPTIAN censorship is still doing the things that made it famous. These are some of the instructions it issued to the Egyptian press on June 4: "It is forbidden: (1) to mention the visit of the Minister of the U. S. S. R. to the Egyptian Prime Minister and the note relative to the Russian point of view on the questions of Syria and the Lebanon; . . . (4) to mention any statement attributed to General Paget; (5) relative to the declaration made on the third of this month by the president of the Syrian Chamber to the journalists gathered at the Lebanese Legation in Cairo, to mention (a) that the British have given 5,000 rifles to the Syrians and (b) that they have given 35,000 tons of wheat to the Syrians. . . ."

IF THERE IS sufficient demand, the United Nations Information Organization and the Library of Congress will publish the official documentation of the San Francisco conference. The documents will fill 12,000 pages, and it is planned to publish them in eight volumes. Inquiries should be addressed to the Secretary General, United Nations Information Office, 610 Fifth Avenue, New York 20, N. Y.

THE STRIKE OF NEW YORK'S newspaper deliverymen is having repercussions in nearby resort towns. This is from a special report to the New York *Times* from Asbury Park, New Jersey, on July 11: "One amusing by-product of the strike was the sight of a well-known member of the New York Stock Exchange seated in his chauffeur-driven car at the station reading a copy of the *Daily Worker.*"

[*We invite our readers to submit material for* In the Wind *—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay $1 for each item accepted*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

LAST fall I noted that the head of Time, Inc., had it in mind to add a "little magazine" to his high-powered, fast-running journalistic stable. *Opinions and Ideas* or *Opinion and Thought*, whatever it is to be called, has now actually set up shop; but according to reports it is planning to invade the field not only of the little magazines and the more conventional quarterlies but of *The Nation* and the *New Republic.*

The project of a magazine of ideas financed and controlled by big business which also happens to be big journalism and aimed at the vaguely liberal reading public, which is rather large in this country, suggests pretty sinister possibilities. Come to think of it, the new incarnation of American imperialism might well bear the label of National Liberalism; if it took as its slogan The American Century of the Common Man it might go far in a post-war period of disillusion and confusion; and considering the auspices under which *Opinions and Ideas* is being launched, such a magazine would be a likely candidate for highbrow spokesman of such a development.

I doubt very much that these obvious implications have risen to the consciousness of Luce or of his editorial collaborators. The new venture would have less chance of success if they had. Luce is one of those "naturals" whose strength is as the strength of ten because he is, at most, only half-aware of what he is doing. I am sure he considers himself "progressive"; he is no doubt convinced that his advocacy of the American Century is based on a disinterested desire to carry the benefits of the American way to the millions of outlying natives with whose welfare he has always been concerned—his missionary background should never be forgotten. The editor in charge of the projected magazine is Willi Schlamm, a disillusioned Marxist who has apparently found it possible to accept the Lucite illusion that there is no reason why Time, Inc., should not be the sponsor of a liberal magazine to put all other liberal magazines in the shade.

This is a combination whose strength, as I have already indicated, lies in its very presumption and naivete. But its weakness lies in the same quarter. It is quite likely that *Opinions and Ideas* will appeal to those liberal readers who are more or less vague, undiscriminating, or confused. There are plenty of writers who as liberals are confused or disillusioned or both. These would seem to be the natural contributors to a "liberal" magazine sponsored by Luce. But *Opinions and Ideas,* to my knowledge, is trying to enlist what might be designated as left literary writers who are not at all undiscriminating and to whom, for instance, Time, Inc., is the last word in philistinism, political and other. This is further evidence of the basic obtuseness of Luce thinking. Here again, I suspect the motive is a mixture of a desire to prove that even the most advanced writers can do their most advanced writing for a Luce publication and the imperial-missionary urge to gather in those spirited mavericks, left or literary or both, who obviously should have the benefit of safe, richly grassed pastures.

I very much doubt that these authors will find it possible to collaborate. The prospect of getting paid three or four hundred dollars for a serious "highbrow" article will be very tempting to American writers, whose feelings about writing and money are, for obvious reasons, ambivalent—living continuously on the edge of a money civilization is difficult and frustrating. But as long as *Opinions and Ideas* is owned by Time, Inc., a writer of political discrimination will see it in that frame of reference; no amount of assurance that he can write exactly as he pleases will wipe it out; and in any case he will not write in the same way as he would for *The Nation* or the *Partisan Review.*

Say that such a writer was moved to do a critique of liberal or left ideas. If it was to be published in an authentic liberal or little magazine he would feel quite free to be as severe as he liked because of his consciousness that his readers were liberal or left of liberal and would read his essay as a critique and not as an attack on the liberal or left point of view *per se.* If it was to be published in a magazine which was under the same management as *Time* he would think twice before setting down his opinions and ideas, and that second thought marks the difference between a genuine and a contrived liberal magazine. The writer who wished to write critically of modern art or literature would come up against the same difficulty.

When Lionel Trilling's book on E. M. Forster came out, *Time's* review as it was printed put the main emphasis on Trilling's discussion of Forster's critical remarks about liberalism. I say "as it was printed," because it was pretty clear that the unsigned review had been cut; it was crystal clear that the editors of *Time* were delighted to exhibit liberals finding fault with liberals and had no qualms about pulling the discussion out of its original context and proportion.

I don't mean to imply that articles for *Opinions and Ideas* will be tampered with. My point is that *Opinions and Ideas* must bear the onus of *Time*, whatever convictions to the contrary are entertained by Mr. Schlamm—unless, of course, the first article in the first issue turns out to be a sharp analysis of Time, Inc., of the sort which might be published in *The Nation* or the *Partisan Review.* That would have the double advantage of demonstrating the independence of the editor and the freedom of contributors.

But even if *Opinions and Ideas* is forced, as I think it will be, to change its sights as far as writers are concerned and be content with contributors who are conscious of no anomaly in the conception of a liberal magazine run by Time, Inc., its success would be, to say the least, ominous. It would serve to blur even more the line that divides right from left. And that line has already become difficult enough to distinguish—thanks largely to the confrontation in the current world of a collective state which is totalitarian by capitalist nations in which democratic processes and individual liberty are still cherished and continue to flourish, however imperfectly. A magazine that, given its sponsor, could hardly help becoming an apologist for the right while exploiting the traditional principles of the left would be an effective herald for the monstrosity of National Liberalism which I have already postulated. And yet its editors might be the last to realize what function they were performing.

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Irrepressible Morris Ernst

TO REVIEW THE LIFE of Morris Ernst as he exhibits it in "The Best Is Yet" (Harper and Brothers, $3) in any cool and detached manner would be like reporting a three-alarm fire at the Stork Club in terms of property damage and insurance. This collection of "free-wheeling pieces" which Ernst has dashed off in lieu of an autobiography is either "swell"—a favorite Ernstian adjective—or the opposite, according to how much the reviewer likes the author or how heartily he hates him.

Morris L. Ernst is a lawyer, a member of a firm with offices in New York where such unexciting matters as torts, writs, summonses, and duces tecums are frequently discussed. He is a serious-minded and courageous fighter for the under dog. When I first met him, he was acting as counsel without fee for a committee of public-spirited citizens who were trying to present the anthracite miners' side of one of our perennial coal strikes. Gently and sympathetically, he was drawing from a badly flustered man from the picks the tragic story of life on a Pennsylvania coal patch. Years later, with this story in mind, he defended the desperate anthracite "bootleggers" in a report to Governor Earle of Pennsylvania which deserves to rank with the best of labor documents. He has been in the van of the handful of defenders of our civil liberties; he has fought censorship like an infuriated wildcat; and if in the memory of us iron-gray lads there has been a liberal cause which he has not actively supported, I do not know its name.

Nevertheless, for reasons best known to himself, Morris Ernst chooses to present himself in life and in this book as an "irrepressible"—that's the word on the book's jacket—happy-go-lucky character about town. As some people cannot bear to watch anybody having a good time, and as the accepted picture of the liberal is that of a tight-lipped, sour-faced individual reading the minutes of the previous meeting, I expect that Ernst has gone out of his way to prove that there can be laughter as well as thunder on the left.

MC ALISTER COLEMAN

Data for Governing the Japanese

WHATEVER HARDSHIPS and inconveniences the mass evacuation of 110,000 persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast may have caused the evacuees and the administration, it has unquestionably proved to be a godsend to sociologists and anthropologists. For to the social scientist mass evacuation has, in effect, created ideal conditions for observing how people react when the social structure in which they have always functioned is suddenly disrupted, how the family system responds to sudden change, and how, under pressure of events, new types of social organization develop. Owing largely to the foresight and curiosity of John Collier, these opportunities for scientific research and observation have not been lost. Under his auspices, Lieutenant Commander Alexander H. Leighton was enabled to study at first hand a fascinating range of social phenomena in the Poston relocation center and to scrutinize the administration of the project at close range. In "The Governing of Men" (Princeton, $3.75) he has recorded these phenomena with admirable detachment and attempted to draw from them certain basic conclusions about the governing of men from the standpoint of applied anthropology. Unquestionably, his conclusions can be of incalculable value to the administrators of Iwo Jima, Okinawa, and other areas destined to be brought under American rule as we advance in the Pacific. Whether they will be so utilized, of course, is another matter. The volume is well organized and carefully documented and indexed, and also contains some excellent photographs.

CAREY MC WILLIAMS

East and West

I FOUND A GOOD DEAL of pleasure and some puzzlement in "The Asian Legacy and American Life," edited by A. E. Christy (John Day, an Asia Press book, $3.50). It consists of a series of essays, some of great value and some quite worthless, on the influence of Asiatic culture and experience upon Western modes.

The first paper, by Arthur E. Christy, seems to me little more than an example of the sort of exercise for which Ph.D.'s are granted, being a historical review, with considerable gaps, of the "literary interest" in Asia. What serious purpose is fulfilled by reminding us at great length that Joseph Addison wrote "The Vision of Mirza" for the *Spectator* and that Beckford composed "Vathek," "an Oriental Gothic thriller," I do not know. A somewhat better paper is that of Curt Sachs on The Orient and Western Music, though Dr. Sachs's frequently over-confident assertions might not always be satisfactory to one who knew, say, the literature of the debate about Arabic influence on Spanish music. Laurence P. Roberts, in The Orient and Western Art, provides an excellent paper, and John Gould Fletcher, in The Orient and Contemporary Poetry, is warmly appreciative of Chinese poetry, imagism, and his own verse. Next comes a really curious piece about the transcendentalist arcana of orientalism, in which we are asked to take Madame Blavatsky and the Rosicrucians seriously—and, believe it or not, Gerald Heard also. Mr. Tindall, the author of this piece, says of Los Angeles, home of strange cults, "The attraction of this place for spiritual men and even for spirits is plain. But I am not sure that I know what it means." And that remark may be applied to the book as a whole. Dr. Coomaraswamy, who commits himself to the usual intellectualist extravagance about the superior "spirituality" of the East, where *"chaque occupation est un sacerdoce,"* suggests in Understanding and Reunion that the West must absorb much of the Asian perceptiveness for the truths of art and religion. Pearl Buck corrects Dr. Coomaraswamy—if I understand her rightly—and declares that we need the Oriental sense of the importance of happiness while the East needs our productive capacity. How these syntheses are to be brought off is not suggested. The whole, if it has any definite basis at all, seems to rest upon the unproved assumption that if we all knew enough about one another we should be able to live in peace.

The difficulty with all such enterprises as this is that the East is as full of contradictory diversity as the West, while the conspicuous weakness of this particular effort is that there is no trace of an account of the solid achievements of the West. To sum up, this well-written book seems to me to have little purpose; yet it is full of that out-of-the-way learning which it is perhaps a personal idiosyncrasy to like. The illustrations are good.

RALPH BATES

Wide-ranging Memories

CHEERFULNESS AND SIMPLICITY characterize the memories which Ella Young has written down in "Flowering Dusk" (Longmans, Green, $3.50). They range in time over seven decades, and in place from Ireland to California. Miss Young's acquaintance included AE, Yeats, Maude Gonne, the Colums, and the leaders of the Rising: both people and events, however, are presented pleasantly, rather than memorably, in these pages. The author's Irishness is displayed, at times, with a rather self-conscious, arty, of-the-lecture-platform manner; nor is the cliché altogether alien to Miss Young's prose. There are some good stories, though, of the Cave of the Red Steeds, the Boat of the Dead, the music of the Sidhe, and so on. In America Miss Young has traveled extensively, particularly in the West: she knew Robinson and Una Jeffers, Charles Erskine Scott Wood and Sara Bard Field, and Mabel Dodge Luhan, among others. Miss Young seems to be essentially an *amateur*, at times in the best sense of the word, at times in its less happy connotations: the effect of her book, therefore, can be either disarming or annoying. The text is illustrated with half a dozen striking photographic studies of the author.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Layman's Guide

POPULARIZATION is a dangerous thing; not primarily because it makes authorities of the uninitiate but because it encourages a tolerance, if not a taste, for baby talk. The bad political influence of the popular magazines is due less to their content than to their style, including that of their most unpolitical illustrations; and many a book intended to enlighten our minds defeats its purpose by stultifying our taste. This is something Goebbels understood much better than the Writers' War Board. The most dangerous thing a writer can do is to fight trash with trash. Such being the state of things, it is a pleasure to report that "The Doctor's Job," by Carl Binger, M.D. (Norton, $3), is not only good for you but easy to take. That is to say, it presents a complex subject in simple terms without denying its complexity. It is an intelligent layman's guide to contemporary medical thought and practice, with due emphasis on their social aspects.

J. MITCHELL MORSE

Books on Germany

IN "THE JUNKER MENACE" (Richard R. Smith, $2) Frederick Martin discovers the "logic" of Germany's history in the influence of the Prussian Junkers. Yet the power of the Prussian Junkers was not as exclusive as Mr. Martin pretends, and Germany was not the only country in which a caste of landowners exerted strong and sometimes decisive influence. Mr. Martin's book is full of over-simplifications, exaggerations, distortions of historical facts—all typical of those authors who in writing about Germany offer a very simple formula for the solution of an extremely complicated problem.

Serious information, strongly recommended to Germany's present would-be educators, is given in "From Democracy to Nazism" by Rudolf Heberle (Louisiana State University, $2.50). In the modest frame of a "regional case study" analyzing the political developments in Schleswig-Holstein, Mr. Heberle, professor of sociology at Louisiana State University, contributes valuable material for an unbiased judgment of the German tragedy. The author shows the fallacy of the popular belief that Prussianism and Junkerism were identical with Nazism.

"A Short History of Germany" by S. H. Steinberg (the Macmillan Company, $3) presents a reliable catalogue of Germany's developments from the year 911 to the outbreak of the Hitler war. Influenced by Bismarck's federalist opponents (Constantin Frantz), Mr. Steinberg overemphasizes the racial and political differences between the German tribes. He even denies the existence of a "pure German language," except on the stage, and attributes to the various German dialects the quality of languages. There are actually no greater differences between the dialects of Germany than between those found in France, Italy, or America.

A liberal version of the "German case" is given in "Hitler and Beyond—a German Testament" (Knopf, $2.75) by the late Erich Koch-Weser, once minister of the Weimar Republic and chairman of the German Democratic Party, who died last year in his Brazilian exile. Since Badoglios and even Dönitzes were used for the sake of order and expediency, more leniency is required in the judgment of the men of Weimar, who for the same reasons compromised with the Kaiser's generals and unwittingly opened the road for Hindenburg and Hitler. But Koch-Weser goes too far in the defense of his colleagues, especially in his explanations of the Ruhr war and the Weimar reparations policy. Worth reading, however, are the chapters which deal with the question why there was "so little resistance" against Hitler inside Germany: The Opponents of National Socialism, and Foreign Policy. Besides the usual explanations for the success of Hitlerism one finds in Koch-Weser's testament a few remarks in which this good old liberal pointed to the other side of "progress." "A hundred years ago," he wrote, "simple people, peasants and craftsmen, formed their own conception of the world, even though it was a narrow one. . . . Formerly the people knew a great deal or everything about a few things; today they know a little or nothing about all things. . . . Everyone, indeed, still thinks that he has an opinion of his own, but it is an opinion derived from reading, from hearing others speak, from having it drilled into him."

JOSEPH BORNSTEIN

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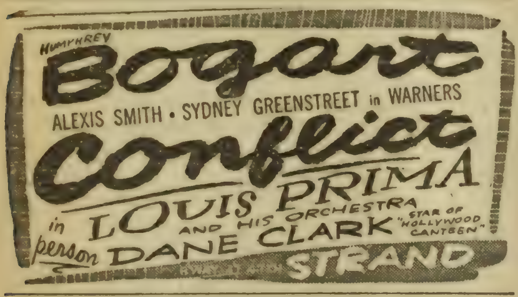
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Films

JAMES AGEE

SOME of the following movies, which were released during my vacation, should be reviewed in detail. But in order to catch up on them at all, I can provide only a check-list.

"We Accuse," the most powerful and important of them, is the Russian record of war-criminal trials at Kharkov. Its atrocity pictures and the pictures of Russian civilians in the courtroom are convincing and moving enough practically to annihilate any doubts you may have whether the trials were in fact just. The confessions of the accused Germans, on the other hand, seem impossible either to accept or to reject.

"Rhapsody in Blue," a biography of Gershwin, is not by a good deal the picture that might have been made about the man, his music, and the time and place they functioned in. But it is too sympathetic to deserve its generally chilly reception. Robert Alda lacks the obsessiveness, the elegance, and the power to persuade you that he is a man of great ability which would have made him fully adequate as Gershwin; but I think he is nearly as good a Gershwin as Alexander Knox was a Wilson, and any amount better cast than there was any law-of-averages reason to hope for. The invented romances and the elementary dramatization of conflict between highbrow and popular music are misguided, but sincerely, not shamefully, so. There is a great deal of good music. I wish all of it had been used as well as "Bidin' My Time," which turns up casually, late in a crowded party; and that they had given more than a snatch of that fine song.

"The Way Ahead," Carol Reed's most ambitious movie, is the story of the education of eight English infantrymen, from conscription to combat. It is not likely to be very popular with those who think that the English language is spoken correctly only in the several thousand dialects used between Portland Headlight and Point Sur. But it is filled with good characterization, taste, perception, and performance. It is also, for all that, formulatic and conventional rather than very strongly imaginative.

"A Bell for Adano," I gather, is generally held to be weak in comparison with the book and the play, which I don't know. Of itself I thought it very sincere and kindly, especially in John Hodiak's performance as Joppolo, well photographed and staged in several of its street scenes, unintentionally patronizing in its general portrayal of the Sicilians, and as a whole rather insipid, more like a valentine of good-will than like the living thing.

"Blood on the Sun," and practically everywhere else, tells of James Cagney's dangerously hampered efforts to get the Tanaka Plan out of Japan in time—during Hoover's administration—to warn his countrymen. Except for Cagney's vivid performance little in the film transcends likable athletic melodrama—or tries to; and little falls short of that.

"Murder, He Says," in which Fred MacMurray, a straying investigator for the Trotter Poll, runs foul of Marjorie Main and several other lethal mountaineers, is a broad and possibly terrible farce which I very much enjoyed.

"Pillow to Post," in which, for reasons not worth mentioning, Ida Lupino pretends to be married to an army lieutenant, is a broad and certainly terrible farce which I hardly enjoyed at all.

"Christmas in Connecticut," in which, for reasons still less worth mentioning, Barbara Stanwyck pretends she is married to Reginald Gardiner, is a broad and inconceivably terrible farce. To enjoy almost any moment of it, you have to accept the premise that it is the most natural, charming, and funny thing in the world for people to treat each other abominably.

The short, unbeatably fine war film "San Pietro" became available to theaters several weeks ago, at the time it was reviewed here. I have just learned that it can be seen in New York, for the first time, during the two weeks following July 11, at the 55th Street Playhouse. It will presumably be shown elsewhere if enough people request it of their exhibitors. Otherwise it is not likely to be shown at all.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

COLUMBIA also has issued a volume of excerpts from Mussorgsky's "Boris Godunov" (Set 563; $5.50) recorded by Pinza with the Metropolitan Opera chorus and an orchestra, presumably the Metropolitan's, under the direction of Emil Cooper. The music is again the Rimsky-Korsakov falsification; and the excerpts are for the most part the same as the ones in the Victor volume: the Coronation Scene (two sides), Boris's *I Have Attained the Highest Power* (one side), his *Ah, I Am Suffocating* (one side), and the Death of Boris (two sides). But Columbia, giving two sides instead of Victor's one to the opening scene, has recorded the scene complete except for Tchelkalov's address; and instead of Varlaam's *In the Town of Kazan* and the Boris-Shuisky dialogue Columbia has recorded Pimen's last narrative (one side and the Polonaise (one side).

The one point of superiority of the Columbia volume is Pinza's singing, which has a variety of dynamics and inflection and a dramatic incisiveness that are lacking in the flood of sonorous, opulent sound produced by Kipnis. Apart from this, if the music often drags in the Victor volume it is often rushed in the Columbia; the choral singing in the Columbia volume hasn't the beautiful tone and sensitive phrasing that are to be heard in the Victor; and the Columbia performances are in Italian whereas the Victor are in Russian. As for recording, Columbia has done an excellent job with Pinza's singing, but has not achieved the superb balance and integration of voice and orchestra that Victor did: in *I Have Attained the Highest Power* the orchestra that is clearly audible all around Kipnis is almost inaudible behind Pinza. Moreover the sound of the orchestra itself, in the Columbia volume, is extremely weak in bass, and without the body, the spaciousness, the richness that it has in the Victor volume; and the chorus is shrieky. And finally Columbia doesn't provide the English translations of the texts of the excerpts that Victor does.

Also on Columbia's July list is a new recording of Debussy's "Nuages" and "Fêtes" made by Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra (Set X-247; $2.50). With his exaggerated expansions and contractions of sonority and his accelerations and retardations of pace in "Nuages" Ormandy makes impassioned and personal a piece which is intended to be completely impersonal and unimpassioned, concerned as it is with "the immutable aspect of the sky and the slow, solemn motion of the clouds." "Fêtes" is well performed, except that the retardation of the section near the end marked *un peu retenu* is not little but enormous. The recorded sound of the clarinets at the beginning of "Nuages" is dulled, veiled, wooden, as is much of the sound thereafter on the first side; the second side brings a sudden increase in volume and a brightness of an unpleasantly acidulous kind;

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and at the end the effect of the *pp* tremolo of the basses and *ppp* roll of the kettledrum is destroyed by the muddy uproar those instruments make on the record. "Fêtes" is well recorded, except for a brashness in its brilliance, and the shattered and shattering sound of the two trumpets at the beginning.

Then there is Tchaikovsky's charming Suite No. 4, "Mozartiana"—his orchestration of three Mozart pieces for piano and a Liszt piano transcription of a Mozart motet—performed by Rodzinski with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony (Set X-248; $2.50). Whether Rodzinski made his cuts in the concert performance or only for this recording, they reveal the musical insensitiveness that has been evident in his performances. The concluding movement is a theme and variations, of which the first seven variations complete themselves with full stops, but the eighth continues and builds up to a sustained major chord on D, which prepares us for the entrance of the solo violin in a little cadenza that introduces Variation 9. Rodzinski completes Variation 5; and the next thing we hear is that chord on D, stated as a beginning of what follows, but actually conveying its relation back to the context—the eighth variation—that has been omitted. And in Variation 10, which develops into the long coda of the movement, he again makes cuts which inflict similar wounds on the continuous tissue. The music is treated with the same insensitiveness by a performance which is tense and violent, and which is faithfully reproduced by the recording.

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And finally a volume of music by Villa-Lobos sung by Jennie Tourel with an orchestra conducted by the composer (Set X-249; $2.50). The pieces are five of the twelve "Seréstas" or Brazilian Serenades composed in 1925-26, and one of the six "Miniaturas" composed in 1916-17; and they are simpler and more agreeable, but no more valuable, than the more recent output of the Shostakovitch of Brazil. Miss Tourel sings them beautifully; and the recorded sound, though not entirely clean, is good enough.

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The Shape of Things

THERE IS A STRONG CONTRAST BETWEEN THE massive and relentless military offensive against the Japanese and the note of hesitancy, almost of appeasement, which has crept into our political warfare. The Allied fleets patrol Japanese shores, striking at will; American fliers monopolize Japanese air, continuing their systematic obliteration of war potential. Enemy radio stations suggest that war-weariness is growing. There are indications of ecoenmic disruption and civil unrest. Yet the Japanese government can hardly fail to extract some hope from such American broadcasts as that delivered on July 20 by Captain E. M. Zacharias, Navy expert on Japan. Speaking officially for the United States government, he told the Japanese that they faced two alternatives: "One is the virtual destruction of Japan, followed by a dictated peace. The other is unconditional surrender with its attendant benefits as laid down by the Atlantic Charter." This is very curious phraseology. It suggests an unconditional surrender which will, in fact, be conditional, since it does not involve a "dictated peace"; it also implies more favorable treatment than that obtained by Germany, which was specifically excluded from any rights under the Atlantic Charter. Again, Captain Zacharias declared: "If Japan should initiate the cessation of hostilities without further delay, it may be assumed that it will be the United States which will enforce the formula and insure the peace." This appears to be a warning to Japan to get out of the war before Russia gets in and claims a share in the post-war settlement. But the Japanese may take it as hint that the United States is scarcely less anxious for Soviet participation than they are, and it will thus serve to strengthen their belief that a way out may be found by playing America against Russia. At any rate, ambiguities in our recent policy statements have led them to rejoice in "an American about-face."

*

THE LEGEND OF GENERAL CLAIRE L. CHENNAULT will go down with that of T. E. Lawrence in the romantic military records of our time. Eight years ago he organized the American Volunteer Group—the Flying Tigers—to assist the Chinese armies which were being battered back mile by mile into the interior. He had declared a personal war against Japan when the majority of his fellow citizens were content with a wistful and impotent sympathy for the "gallant Chinese," and other Americans of a more practical bent were cashing in on oil, scrap-iron, and other metal shipments to Japan. In the jargon of high Washington circles, Chennault and his fighters were just "premature anti-Japanese." What they achieved was little short of miraculous. With their group of P-40's they were constantly harassing the Japanese supply columns and shipping, raiding airfields, and intercepting Japanese fighters and bombers on their way to Chinese targets. After Pearl Harbor Chennault was given official status with the American army and took command of the 14th Air Force. During the disastrous retreats of 1941 and 1942, when the whole of south-east Asia was overrun by the Japanese, Chennault held on to his base at Kunming and intensified his operations. Since then his has been the directing mind in building up the American Air Force in China.

*

WHY THEN WAS GENERAL CHENNAULT DROPPED at the moment when American and Allied might is massing for the knockout blow? The answer seems to be partly personal, partly military, partly political. Chennault, like so many independent military geniuses, is apparently not a man who cooperates well in a complicated military organization. He did not get on with Stilwell, he did not get on with Stratemeyer, who was appointed head of the American Air Forces in China. He was quite firm in his insistence that America's contribution to China should be concentrated on air support and military supplies for the Chinese army. In this he echoed a recent statement of Generalissimo Chiang, to whom he has been personally devoted. It is now quite clear that a mass landing on the China coast is contemplated, and Stilwell's name—probably as legendary in China as Chennault's—is talked of in connection with the top field command. From the point of view of American participation it will be Stilwell's war—not Chennault's. Lastly, there is the political side. Chennault is a Chiang man. The pressure within China and in this country against the reactionary, and militarily inefficient, clique around the Generalissimo has reached its highest point. Just last week the Chinese People's Political Council, which lauded Chennault for his "magnificent contribution" to China, insisted that the November 12 constitutional assembly be delayed and that immediate steps be taken to bring about unity with the Communist-controlled areas. The imminent possibility of Russia's entering the eastern war brings political and military considerations into close juxtaposition. The Chennault phase of our war effort in China has ended: a new phase is about to begin.

*

KING LEOPOLD OF BELGIUM, AFTER WEEKS OF vacillation about complying with demands for his abdication, has decided not to decide. He proposes to retain his throne but to stay in exile until after an election or referendum has provided an opportunity for an expression of the national will. In a letter to his brother, Prince Regent Charles, he asserts that the present Parliament, elected before the war, is unrepresentative. He has, he says, received information showing that "a considerable majority in the country insisted on my return." However, although the King's chief support is within the Catholic Party, the largest of the Parliamentary groups, a motion in the Chamber of Deputies to bar his return to Belgium until both houses of Parliament gave their consent, was carried by 98 to 6. Even the conservative Senate endorsed the proposal by 77 to 58. This means that Leopold has by no means all the Catholics with him. Nor has any evidence been presented suggesting that the Parliamentary verdict is contrary to popular sentiment; in fact, there is every indication that a general election would show a farther swing to the left and would probably strengthen the groups which are not only anti-Leopold but anti-monarchist. At present, public hostility appears to be focused on the King personally, because of the dictatorial tendencies he showed before the war and the defeatist attitude he took after the Nazi invasion. The government proposes that he should abdicate in favor of his eldest son, Prince Baudoin, with Prince Charles continuing as Regent until the boy reaches his eighteenth birthday in 1948. However, Leopold's decision to force a political campaign on the constitutional issue may raise the whole question of the monarchy's future. By his stubborn resistance to demands for his abdication, Leopold may be risking his dynasty.

*

THE EFFORT TO UNIFY SPANISH REPUBLICAN forces has achieved its first major success. At an extraordinary assembly, two factions of the Left Republicana, a predominantly bourgeois-intellectual party founded by the late President Azana, decided to merge and to "support the constitutional institutions of the Republic." The two groups are Union Republicana Española, until now led by Antonio Velao, Minister of Public Works in the Negrín Cabinet, and the so-called Independents. Both have come under the chairmanship of Mariano Ruiz Funes, last Republican ambassador in Brussels and an eminent professor of penal law. The resolution, adopted unanimously, declared that "they do not consider themselves as represented in the Junta de Liberation and cannot accept the position that the legitimacy and legality of the Spanish Republic can be transferred to entities created in exile by factions in disregard of the people's will." The resolution amounts to an open repudiation of Prieto's *junta* and support of the Negrín government. Over the week-end Negrín conferred with Martinez Barrio and other leaders and denounced the latest changes in the Franco Cabinet as "a sign of the utter decomposition of the Spanish fascist regime which is trying a new disguise every month to prolong the agony." One has only to look at the background of the new ministers, men of distinctly clerical standing, to see that Franco's latest moves are designed to insure the continued support of the Vatican.

*

A LOOPHOLE IN THE TAX LAWS WHICH HAS enabled aliens living in this country but legally "non-residents" to avoid taxes on capital gains has been disturbing the Treasury for some time. According to an act passed in 1936, alien visitors were exempt from income tax so long as they did not engage in business—and the buying and selling of securities is not regarded as a business. The intention appears to have been to avoid double taxation and to encourage such visitors to deal on American stock exchanges, and pay transfer taxes, rather than cable orders to their home countries, most of which, in peace time, maintained an active market in American securities. The situation which arose during the war when hundreds of thousands of refugees came to this country on visitors' visas was never contemplated. Since these people could not return home their visas were extended again and again. A comparatively small number, with access to funds, have allayed the tedium of exile by playing the market, with conspicuous success. And as non-residents *de jure* they have not been subject to the tax on capital gains levied on citizens—25 per cent when securities have been held over six months and up to 94 per cent, according to the tax bracket, on short-term gains. It is all perfectly legal except in cases—perhaps numerous—where such non-residents have acted as fronts for citizens who have staked them on a profit-sharing basis. But like other forms of legal tax evasion, which keep so many corporation lawyers lucratively employed, it doesn't smell good, and we favor the principle of the bill introduced by Representative James P. Geelan, which proposes to end this privilege of non-residents and make their tax liability retroactive to 1940. At the same time, however, we would point out that only a small fraction of well-heeled foreigners have indulged in profiteering of this kind. Most refugees have arrived here penniless, have set about becoming citizens as rapidly as possible, and have paid taxes on their earnings cheerfully. Their position should not be prejudiced by the greedy few.

*

FILIPINO BAITING IN CALIFORNIA HAS STARTED again, now that final victory in the Pacific seems assured. It was different when Manila fell and Bataan knew its hour of grandeur and agony. Then Filipinos in California enjoyed a novel status—that of friends and allies. They were photographed at flag-presentation ceremonies on the steps of city halls; they spoke from the rostrums of city councils; they were seated at the speakers' tables at non-Filipino banquets. This attitude lasted well into 1944. But now fair weather has diminished West Coast ardor for these late-found friends. Recently California legislators listened attentively while General Carlos Romulo spoke of the dead Americans and Filipinos whose dust could never be separated—and then proceeded to ignore requests that a memorial be sent to Congress urging enactment of legislation making resident Filipinos eligible for naturalization. And still more recently a brief strike of Filipino field hands in the Santa Maria valley provoked an advertisement in the local newspaper warning the Filipinos that the war-time honeymoon was over. The advertisement, which was sponsored by the powerful Economic Council of Santa Maria, said: "At best, Filipinos are guests in the United States. . . . While Americans are dying to free their countrymen from Japanese slavery, the lavish expenditures of money by Filipinos on white women instead of assisting their countrymen is not promoting good-will among Americans. . . . Filipinos want America to build up their homeland and protect them, while their people conduct themselves as strikers are doing in Santa Maria Valley. . . . If the Filipinos act as they have recently, they should be classified with the Japanese; denied renting of land and such, as the Japanese were who also did not act properly as guests in America."

*

THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION GALLOPS forward with the terrifying speed of a snail. Ten years ago at its Atlantic City convention it took a firm stand against compulsory health insurance but approved of voluntary budgeting for medical care. This year at its annual convention in Chicago it roundly condemned compulsory health insurance, specifically in the form of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, as "regimentation and totalitarianism" (some doctor has been reading Hayek) but supported increased "hospitalization insurance on a voluntary basis." However, the A. M. A. favored "sustained production leading to better living conditions with improved housing, nutrition, and sanitation, which are fundamental to good health." The doctors agreed to "support progressive action toward achieving these objectives." These are pretty dangerous thoughts, gentlemen. Some of these days one of your members may let slip the blasphemous phrase "social planning," and then the Trojan horse will be inside your impregnable citadel of free enterprise.

*

IN THE SESSION RECENTLY ENDED, CALIFORNIA'S legislature put on a performance that reads like the plot of a Grade B movie, without the happy ending. Governor Warren and the C. I. O. sponsored bills, which differed only in minor details, for compulsory health insurance to be paid for by a 1½ per cent payroll deduction and an equal contribution by employers. The bills were supported by the State Federation of Labor, the California League of Women Voters, and the Parent-Teacher Associations. They were opposed by the California Medical Association, the private hospitals, the insurance companies, the Los Angeles Merchants and Manufacturers Association, and similar disinterested parties. Members of the legislature allowed themselves to be wined and dined by such groups, lending their uncritical ears to a stream of propaganda as corny as it was irrelevant. "Foreign ideologies," "regimentation," "bureaucrats," "sovietization"—the bills were discussed in such terms almost exclusively. Governor Warren pointed out that 38 per cent of all Californians examined at selective service induction centers were rejected, and estimated on this basis that 1,500,000 citizens of the state are immediately in need of medical service but cannot afford it; also that wage and salary earners in California last year borrowed $11,000,000 from loan brokers, often at exorbitant interest rates, to meet medical, dental, and hospital bills. Facts availed nothing. Governor Warren, who keynoted the Republican national convention in 1944, was accused of spreading Communist doctrines. The public health committee of the Assembly issued a report condemning the bills before the hearing was held; after the hearing it refused to send them to the floor. The Governor sent a message to the Assembly in support of the legislation; under the state constitution he is required to send messages on pending bills. But when Assemblyman A. C. Wallenberg attempted to read it he was ruled out of order by Speaker Charles W. Lyon, who went further and accused the Governor of improper lobbying. In view of the open lobbying that was going on, and in view of the fact that the Assembly voted down a resolution to investigate lobbying, this accusation has a piquant psychological interest.

NEXT WEEK IN *THE NATION*

Harold Laski on the British vote; Charles G. Bolté on Labor, Veterans, and Jobs; J. A. Del Vayo on the coming Mexican election.

Bretton Woods Wins

DESPITE a last-ditch fight of isolationist Republicans, the Senate has followed the House in approving the Bretton Woods agreements by a decisive majority. By so doing it has repudiated Senator Taft's thesis that "the parallel between political and economic cooperation is fallacious," and has recognized that prosperity is as indivisible as peace. Simultaneously, by voting larger funds for the Export-Import Bank, Congress has provided means of aiding other countries until the Bretton Woods institutions begin operations.

Senator Taft's performance as leader of the opposition has drawn plaudits from the conservative columnists, who allege that he showed much more knowledge of the subject than those on the other side. Undeniably he had studied the Bretton Woods documents in a search for debating points, but his speeches made it very plain that he had no grasp of the fundamentals of the international monetary situation. For instance, one of the amendments he moved sought to prohibit members of the International Fund from using it to obtain the currencies of other members until they had removed all exchange restrictions on current transactions. Actually the statutes of the Fund provide for the elimination of such restrictions within five years, and one of its short-term objectives is to tide over the difficult transition period nations which have been forced to resort to controls to protect their currencies. Mr. Taft, blandly ignoring the conditions which make such restrictions necessary, proposes in effect to deny medicine to sick economies until they are cured.

It is clear, for instance, that the passage of this amendment would have excluded Britain from participation in the Fund. For Britain cannot possibly forego exchange controls for several years. It has contracted a huge foreign debt during the war, and its exports have shrunk to little more than 30 per cent of their 1938 volume. Until it has rebuilt its foreign trade and so begun to earn foreign currencies on a scale commensurate with its normal import needs, it must protect its exchange reserves. If it were to allow free dealings now, enabling anyone who tendered pounds to the Bank of England to buy dollars, or pesos, or kroner with them, the market would become glutted with sterling and its value drastically depreciated. "We emerge from the struggle," said the British Chancellor of the Exchequer recently, "with . . . a balance-of-payments problem such as we have never before had to face." The virtue of Bretton Woods is that it offers Britain and other countries in the same plight a method of solving their problems on an international instead of a national basis.

It is very much to our interest that they should be solved on such a basis, for to no country is the restoration of multilateral trading and free exchanges so important as it is to the United States. We are seeking, as Robert Chandler points out on another page, to expand our exports enormously and so take care of our surplus production. We cannot do this if the conditions obtaining before the war, when international trade was rapidly being reduced to terms of barter, are not changed. The United States, for instance, is in a poor position to make bilateral deals since it exports more than it imports. Suppose the only way we could do business with Britain was by a direct exchange of goods. In 1938 American exports to Britain were valued at $448 million; imports from Britain at $80 million. To achieve a balance, therefore, we would either have to cut down our sales to Britain drastically or accept a much larger volume of British goods, or both. In any case we would be unlikely to achieve an increase in exports.

Similarly, in the international monetary field America is in the position of a man who has won all the chips at poker. If he wants to go on playing he has got to help the other boys make their stakes; otherwise they are likely to go off and play a different game. If the rest of the world, or any important section of it, decided to carry on currency transactions in an unorthodox manner, the United States would be badly situated. As the one country in the world with its currency firmly attached to gold, it cannot easily play the game of competitive currency depreciation. If Britain cut the sterling exchange rate from $4 to $3, thus making its goods relatively cheaper in foreign markets, we could, of course, reduce the gold content of the dollar in an effort to depreciate to a similar extent. But this would not necessarily affect the sterling-dollar relationship; if the British choose to peg sterling to the dollar rather than to gold, they can fix the ratio at whatever figure is convenient to them. The only retaliatory action open to America would be to cease buying foreign gold at a fixed price. But that would mean the end of the gold standard, a collapse in the value of the metal, and the reduction of the Fort Knox hoard to comparative worthlessness.

Considering, then, that the alternatives to restoration of multilateral trade and free exchanges would be much worse for America than they would be for some other countries, it might be just as well not to talk of the American contributions to Bretton Woods as if they were charitable donations. The International Fund and the International Bank have, in fact, been tailored to American needs. They involve an investment of dollars in an opportunity to restore international trade by methods which will not interfere with America's chosen system of free enterprise and will not freeze American goods out of foreign markets.

We say an opportunity; but it is perfectly true that the opportunity can be lost unless the Bretton Woods program is supplemented by agreements which will enable the trading nations to balance their international accounts *at a high level.* If this is to be achieved, America must not merely call upon other nations to abandon discrimination and lower their trade barriers; it must reduce its own likewise. Eventually it must be prepared not merely to import as much as it exports but more, so as to be able to accept payments of interest and principal on the loans it makes. A country cannot be both an international creditor and a net exporter of goods unless it wants to lose its shirt and bankrupt its debtors. The opposition to Bretton Woods has constantly insinuated that no trust can be put in the pledges of other countries to make the plan operative by abandoning their exchange controls as rapidly as possible. We shall do well to remember that our good faith is also involved. Bretton Woods obligates us to put our foreign trade on a two-way basis. If we do this we shall probably find other nations willing to do their part.

MacArthur's Private Preserve

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

GENERAL MAC ARTHUR came back to the Philippines, just as he said he would. He came back and tucked the islands in his pocket. They are his private sphere of influence, and the people of the United States know less about what is going on there than they do about events in Greece or Rumania. Considerably less. Never were the Philippines more completely cut off from the world—even while they were locked in the isolation of Japanese control, even when they were blanketed under the smoke of battle. The battle is over now and the Japanese are dead except for a few who still survive in remote mountain hideouts. But MacArthur's censorship goes right on.

We have heard a great deal in recent months about the "closed" areas of Eastern Europe dominated by Russia. Truman and Churchill are said to be urging Stalin at Potsdam to permit free access to Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia by American and British newspapermen. It is time such a demand was made. And I hope Stalin will promptly accede to it, asking only, in exchange, that Britain permit Russian and other correspondents freely to report developments in Greece, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Egypt, and that the United States invite the world press to see—and tell—what is happening in the Philippines Commonwealth. It would be a healthy change all around.

Until this agreement is reached, however, we shall have to scrabble for facts about the Philippines. Occasionally a few leak through the censorship and find their way into print. This week *The Nation* is able to publish two articles which give a first-hand picture of American methods of control in those islands so lately rescued from enemy domination. They will shock many readers. We are not, I think, prepared for a Greece in our own back yard. We have been told true stories about the magnificent cooperation of the Filipino guerrillas in the reconquest of the islands, and no stories at all about their rapid and ruthless liquidation. We know that a good Philippine patriot, Sergio Osmeña, succeeded Quezon as President, and we have not heard how limited are his actual powers or how careful the MacArthur control has been to protect him from his left-wing supporters by throwing them wholesale into prison. We Americans like to congratulate ourselves over our record in the Philippines. I hope a careful reading of these articles will jolt a few of us out of our complacency. We cannot afford any holier-than-thou attitudes. What the British have been doing in Greece to preserve the defenses of their empire, our military authorities are doing in the Philippines, for reasons not so very different. They are repressing or wiping out the men who formed the tough fighting corps of the liberation movement, and by doing so are shoving into the foreground the old crew of professional politicians, Franco sympathizers, and clerical fascists. Nor is the situation one to look upon with detached disapproval. It is a challenge to action. For the Philippines are not yet free. They are the direct, immediate responsibility of the United States, and what happens there depends upon the people of this country even more than upon the Filipinos.

The trouble is partly political, partly economic, and the second complicates the first. The economic situation is so desperate that Osmeña, a decent man but a weak one, is unable to make an effective stand for his moderately liberal ideas. He began by putting resistance leaders in the Cabinet and ousting the collaborationists. Little by little, as conditions grew worse, the right moved in, urging that collaborationists be forgiven and restored to office, maneuvering to get rid of the guerrilla influence. And Osmeña yielded. Perhaps he might have held out if he had been able to get any promise of substantial continuing economic support from the United States. None was available.

As everybody knows, the Philippines will automatically become "independent" on July 4, 1946, unless the date is changed. But independence will be without meaning unless the Philippines are helped, first, to rescue their towns from the devastation created by American bombs and Japanese armies in retreat, and second, to establish an economy that can ultimately survive without a protected market in America. Nothing has been done on the job of rehabilitation, although Senator Tydings recently made a special survey of the islands, reported "indescribable" conditions of suffering and physical destruction, and proposed that the United States make a gift of $100,000,000 to the Philippines to be used for reconstruction under the direction of army engineers. The army is supposed to relinquish its civil functions on September 1 but it is the only organized body which has at its disposal relief supplies, warehouses, transportation facilities. When it withdraws no civil authority stands ready to assume responsibility. The Commonwealth government has neither the material nor the political strength to take the emergency measures the situation will demand. The Rehabilitation Commission appointed a year ago by Congress, under the chairmanship of Senator Tydings, seems not to be functioning, and the other United States agencies on the islands, such as the FEA, the War Damage Corporation, and the Treasury, are helpless without some authority to coordinate their functions. Nothing will be accomplished until a High Commissioner is appointed to head up the whole job.

Even more important, if less pressing, is the need of long-range plans to carry the Philippines through the initial phases of their independence without economic collapse. Independence will mean chaos unless the islands are helped toward a diversified economy that can eventually stand on its own feet. In the eleven years since the Act of Independence was passed, nothing has been done to change the feudal plantation system which is completely dependent on the American market. On the contrary, the land-owning interests have hung on grimly, hoping that some good fate would intervene to save them from the penalties of freedom. Now that the day of independence draws near they still look for relief through a prolonged period of protected trade. And it is a fact that unless some such plan is provided, the Filipinos will starve. But it is a fact that if the present preferential arrangements are continued, the landowners will never voluntarily diversify crops, pay decent wages, or accept any other reforms to make the islands more nearly self-sufficing.

Such changes will occur only if the progressive political elements get into power. The resistance fight brought those elements together and gave them hope and a common program. The collapse of that hope under the repressive measures taken by the army has aroused dangerous resentment among the people. Only an early shift to civilian control with a liberal High Commissioner will prevent disorder and open the way to democratic solutions of the problems that harass the islands. It is time to end the MacArthur dictatorship.

What's Left of the Jews

BY MEYER LEVIN

BEFORE the war there were sixteen million Jews in the world. Little more than half are left. Nobody really believes in the annihilation of the Jews of Europe. There are certain facts so massive that the human mind for a long time rejects them, and this has happened with the story of European Jewry. The survivors themselves, after living these years within the massacre, don't believe their own knowledge of its completeness.

In a village near Weimar I met a man who had escaped from one of the last columns marched out of Buchenwald. For three hours, sitting on his pallet on a factory floor, he told me about the two years he had worked on the Auschwitz train platform, where Jews had arrived for extermination. He estimated that he had seen four million arrive; he knew that only one in ten was selected for slavery, the rest went to the gas chambers. He knew that the chosen slaves had about one chance in a thousand of living more than a year. Two years ago he had seen his own sister arrive on a death train. And yet, after speaking to me only of death—death in Auschwitz, death on the icy trains, death on the road marches, death in the work camps—this man seized my arm and said, "You go to all the concentration camps, you see all who remain alive—write down the name of my sister. Perhaps you will find her. Perhaps she has survived."

Of all the survivors I talked to, none was without a story of sisters, brothers, mother, father gone, and yet none ever said these loved ones were dead unless he had actually seen them killed. "They were taken to Drancy, and from there deported"; "I heard of him last in Warsaw, but from there he may have been deported." Always they spoke as though myriads of Jews might somewhere yet be found alive as we went farther into Germany.

Finally we had been through all Germany, and found only the remnants in the concentration camps, and the few dozens in each city, and the scattered survivors of the last trains that started from Buchenwald and Auschwitz toward the Alps and halted wherever they ran out of fuel, while the guards shot a few last Jews and seized automobiles and fled from the approaching Americans.

It has been estimated that there are a million and a quarter Jews alive in Europe outside of Russia. This estimate may not stand, for the Poles in renewed pogroms are killing off the few hundred thousand who escaped the Nazis, out of Poland's four million Jews. Moreover, twelve thousand of those found alive in Bergen Belsen died after the camp was liberated, and after six weeks were still dying at the rate of fifty a day.

A million and a quarter people form a considerable community; this is nearly twice as many Jews as there are in Palestine. How can it be said, then, that European Jewry has been wiped out?

You have to look at those who are left. I looked for Jews all through France, Belgium, Holland, Germany; I sought them in every concentration camp; I hunted survivors on the roads where they had scattered from the last death trains. I've seen what is left of them in the west, and in Prague I talked with a man who as a member of the Czech mission for displaced persons had followed the Russian armies and sought surviving Jewish communities. I pooled my information with Dr. Rosenberg's, to arrive at the total picture.

About half of the remaining Jews of Europe are in Rumania. Though the Iron Guardists and their followers were violently anti-Semitic throughout the rise of fascism, the 600,000 Jews of Rumania were never seized for slaughter; they therefore form the only intact European Jewish community outside of Russia.

Numerically, the Polish Jews come next. Dr. Rosenberg estimates that from 200,000 to 300,000 are still alive. They are scattered, starved, and in constant fear of pogroms. Poland was the ever-living well, the source of Judaism in modern times. The Jews of Poland were the real Jews; they thought of themselves only as Jews; and though they were despised and reviled, though they were hated even by sections of their own race, such as the German Jews, they were nevertheless the source of Jewish vitality. Westernized Jews detested the old-fashioned pious Poles with their long caftans and ear curls, the peddlers and beggars who were the characters of anti-Semitic cartoons. French, Belgian, and Dutch Jews charged that it was the Polish Jews, swarming westward, who were the cause of the new anti-Semitism. Well, the last ghettos have been burned. From General Bor himself I heard of the incredible fight put up by the young Jews of the Warsaw ghetto, and that the ghetto now is only a large burned area in the middle of the city. Yet there is still anti-Semitism, a new and fresh anti-Semitism, all through Europe.

After the Polish come the Hungarian Jews; they have a higher percentage of survivors since they were the last to be rounded up for elimination. Nearly 150,000 in and around Budapest were not gathered in, and the others—those who survived the Auschwitz ordeal—suffered less than a year of slavery. Wherever groups of Jewish factory slaves were found, Hungarians predominated; the Poles had had more time to die.

In two places near Leipzig I encountered groups of a thousand Hungarian girls. They were emaciated—stylishly thin, as they wryly put it—and their fingers were yellow from war chemicals, but they were still young and alive. Each had a faint hope that some member of her family had also survived; each wanted to return to Hungary long enough to find out her family's fate. But live there? No, they could not imagine going back to live among the people who had let this be done to them.

In France, of 350,000 Jews, 175,000 survived. The French people as a whole were sympathetic during the German occupation and helped Jews to hide; but now the atmosphere is different. Every Jew who returns to Paris and tries to recover his apartment, or his business, or his job has to displace a Frenchman, and though the law declares that the victims of Nazism shall have their belongings restored, each returning Jew faces a court battle, and in each case a new little circle of anti-Semites is created. Some new tenants' organizations, such as the Locataires de Bonne Foi, have urged their members to use force to prevent Jews from moving back into their apartments; even returning soldiers—propagandized in German prison camps—have demonstrated against Jewish shopkeepers. Anti-Semites say the Jews took no part in the resistance movement; but all-Jewish companies fought in the Battle of Paris, there were all-Jewish groups in the maquis, and thousands of other Jews were active in the resistance movement everywhere, though not identified as Jews.

This same bitter aftermath is found in Slovakia, where Jews fought as partisans and then returned to their villages only to find a hatred so great that, in the words of a former Jewish partisan leader, it became "impossible to live in an atmosphere so anti-Semitic."

In Belgium, where the Jewish population shrank from 90,000 to 23,000, the community leaders told me that though they were making the most energetic attempts at readjustment, the Jews were encountering an anti-Semitism that had not existed before. "What can we expect? The population was subjected to years of concentrated propaganda. Victory does not erase this." In Holland, of 140,000 Jews, some 25,000 remain. Anti-Semitism was previously unknown. But when the little Jewish community in Maastricht tried to arrange a Purim festival for American Jewish soldiers, they were advised to omit it, lest the report of the celebration add fuel to the rising feeling against Jews.

In the Duchy of Luxembourg the old and prosperous Jewish settlement has dwindled to a few hundred. Dr. Henry Cerf of the SHAEF mission told me that a number of Jews had come in from France and Belgium but had found so much hatred where there had been none before that they had despaired and wandered back westward.

Even in the concentration camps anti-Semitism was fostered to such a point that when Chaplain Eichhorn attempted to hold an open-air service for the Jews of Dachau, the newly formed self-governing committee of the camp declared that such a service would lead to disorders.

The effect of persecution has been to drive the survivors to extremes: either they have become Jews in a more positive sense than ever before, or they have decided to lose their identity as Jews. The man who is led to affirm his Jewishness is convinced that his miraculous survival is proof that he was always completely right in all his beliefs and principles: thus the orthodox Jew is more zealous than ever in his orthodoxy; the Zionist upholds more strongly his particular sectarianism, be it labor Zionism or political Zionism or cultural Zionism; and while the Communists, the Zionists, and the religious bodies in the surviving communities work together on ameliorative projects, they have little inner unity as Jews. Those who have concluded that being a Jew is not worth the price are constantly slipping away from the community. Day after day in the *Journal Officiel* one finds columns of notices of Cohens and Levys who have changed their names to Dumont and Bontemps.

In Italy several thousand Jews are reported to have followed a converted rabbi into the Catholic church; in France, where there has always been active proselytizing among the Jews, the movement has noticeably increased. Many Catholics made a definite effort to retain in the faith the Jewish children who had been confided to them for safekeeping. I witnessed an actual struggle betewen a priest and a rabbi for the souls of several hundred children. The priest, who alone knew where the children had been placed, maintained that he would have to secure the order of some living relative of these children before he could give them back to the Jewish community. He finally agreed that if no relatives could be found, the children would be returned.

Drawing by Giacomo Patri

It is charged that up to 3,000 children have thus been lost to Judaism in France. This is a large number when one realizes that there are exceedingly few Jewish children left in Europe. Some 6,000 children were hidden in France by various underground organizations; perhaps an equal number were hidden by their parents, in direct placement. Beyond these, scarcely more than a thousand were found in the concentration camps, mostly in the fourteen-to-eighteen-year age group, though so stunted and starved that they were six years under age. There is no Jewish generation under fourteen. These children were destroyed.

The destruction of the Jews was most complete in Germany itself. In each city I found a dozen, perhaps a hundred, survivors living in the remaining official Jewish houses, one family to a room. In Leipzig I found exactly 16 of a former 16,000. Only Jews married to non-Jews had been permitted to remain, and of these marriages only the children who professed Christianity were alive. During the last months even Jews married to Gentiles had been seized. In each city, a doctor, a lawyer, and a community head had been left. It seemed to be generally expected that a great many Jews would "come out of hiding" after the Nazi defeat. Their number is insignificant; I doubt that it totals 500 for all Germany, where some 4,000 have survived.

About 4,000 Jews were found alive in Buchenwald, 5,000 in Dachau, 12,000 in Bergen Belsen—perhaps 50,000 in all the camps. With the exception of the young Hungarians found in factory enclaves, nearly all the survivors are suffering from physical and mental exhaustion which must have a permanent effect. What shall be done with them? Some have been repatriated to France and Czechoslovakia, but the Poles protest bitterly against being sent "home." What do the Jews in the camps ask for themselves?

A small percentage know they want to go to Palestine, and they are the luckiest, for they have a specific objective and a will to live. The one cheerful hour in all my time among Jews was spent in a barracks in Bergen Belsen, where a dozen youngsters sang Hebrew songs, of Palestine. The mass of survivors have no clear hope for the future. "We are too weak, too tired; we can endure no more struggle in our lives," they say. "We need only some place where we can live out our years." A large proportion have relatives outside Europe with whom they hope to get in touch, but few have exact addresses. Contacts will be difficult to make, and then the cry will be raised against Jewish immigration, as though these few thousands were hordes of undesirables. For most of the survivors the obvious solution is Palestine; yet there are already complaints that the sickly products of the concentration camps are unfit material for the upbuilding of that land. And of course there will be a campaign against a "flood of Jews" directed toward Palestine, and there will be Zionists making calculations about how many millions Palestine can absorb. It will be forgotten that there are no millions to come. If Palestine cannot give immediate refuge to the few thousand survivors of the concentration camps, that is indeed the last miserably ironic comment on what world politics has done to the Zionist ideal.

Outside the camps, and outside Rumania, some half-million scattered Jews will make an effort to adjust and resettle in their previous lands; most of them can perhaps still find a way to live as Jews in France, Belgium, and Holland, though in the coming years they may seek either to assimilate or to emigrate.

With the well of Europe so dry, the threat of Jewish "domination" in Palestine is deflated. The millions who might have pressed in from Poland are dead. The Jews of Russia and the United States are not likely to emigrate to Eretz Israel. When all the scattered refugees in the Russian area and in ours are registered, it may turn out that there are some hundreds of thousands for whom Palestine should offer a solution. Still, the ever-renewing sources of Jewish population are gone. The continuing stream of emigration must run dry. It looks as if the Jewish population of Palestine must level off and depend chiefly on its birth rate for increase. In this, it is always behind the Arabs. Thus there is no real population threat to the Arabs of Palestine. This knowledge should dampen the growing conflict there.

The heart of Jewish culture, it seems to me, is now definitely in Palestine; the greatest population is in the United States. Jewish casualties in the war—not in proportion but in actual numbers—are as large as those of the great nations. Seven million Jews were slaughtered for being Jews, and added to this number are the Jewish casualties in all the Allied armies.

It is common knowledge that anti-Semitism is rising in this country. In a large sense, the fate of the Jewish people will be decided here.

25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

BRYAN WILL AND WILL NOT win his fight for prohibition; Mr. Wilson will dominate the convention, he will not dominate it; he will dictate the platform and not the nomination; he will dictate the nomination and not the platform; he and Mr. McAdoo will and will not accept the nomination—with these delightfully positive assurances from San Francisco and dozens of others the American people are being regaled as we go to press.—*July 3, 1920.*

EXCEPT FOR the authorization of a war with the Turkish Nationalists, the conference of the Allied Premiers at Boulogne appears to have accomplished little that is definitive.—*July 3, 1920.*

THE COLLAPSE of Herbert Hoover as the embodiment of the hopes and aspirations of numberless Americans disgusted with the political game as played by the major parties is pathetic. To a great section of the more liberal electorate, especially to the newly-enfranchised women, Hoover appeared the man of the hour. . . . That he threw away his opportunity [by indorsing the Republican platform as "constructive and progressive"] can only in a slight degree be laid to political ineptitude.—*July 3, 1920.*

PRECISELY as the Republican convention turned at the end to the weakest candidate [Harding], so has the Democratic [Cox]. . . . Any hope of a stimulating campaign pregnant with great issues vigorously presented, or with a program of genuine social and economic reform, vanishes into thin air. . . . Between the twin evils of the fruits of the Republican and Democratic conventions *The Nation* declines to choose. —*July 10, 1920.*

THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION did well to nominate Franklin D. Roosevelt, former Assistant Secretary of the Navy, for the Vice-Presidency, for a finer type is not to be found in our public life.—*July 17, 1920.*

COLONEL HOUSE believes that if Poland succumbs to Russian invasion Germany too will turn Bolshevist. He thinks that the Germans would hail the Russians as liberators. It is doubtless true that the dictated peace terms have driven many conservative Germans in their despair and bitterness to such a pass; it is also true that large masses of radical German workingmen are heart and soul Bolsheviki. But the present German government is of a different cast; it is dominated by men of the Stinnes type—millionaire captains of industry who believe that they can and will restore the old industrial Germany.—*July 31, 1920.*

BOOKS OF THE MONTH: Count Bernstorff, "My Three Years in America"; Upton Sinclair, "The Brass Check: A Study of American Journalism."

A.M.G.—the Soviet Way

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

THE almost total blackout of news in the Soviet-occupied portions of Germany is slowly being lifted. With the influx of Allied correspondents into Berlin, the recent revival of political life in the shattered German capital, and a slight relaxation of Russian secrecy, the picture is coming into focus. News from the vast hinterland—and that includes practically all of the former Third Reich between the Bay of Mecklenburg and the Sudeten—continues scant, but occasionally a significant bit of information comes through, by way, perhaps, of an article in a Soviet newspaper, a controlled German broadcast, a story published in Sweden or Switzerland. These are not wholly reliable sources, but added together the items enable us to hazard at least a preliminary answer to the questions: What are the Russians doing in Germany? How does their Military Government compare with ours?

In purpose the programs of the four Allied forces of occupation in Germany differ very little. They all are determined to eradicate Nazism, Junker rule, and militarism. They all hope eventually to bring the Germans back into the international fold on a basis of peace, cooperation, and democracy. The methods by which these lofty ideals are to be put in practice are less uniform. There are minor divergences in the British and American ways of handling a given situation; the French, in some respects, are going their own way; but the schism between the eastern and western conceptions of Military Government is profound. Roughly speaking, one might say that the Russians intend to reform Germany by working with the people; we, by working without, or even against, the people. As regards Nazism, the Russians rub it out; we "rub it in."

Soviet policy toward a defeated Germany has not always been as clear as it is today. For several years the Kremlin seemed to pursue a wavering course, apparently agreeing one moment with Ilya Ehrenburg and the next with the "Free Germany Committee" in Moscow. Ehrenburg, by international standards the greatest publicist ever produced by the Soviet regime, stands for an extreme policy of hatred and revenge. His views on the Germans and what to do with them can be summed up in William L. Shirer's "They're all guilty—punish them." The Free Germany Committee, however—that peculiar combination of orthodox German Marxists and Junker generals which proved so effective an instrument of psychological warfare against Hitler—assured their Gestapo-ridden countrymen by broadcasts and leaflets that they need only overthrow the Nazi regime to receive Russia's outstretched hand of friendship.

For years the two conflicting lines of propaganda found expression in the Soviet press and radio. Then, a few weeks before the German surrender, a remarkable thing happened. In an article published in *Pravda* on April 14, Ehrenburg's extreme views on the Germans were publicly slapped down by the Soviet Propaganda Chief, G. Alexandrov, in a manner which, a few years ago, would probably have meant arrest and deportation, if not worse, for their author. Ehrenburg's defeat, however, did not mean complete triumph for the "Free Germans." Not much has been heard from them since the armistice. Contrary to apprehensions which early this year were widespread in this country, no share in the administration of Germany has been given to the repentant Junker generals, von Paulus, von Seydlitz, and company. Of the original civilian members of the committee only two have thus far been given executive positions of importance: Erwin Hörnle, a former Communist Reichstag deputy from Stuttgart, has been appointed vice-president of the Brandenburg provincial administration; and Hans Mahle, Communist Youth leader from Hamburg, is now in charge of the radio department of the Berlin City Council.

With commendable political acumen, the Russians have made a point of installing in office some of the courageous Germans who were actively involved in the plot against the Nazi regime that aborted on July 20, 1944. Andreas Hermes, one of the few surviving ringleaders of that conspiracy, is the new deputy mayor of Berlin; Jacob Kaiser, a political associate of Hermes, figures prominently in the revived Trade Union Council.

The Russians do not play up military government the way the Americans do. The Red Army is conspicuous, because a show of force is indispensable at this stage, but its administrative apparatus is not. The tendency clearly is to pick trustworthy Germans and let them run their country on all levels except the highest; and not to hamper their work needlessly by consistent and deliberate humiliation.

In the political field the "totalitarian" Russians have evinced far greater liberalism than the democratic Americans. In Bavaria as in the Rhineland, AMG has installed unpopular, reactionary, and clerical regimes, including a number of thoroughly discredited Nazi helpers, and any demonstration against the administration has been ruthlessly suppressed. In Cologne, late last May, American troops were used to dispel thousands of Social Democrats and Communists demonstrating against the Centrist (Catholic) Mayor Konrad Adenauer, who had stuffed the municipal administration with his clerical friends. In Dachau an anti-Nazi group demanding the four freedoms was forcibly disbanded on orders from Colonel Charles Keegan, military governor of Bavaria, on the theory that the Germans, as a conquered nation, had no right to demand anything!

Not so the Russians. Within six weeks of the fall of Berlin, Marshal Gregory K. Zhukov authorized the re-creation of all anti-fascist political parties, and subsequent events have proved that this was not an empty promise. The Communist Party was reconstituted on June 25, the Social Democrats have reformed their cadres, and two brand-new parties have opened shop. One of these, the Christian Democratic Union, is but a variation of the old Catholic Center with the admixture of some liberal elements; the other group, the "Liberal Democrats," appears to pick up where the former Democratic Party, or State Party, left off.

All this was done before the Allies' entry into Berlin. The haste with which some of these parties were formed indicates that both the Russians and the Germans wanted to have an accomplished fact before their democratic friends from the west could raise the "Verboten!" cry. The British and American authorities in Berlin will hardly be able to undo what the Russians have done unless they wish to see a democratic underground operating in the western and southern parts of the city from headquarters in the eastern section.

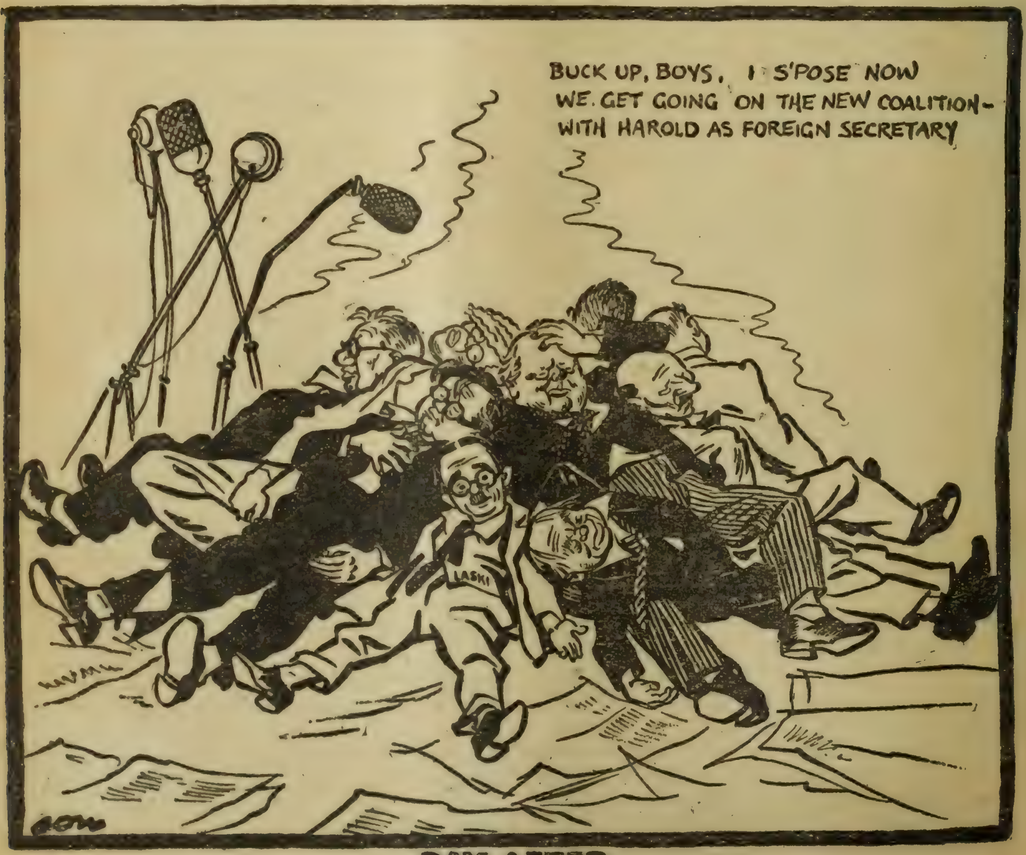
In keeping with the "popular front" formula which the Russians are favoring everywhere in Eastern Europe, the four anti-Nazi parties now functioning in Berlin formed a coalition as soon as they were organized. Only July 16 the Berlin press—each of the new parties already has its daily paper—published the joint program of this coalition, which is called the "Anti-Fascist Democratic Union." It was, almost word for word, the same program which Colonel Keegan in Bavaria had outlawed on the ground that Germans "had no rights."

The new City Council of Berlin has considerable political variety. Its head, Lord Mayor Arthur Werner, is a man of conservative leanings but inexperienced in party politics; his deputy, the aforementioned Hermes, formerly a leading member of the Center, is now prominent in the Christian Democratic Union. Only one or two Council members are Social Democrats—not an adequate representation of this once great party. A Catholic priest, Father Peter Buchholz, is in charge of religious matters.

Communist influence in the Council is strong. A former member of the Prussian Diet, Paul Schenck, is second deputy mayor. Ottomar Geschke, former Reichstag deputy and a member of the party's executive committee, is in charge of social welfare. Education has been intrusted to a Communist editor, Otto Winzer; radio is controlled by a former Communist youth leader, as was said above. Probably the most significant appointment, however, is that of Arthur Pieck as head of the personnel department; he is the son of Wilhelm Pieck, leader of the German Communist Party.

A real surprise was the appointment of Dr. Ferdinand Sauerbruch, world-famous surgeon who treated Hindenburg and Hitler, as director of Berlin's health services. It was probably the inclusion of this controversial figure in the City Council which gave rise to reports that the Russians were using some former Nazis in high posts. As a matter of fact, Sauerbruch's record is not yet clear.

In the economic sphere there is not the slightest trace of "bolshevism," though a drastic agricultural reform is in


BUCK UP, BOYS, I S'POSE NOW WE GET GOING ON THE NEW COALITION— WITH HAROLD AS FOREIGN SECRETARY
LASKI
LOW

DAY AFTER

progress, especially east of the Oder River. Much of the territory in which this reform is being carried out is claimed by Poland. In the cities, only Nazi property is being confiscated.

Free trade and the profit system were restored by the Soviet authorities as early as May 19, and the manifesto of the German Communist Party, published on June 25, explicitly subscribed to these measures. Banks and stores are open—though, of course, business isn't exactly brisk. Many of the former bank directors and corporation executives are now cleaning streets and living on scant rations—not, however, because they were business magnates, but because they were active Nazis.

In some provincial cities—Stralsund, Rostock, Greifswald, among others—a semblance of economic life was achieved much more quickly than in devastated Berlin. Public utilities and communications were restored in many places in a surprisingly short time. By June 3 the Russians had trains running on two trunk lines which had been severely bombed—Berlin-Stettin and Berlin-Frankfurt.

Food rations in the Soviet zone of occupation have been consistently larger than in western and southern Germany—not only because greater supplies were available, but also because the Russians do not think that starving the Germans will make them more democratic.

The opening of schools in the American zone of occupation is proceeding at a snail's pace and with something more than necessary caution. By contrast, the Soviets have granted permission not only for elementary schools but also for high schools to resume their courses. The Russians were about to open Berlin's colleges—the University, Technical College, and the College of Commerce—but desisted in deference to their Western allies, who had requested postponement of the measure. If our AMG experts have their way, German universities will stay closed for at least a year.

In the Russian zone theaters, opera houses, movies, and even night clubs are open; sports events are being organized, with German and Russian teams sometimes facing each other; the radio provides entertainment as well as indoctrination. Under the American concept of AMG there is to be no surcease from repentance. Atrocity pictures, doleful music, and unending radio sermons are the only cultural fare allowed.

The Russians are not being soft with the Germans, just sensible. They are dealing severely with Nazis and war criminals, but they know that many millions of Germans will be left and that even though Germany has been beaten and disarmed, it will continue to be a factor to reckon with in the affairs of Europe. In Russia's blackest hour—on February 23, 1942—Stalin made a statement which still apparently guides Soviet policy. "It would be ridiculous," he said, "to identify Hitler's clique with the German people and the German state. History shows that Hitlers come and go, but the German people and the German state remain."

Failure Again in India

BY UMA SHANKAR

THE failure of the Simla conference and of Lord Wavell's efforts to reconstitute his Executive Council to include acknowledged Indian leaders was not unexpected. It must not be taken to mean that the Indians cannot get together or that India is not fit for self-government.

To the question of self-government or freedom for India the Wavell plan had no relevance. It made no change in the constitutional set-up, as the White Paper itself acknowledged. The Viceroy retained his absolute power in the shape of the veto. The checkerboard of princes and princelings was kept, and they remained beyond the jurisdiction of the Executive Council. The Wavell plan was purely an interim measure, without prejudice, as it said, to the future constitution of India. All that was envisaged was the replacement of the political pariahs who constitute the present Executive Council by Indian political leaders.

It would be completely false to say that the Simla conference broke down because Indians could not agree. In fact, the vast majority of Indians, at least as represented by the acknowledged leaders of the various parties, did agree. The Indian National Congress, the largest and most representative party in India, drawing support from all groups and including a large number of Moslems, accepted the plan. The Sikhs accepted it; and so did the depressed classes. Not even the Moslem League rejected it. But the Moslem League did refuse—or rather Mr. Jinnah, its leader, refused—to concede that any other party represented any of the ninety million Moslems of India. Specifically, he refused to cooperate in the formation of a new Executive Council unless all its Moslem members were chosen from his party.

Jinnah's claim that the league represents 90 per cent of the Moslems of India is false. In the first place he has no way of substantiating his claim. No estimate of the strength of the Moslem League can be formed except on the basis of the results of the 1936 election. At that time Jinnah's party did not gain a majority in any of the larger provinces, not even in those in which a majority of the population is Moslem, such as Bengal and the Punjab, and in the predominantly Moslem North West Frontier Province the Congress Party received a majority large enough to form a Ministry. Other facts available to the Simla conference also refute Jinnah's claim. The Moslem Premier of the Punjab, Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, who commands the support of a majority of Moslems in his province, broke away from Jinnah more than a year ago. In Bengal large sections of the Moslem population follow Fazlul Huq, a former Premier, and do not acknowledge Jinnah as their leader. The Shias and Momins, who number millions, sent telegrams to the Moslem president of the Congress Party, Maulana Azad, saying that the Moslem League did not have their support. And last, but by no means least, the Congress Party has many Moslem members. All the evidence indicates that the Moslem League does not represent a very large majority of the Moslems, perhaps not even a majority at all. The only basis for Mr. Jinnah's claim is that the British allowed him to wreck the conference.

Lord Wavell very gracefully took the blame for the failure of the conference on himself. In so far as he apparently did not contest the position Jinnah took, at least not by deeds, he is to blame. But the real blame must be assigned to the long line of British viceroys who have followed the policy of divide and rule. The whole thing was started by Lord Morley when he introduced communal electorates and thus made the emergence of a purely communal body such as the Moslem League inevitable. The Congress Party's efforts to build a national organization have been hampered by the same policy. Apparently the British have not changed.

No political solution can be based on communal or religious considerations. Yet these have been the point of departure for every British offer—and the Wavell plan was no exception. It contained one clause that was bound to cause trouble—the stipulation that there should be parity between the Moslems and the caste Hindus. It was a foregone conclusion that a purely communal body like the Moslem League would take the stand that every Moslem member of the Executive Council be from its ranks; otherwise the foundation of its existence would collapse. This clause also ran counter to the principles of the Congress Party, which is a national, not a sectional, organization, with members in every community pursuing the common aim of a free and united India. Nevertheless, the Congress made far-reaching concessions, and demanded only two Moslem seats in the council, conceding three to the Moslem League. If the British wanted a solution they should have had the perspicacity to know that the mention of communities would cause trouble, particularly as they were apparently not prepared to contest the claim of a minority within a minority to block a solution. The Viceroy would have been quite justified if he had ignored Mr. Jinnah and formed a government with the support of Congress and of those Moslems who do not belong to the League. He can still do that. The Moslem League will in that case either split up and some of its members will join the Executive Council, or it will decide to cooperate as a party. It contains too many ambitious politicians who will stay in the wilderness so long as they know they can bargain for advantages. Once they realize that the bargain will be closed without them, they will fall in line.

The British had good reasons for letting Jinnah wreck their scheme besides their traditional policy of playing off one section against another. The Moslem League is a reactionary force, representing landed interests. Furthermore, it opposes a united India, and India can be strong only if united. This suits the British, who for similar reasons support the Indian princes. It may be useful here to inject a point about Pakistan. On the surface Pakistan seems like a democratic solution for the minority problem. In actual fact, it would create more minorities and greater problems. If the scheme were put into effect there would be large Hindu minorities in Pakistan, as well as the Sikhs in the Punjab. There would also be millions of Moslems in Hindu India. Moreover, it is doubtful whether the majority of Moslems support the Moslem League and want Pakistan.

Another reason why the British may be supporting Jinnah is their desire to gain favor with reactionary Moslem elements in the Middle East, where they wish to block possible Soviet influence. At least that reason may be advanced if any member of the British Cabinet questions why Jinnah was allowed to exercise so much power.

Wavell, it is reported on good authority, favored the formation of a new Executive Council whether or not Jinnah cooperated. The reason he did not insist is said to have been his desire to wait until the new government was formed in Britain. If a Labor government gets in, as is quite possible, it is said that Wavell will have more support from London. But nothing startling should be expected from Labor. In the past when it has been in power it has done no more for the freedom of India than have its opponents. No British party can afford to let India have its freedom so long as the British economy is supported by an empire of which India is the keystone.

Regardless of the nature of the British government, and within the framework of the Wavell offer, action is possible without injustice to Jinnah's claims. There have been no elections in India for eight years. If elections were now held, it would be possible to form some estimate of the relative strength of the various parties and to judge Jinnah's claims. Valuable information would be gained even though only a small and relatively well-off section of the Indian population is enfranchised. The plea that the war makes elections impossible does not hold water. For all practical purposes, England is just as close to the war as India.

Some action in India is necessary. It is possible to do anything with the Indian situation, as has been said of bayonets, except sit on it. Because of this urgency Wavell took the unprecedented step of leaving his post and going to England, where he spent two months cajoling the British Cabinet, and particularly Churchill, to move. The problems facing any administration in India are tremendous. More than two million soldiers must be demobilized, soldiers who have seen the British sahib thoroughly beaten in the field and who have learned their own power. The reconversion from war to peace will be difficult and may cause large-scale unemployment. The poverty of the people is appalling, and there is a scarcity of food and clothing. If another famine were to occur, as is always possible in India, things would go badly. Only a government that commands the confidence of the people can handle these problems.

This analysis is confirmed by statements made recently by Jawaharlal Nehru, India's youngest and most progressive leader. India, he observed, was like the liberated European countries, where the resistance movements were coming to the surface. "In spite of the repression which continues in many ways, the spirit of the people has hardened, and it is quite impossible to find a stable solution except on the basis of complete freedom." It should be noted that the Wavell plan was only a possible step to freedom. Nehru pointed out that after the last war demobilization caused many disturbances, which were channeled into the non-cooperation movement of the Congress Party. "Obviously," he continued, "the situation will be much more critical on this occasion, both because of the numbers involved and of the vastly greater power of resistance to foreign rule that has developed." Many members of the armed forces, he added with the trace of a smile, were nationalists and "entered the army with the intention of learning to fight so that it would be useful when the time should arise."

Unwarranted conclusions have been drawn from the fact that the Congress Party and the people of India in general welcomed the Wavell plan. The Indians did not accept the plan in lieu of independence but as a step toward independence. Many observers are saying that a new atmosphere of good-will toward Britain has replaced the accumulated bitterness of years. That may be so, but it would be a mistake to capitalize on it. The fact that Wavell allowed Jinnah to wreck the proposals will call British sincerity into question. As Mr. Rajagopalachari expressed it, the Congress Party would never have gone to Simla if it had known that the decision would rest with the Moslem League. There is a new spirit in India today if Nehru and other observers are to be believed. Nehru has warned that there may be revolts; the present mood of Indians, he says, is "To hell with anyone who tries to push us out of the way."

America's Post-War Trade

BY ROBERT CHANDLER

I

UPON one thing, at least, liberals and conservatives, Republicans and Democrats, spokesmen for business and for government are agreed, and that is that after the war the United States must greatly expand its export trade. Now that the Charter of the world security organization has cleared most of the hurdles confronting it, and Congress has given its blessing both to the extension of reciprocal trade agreements and to the Bretton Woods plan for international monetary stabilization, there is a general feeling that this country is ready to supply the world with everything it needs. Advertisements assure us that one job out of every ten will be in the field of foreign trade. In New York City alone 650 new export firms have been organized to get a share of the business. Since the trade exists *in posse*, it is assumed that it virtually exists *in esse*.

Before we accept this rosy view, it would be well for us to examine a few of the hazards along the path to its realization. That the world can use our goods there is no doubt. That it will do so is questionable. Foreign trade is affected not only by the usual problems of buying and selling but by the additional ones of national sovereignty and international exchange. Today, these latter are extremely serious. Let us consider some of them—first, those which the American trader will encounter at this end of the transaction, and, second, those which he will encounter at the other.

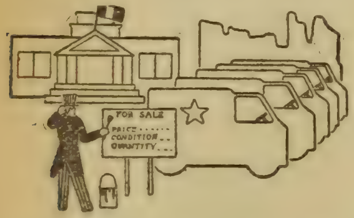
Among the former the first, in time if not in importance, is uncertainty about whether it will be our national policy to set aside part of our production for the export trade in the first months after the end of the war. This is a matter of crucial importance, for though we have, for example, increased our capacity to produce railroad equipment 700 per cent during the war, we shall not be able in the first months after the war to produce more than a trickle of the equipment needed to rehabilitate our own railroads and those of Europe, and to construct roads in South America, Africa, and China. We have the ultimate capacity to produce tremendous quantities, but during the first year we shall not be able to produce enough to meet domestic demands. Will the railroad-equipment companies turn down an order from, say, the Pennsylvania Railroad, with payment prompt and certain and no problems of shipping space and exchange, in favor of a smaller order from, say, Brazil?

It will be important to set aside part of our initial post-war production for the export trade.

If we are to build up our foreign trade, they will have to do so. Traders from other countries will be in the field trying to sell their goods and offering many inducements, including immediate delivery. The governments of those foreign traders will be helping them, for both traders and government officials know that they must export because they must import. They are not exporting a surplus; they are exporting goods they could use at home in order to buy the basic materials for the reorganization of their economies. England, for example, is already making plans to set aside part of its production for export, and British industry spokesmen are demanding, not that the government take its hands off private business, but that the government get busy and lay down the general principles of export allocations.

Our government is now allowing partial reconversion. If we are planning to develop an export trade, now is the time to establish export allocations. So far as can be discovered, we are doing nothing of the kind. Some government officials may recognize the need, but the cry for the government to "get out of business" is too strong for them to take any action. A long period of education of the public will be necessary first. People are demanding that we avoid the mistakes of 1919—failure to join the League of Nations, raising tariffs—but they do not yet see that it is necessary to meet the new problems of today with new measures. The Bretton Woods plan will provide the mechanism for trade, but how is trade itself to be provided? By repealing the Johnson act we hope to permit other nations to borrow money from us, but unless we greatly stimulate their sales to us, how can they repay these debts any more easily than they could after the last war? Our problem today is to start trade now; to do that we must set aside a certain proportion of goods for our export trade, and at the same time we must restore the economies of our potential customers. No public statement has been made by any responsible person, in or out of government, on what we are doing *now* about these all-important questions.

It is to our interest to have the British recapture their export position, for the empire has always been our best customer, taking around 40 per cent of our exports in pre-war years. But it would not be to our interest to wait for several years after the war's end before trying to enter the market. Buyers by then would have made their connections; and moreover no buyer is going to be happy depending upon a seller who will sell only when he has a surplus and forget about his customer when the home demand is great.


FOR SALE
PRICE ......
CONDITION ..
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Disposal of government-owned surplus property in foreign countries will present problems.

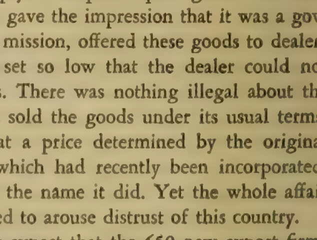
Many individual businesses may set aside a portion of their product for the export trade, but there will be no system about it. American manufacturers of farm machinery will almost surely do so; they are accustomed to taking care of their export departments. But we cannot be certain that the right producers will all do this. In fact, the opposite seems probable. The very goods in tight supply here and hence likely to be in greatest demand after the war are in tight supply all over the world.

Another set of problems which will plague our efforts to expand our exports is connected with the disposal of government-owned surplus property in foreign countries. We have great quantities of goods scattered all over the world which we wish to sell on the spot rather than bring back to this country. The idea is a good one. To bring the goods home would use shipping space, flood this country with stuff for which—by definition—we have no use, and deprive the countries where the goods are now stored of things which they very probably could use. Much of the purely military matériel may have no value except as scrap, but many items have peace-time uses—road-building machinery, railroad equipment, clothing (army), mining machinery, insecticides.

With the existing world-wide shortages of all sorts of goods, it would seem that both parties to the transaction would profit by our disposing of such property. But the situation is not quite so simple as it appears. In the first place, how will prices be set? There is no world market now. Shall we sell at original cost, less a percentage for depreciation? But suppose we paid too much for the original product—too much as compared with the price of similar goods two or three years after the war. If foreign purchasers felt this to be true, international bad feeling could easily develop. In the second place, if a foreign country uses any considerable part of its supply of dollar exchange in buying from the United States government, how will our private traders make sales to the traders in that country? We are committed to the reestablishment of private trade, but the sale of surplus government property may make that difficult unless the government continues its foreign procurement policy, and that would mean that the government would be in business—up to its neck.

Possibly the most serious of the problems connected with surplus-property disposal is whether the condition of this property shall be guaranteed. Will the government guarantee that the machine it sells is in good condition? Apparently not. Yet if the buyer finds that it breaks down sooner than he thinks it should—whether because it was originally in poor condition or because he does not have adequate facilities for upkeep—the reputation both of the government and of the private trader will suffer. Already a most unfortunate instance of this has occurred. A private corporation in a certain Latin American country bought from the RFC a four- or five-year supply of surplus capital goods. The corporation, whose name gave the impression that it was a governmental purchasing mission, offered these goods to dealers with a discount rate set so low that the dealer could not profitably do business. There was nothing illegal about the transaction. The RFC sold the goods under its usual terms, with no guaranties, at a price determined by the original cost. The company, which had recently been incorporated, was at liberty to take the name it did. Yet the whole affair was of a sort calculated to arouse distrust of this country.

Can one reasonably expect that the 650 new export firms in New York, all new to the game, all eager to share in the bright future they read about, will have the self-discipline to spend time and money and imagination to create good-will for all American traders? Many manufacturers are planning to modernize their plants after the war. They will want to sell their used equipment. With government and business telling the exporter that his efforts will bring the high level of employment necessary for continued prosperity, must one not expect to see fly-by-night exporters buy up this second-hand equipment in whatever condition they find it and sell it to some foreigner who has been starved for equipment for years? And would this not deal such a blow to our reputation that an exporter from another country who offered new material, with a guaranty, would get the buyer's future business?



Our conflicting policies often cancel each other.

One of the things most of the enthusiasts about exports seem to forget is that the foreign trader has a government which is eager to protect his interests, and its own. American government officials talk about the free flow of trade in the world and advocate the removal of trade barriers. But Congress promptly enacts legislation to give subsidies to certain producers of basic commodities. Our pronouncements and our practice simply do not hang together, and foreigners are not such fools as not to see this. Our cotton prices are sustained by subsidies far above the world price. Are we likely to bring our practice into accord with our preaching? It seems not—to judge from the Congressional reaction to Will Clayton's far from subversive ideas on letting our cotton prices sink to world prices. Congress is likely to respond to the pressure of special interests and pay subsidies or raise tariffs to help the American producer. Foreign governments respond by tariffs to keep out our goods.

Our individual traders want to get the government out of business.

Actually the United States as a whole—and foreigners see this clearly—has not a policy but policies, and these policies often cancel each other. We are strong advocates of free private trade, but we have the highest tariff walls any creditor nation ever had. We do not like to do business with countries through government purchasing missions, but we are out after Russian trade. We believe that competition is the law of trade, but we pay subsidies to producers till we have more goods than we can consume. We do not believe in dumping, but we practice dumping. We do not believe in organizations which limit production, such as cartels, but we are in favor of international commodity agreements—provided we are in on the agreements.

The same disparity between theory and practice can be found in the individual American trader. He wants to get the government out of business. He sees red whenever the United States Commercial Company is mentioned; he views it as a government agency doing the business which the private trader might be doing, although there is not the remotest chance that the private trader could, in fact, carry on the preclusive buying that the U. S. C. C. was formed to do. On the other hand, when the British trader, gladly using the parallel British organization, the U. K. C. C., gets back much of his pre-war business in the Middle East, where the British have for years carefully sought to satisfy the desires of their customers, the American business man again sees red and wants to know why the government does not help him out!

Other countries are not going to adapt their plans for the future to our wavering pronouncements; nor are they anxious to enmesh their economies so completely with ours that they will be dragged down by the depression which they expect us to have if we do not realize that jobs, like charity, begin at home. They are convinced that we have not yet learned the lesson of the '20's and '30's—namely, that a creditor nation cannot export and refuse to import. The figures on our exports and imports from 1919 to 1929 make sad reading today. Every year except one we had a surplus of exports over imports. Every year our gold holdings increased, until we had most of the world's supply of gold, having drained it out of other countries as payment on their debts and their excess purchases from us. Then all payments stopped, and we had 1929, Hitler, and finally war. Other countries do not want to see this happen again. And they think the wise thing to do is to get along without us. People who are bankrupt do not have to get involved with the money-lenders—not if they are willing to work together and make sacrifices.

In the Wind

AN INTERESTING INDICATION of the effect of overseas service on political opinion is given in the breakdown of the soldier vote in the Canadian election, which has just been released. Canadian soldiers in the European, Near Eastern, and Pacific theaters voted more than 38 per cent for the left-wing C. C. F., the highest figure for any party; the vote of those stationed in Canada was 26 per cent C. C. F. The over-all service vote was 32 per cent C. C. F., as against a civilian vote of 16 per cent.

CYNICAL NEWSPAPERMEN who used to opine that papers carried Mrs. Roosevelt's column, My Day, merely as a sop to the White House, must have been surprised by an advertisement the United Feature Syndicate placed in *Editor and Publisher* on July 14, reporting that seven papers have recently subscribed to the column. This brings the total to eighty-six, the largest number since My Day was begun.

THAT ALLEGEDLY SUGGESTIVE advertisement of bathing suits, which the New York City Board of Transportation ordered out of the subways, can still be seen on the subways of Boston. Here's to the city of Boston, inveterate foe of the book, where freedom to read is restricted indeed, but not so the freedom to look.

SENATOR THEODORE BILBO of Mississippi gave the Senate this summary of his racial views on July 6: "Many persons have been led to believe that I have denounced Catholics, Jews, and Negroes. I have not done anything of the kind. . . . God knows, I am not that narrow or bigoted. . . . Some of the best friends I have in the world are members of the Catholic Church. . . . I have never denounced the Negroes as a race. I have discussed the characteristics of the race. . . . So far as the Jews are concerned, we have Jews in my state, and some of my best friends are Jews."

A NEW ORGANIZATION, the People's Political Action Committee, has been set up in Detroit. In an interview with the Detroit *News* on July 11 its president, James D. Zurcher, said its aim was "to combat the Sidney Hillman organization at every turn." It was launched with a contribution of $100,000 by the People's Committee to Defend Life Insurance and Savings, whose directors, Mr. Zurcher pointed out, are mainly "executives of banks, insurance companies, and industrial establishments." Apparently the only thing the People's PAC hasn't got is the people.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

What Price Independence?

BY E. H. JACOBY

THE joyous celebrations in Manila following the liberation are over. The Filipinos received the Americans as liberators after years of terror and fighting. But the Philippines' real problems are still far from being solved. MacArthur, triumphant as a general, is in close cooperation with the Osmeña government, which has few triumphs to its credit. Every day the black market in Manila defeats the regulations of the American army and the Philippine government. The last record was seventy centavos (thirty-five cents) for one egg.

The Osmeña government carries the political failures of the past into the present. The landlord tradition sublimated by a democratic technic today dominates the Malacañan (the presidential palace in Manila) as completely as in the time of Quezon. Tomas Confessor, former Secretary of the Interior, the only outstanding Filipino leader with a fine guerrilla record, was unlucky as administrator and politician. Today he is a beaten man. He spent his political energy in the fight against the collaborators—an indiscreet course of action in a political atmosphere where the spirit of collaboration was predominant. Manuel Roxas, who was in charge of the Economic Development Board for the Laurel puppet government, has only recently cleared himself of official suspicion. He is the most adroit politician in the Philippines, an excellent speaker, and a clever administrator. Hacienderos and business men see in him their savior from economic and social troubles. For many years he was one of the leading Filipino figures in the negotiations preceding the Tydings-McDuffie act. The youths of the Nacionalista Party consider him their great leader, and luckily for his followers he has been sufficiently cleared to take up the fight against Osmeña for the Presidency in the elections next November. Confessor has been out of the running for some time.

General Romulo's powerful rhetoric at the San Francisco conference has no doubt increased the glory of the Osmeña government in those Manila circles that believe a reputation in world policy can make up for failures on the home front.

Independence has always been a miraculous word in Philippine elections. It was with the slogan of "Independence" that Manuel L. Quezon reached the zenith of power. In the coming election a new slogan will also be used: "Down with the collaborators."

Any campaign against independence is inconceivable. For the masses in the provinces independence means the hope of being freed from the political and economic rule of the landlords. The people are convinced that foreign rule in the Philippines will always favor the ruling class, and their conviction is strengthened by the fact that many political leaders in the Philippines, while publicly demanding immediate independence, inwardly hope for a postponement. These leaders really want to perpetuate the economic bonds with America, which were so favorable for upper-class Filipinos but passed on few benefits to those living on the lowest possible economic level. They fear that economic disturbances and social unrest will be the result of independence. The official program of President Osmeña calls for immediate independence, but he actually hopes to obtain for the Philippines a political status which will guarantee the continuation of the traditional trade relations—that is, the preferential importation of Philippine sugar and copra by the United States. Manuel Roxas, on the other hand, considers himself strong enough to neglect the independence slogan and is realistically emphasizing the idea of economic interdependence. His followers hope that he will fight for dominion status for the Philippines. However, if he should accomplish his purpose, it would mean that America would be guaranteeing the feudal system in the Philippines, politically and economically.

The issue of ousting the collaborators has not the same importance today as it had three months ago. Too much water has flowed under the blasted bridges of the Pasig River since the first exciting days of liberation. In Manila the realists are stronger than the idealists, and Manuel Roxas is triumphant over Tomas Confessor. The Filipinos are being coached in the difference between "good collaborators" and "bad collaborators." They have been told that many officials sacrificed themselves by collaborating with the Japanese and that the life of the guerrillas in the mountains was occasionally less risky and more comfortable than that of collaborators with the Japanese in Manila! The example and propaganda of Manuel Roxas have reinforced this idea. Moreover, it is a fact that the number of efficient officials is very small in the Philippines and that administration would be difficult if this group were really purged of collaborators. Manuel Roxas realized this fact very early, and government officials, intellectuals, and all those who hope to be "cleared" are therefore gathering around him. Thus the issue of guerrillas versus collaborators has ceased to be a clear-cut one. Many men once considered collaborators are now known to have been guerrillas.

Never in the history of the Philippines has an election gone against the ruling class in the government. The power of the feudal system has always been strong enough to guarantee the loyal vote of the dependent masses and so to strengthen the political and economic position of the landlords. The real political battle was always between different cliques within the ruling party. Now, however, a new and significant factor has entered the Philippine scene. The war and the resistance have aroused large sections of the population formerly indifferent to politics. Guerrillas all over the islands are thinking and talking politically—a fact which sooner or later will break up the traditional pattern of life. This political process is most advanced in the Visayan Islands and in the provinces of central Luzon. No one who has been able to watch developments during the war years believes that the politicians of Manila, however clever they may be, can in the long run prevent the Filipino masses from dominating the political arena. The democratization of the government is inevitable.

It is doubtful whether these new forces will prevail in the coming election. The Philippines are still controlled by the American army, which of course must maintain peace and order as long as the war against Japan continues. This fact automatically favors the present rule in the Philippines. Therefore it is unlikely that by the time of the election the guerrilla movement in the Visayas, which is strongly influenced by Tomas Confessor, will have made common cause with the masses of the Hukbalahap, the anti-Japanese and radical guerrilla movement in central Luzon, against the political bosses of Manila. Probably the coming campaign will result in a stalemate between the Osmeña group and the followers of Manuel Roxas: Osmeña may remain President and Roxas may become Vice-President. The actual political power would then be concentrated more and more in the younger hands of Roxas.

The future of the Philippines is still an American problem. The best of the Filipino youth fought on the side of America against the Japanese. As a result of this common effort a truly democratic spirit is developing. It is to be hoped that with the return of more normal conditions—after military necessities have ceased to be of primary importance—Americans will realize that they must support the forces of democracy in the Philippines and no longer sustain a political and economic system whose medieval structure affronts American political principles. The rehabilitation of the Philippines, pledged by President Roosevelt in 1943, must be carried out fully, but in a way that will create a well-rounded and sound economy. This will help to diminish the social contrasts and forestall the clashes and bloodshed which threaten today. The years of occupation and war in the Philippines were a severe test for the Filipino nation, and everything possible should be done to eliminate the conditions which might bring on civil war.

The End of Hukbalahap

BY CAPTAIN X

Manila, P. I., June 10

THE left-wing anti-fascists of the Philippines have fared no better than their brothers in other nations. Their lot under Japanese rule was similar to that of resistance fighters under the Nazis. Under their liberators it has been the same as that of their comrades in Italy, Greece, and Belgium.

The left-wing anti-fascist movement here is called Hukbalahap, a word that means "People's Anti-Japanese Army." Unlike the resistance movements in European nations, this one does not have the support of the majority of the people. Its adherents number about 150,000, and its power is concentrated in a few provinces—Nueva Ecija, Pampanga, Tarlac, Bulacan, and Laguna. A fairly large group is found in Tayabas and a relatively small one in Rizal. These are agricultural provinces suitable for guerrilla warfare.

The origin of the movement is obscure, though it is not accidental that it arose among the peasants, who have long been a militant segment of the Philippine population. Hukbalahap was formally launched on March 29, 1942, by a Socialist named Avisantos, working closely with other capable leftists—Louis Taruc, Costo Alejandrino, Lava, and Fileo. These men led the movement after Avisantos was killed in an engagement with the Japanese. Taruc, now in prison, is commander-in-chief. Under their leadership the Hukbalahap developed into an effective military and political organization. How effective it became can be seen from the Japanese decision to send a large force to central Luzon to destroy it. The expedition was a failure.

After November, 1942, the Huk forces were expanded by the inclusion of the Chinese anti-Japanese guerrilla force known as Wah Chi, which became the 48th Squadron of the Hukbalahap. Wah Chi is composed of Chinese sympathetic to the Communists in Yenan. Sun Yat-sen is their guiding light. (Incidentally, there also exists a large Kuomintang movement here. The two movements are bitterly opposed and have never united in any action.)

The Hukbalahap established a department of civil government soon after its organization. It saw the necessity of mobilizing civilians in the struggle, for it is only by the active support of communities that guerrilla forces can be maintained. Furthermore, it was clear that the people had no confidence in the puppet government. In the provinces mentioned above, therefore, elections were held and governors, mayors, and minor officials chosen. Almost immediately some land reforms were instituted. The properties of large landlords were expropriated and divided among the peasants, who used the land for the production of food. The Counter-Intelligence Corps charges that some landlords were killed. However that may be, the movement's agrarian policy was directed against those collaborationist owners who used the land to produce crops essential to the Japanese war effort, such as cotton. It was through this reform program that the peasants and guerrillas became solidly bound together and the Hukbalahap became a people's movement.

The Huk guerrillas, including the Wah Chi, were the most important group carrying on large-scale, coordinated activities during the occupation. Other bands, sponsored by the United States army and led by Filipino and American regular-army men, limited themselves in the main to intelligence work and preparations for the invasion. But the Huks also coordinated their plans with the invasion; so that when MacArthur landed in Lingayen Gulf, the Huks went on the offensive and liberated San Fernando and other cities.

Despite the generally excellent work of the Hukbalahap, it has never been recognized as a legitimate organization and never will be. United States army and Filipino officials brand it "Communist." The C. I. C., therefore, is trying to destroy it. The plan for its destruction has as its main features (1) the arrest of important leaders, (2) the quiet and unnegotiated disarmament of the guerrilla forces, (3) the arbitrary disregard of and replacement of the elected representatives of the people. American forces which entered the islands last February did not hesitate to disarm the Huks and remove them from office in local governments. The plan makes no provision for free discussion or other democratic means of settling differences. Hukbalahap was described to me by a C. I. C. officer as a movement dominated by Communist cutthroats who had forced their rule on civilians by threats of punishment and death; there was therefore no possibility of negotiation. The officer openly admitted the plan for destroying the movement. On the other hand, the Huks have been anxious to work with the army and the government. They think of the Americans as allies rather than enemies. Recently they offered two thousand men for use as labor battalions. The unique part of the offer was that no wages were asked—only meals. One thousand of these men have been accepted.

Completely misunderstanding the Huks, the C. I. C. fears an armed uprising aimed at overthrowing the present government. Another C. I. C. officer indicated that one reason the new Philippine army is being whipped into shape so quickly is to thwart such an attempt. Furthermore, the C. I. C. believes the problem has an international aspect. The Soviet Union will be a great power in the Far East and will be closer to the Philippines than the United States is. Therefore a gravitation toward the Soviet Union is anticipated if any left-wing movement gains the ascendancy here.

It may be said that these unrealistic fears have their source in the usual dread and dislike of anything leftist. But despite all charges to the contrary, the Hukbalahap is not essentially Communist. The accusation, which is also brought against the militant labor movement here, is the old trick of vested interests and collaborationists. It is true that many Communists are active in the movement and that there are Communist leaders in many areas. But labor leaders, socialists, and liberal educators also play a prominent role. The result has been a high standard of leadership. Even the C. I. C. has admitted as much and has retained some Huk mayors in office. The now imprisoned commander-in-chief, Louis Taruc, is a former labor leader. Dr. Lava, the movement's political adviser, was formerly professor of political science at the University of Manila. Most of the leaders, like the rank and file, are simply Philippine nationalists. Many have no political convictions but are anti-Japanese and want a redistribution of the land.

Filipino Communists are not simply "land-reform Communists"; they are Marxists and Stalinists. They are a militant, well-disciplined body, whose actions are politically intelligent. Immediately after the occupation they started work among resistance groups in the provinces, with central Luzon their main field. They threw themselves without stint into the complicated problems of sustained resistance, and through hard work, resolute zeal, and organizational ability—with power politics a contributing factor—some of them rose to positions of authority and leadership.

The Huks admit that military and political activities and organizations must be unified, but they want this carried out by consultation and common plan. They wish to give up their independent military organization and become part of the Philippine army but are indignant about the arbitrary plan for disarmament. And if this disarmament is undertaken by force, they may decide to resist. In the political sphere, they recognize that the Philippines cannot have separate and competing governments. What they object to is the arbitrary replacement of their democratically elected representatives and the high-handed manner in which their leaders have been dealt with. Many leaders have been arrested without charges and held without trial. Those still free assert that if the imprisoned men have been guilty of criminal acts, specific charges should be introduced at a fair trial.

In contrast to the treatment of the leftists, some collaborationists have been given clean bills of health by the United States and Commonwealth authorities—although many have been arrested. Filipino, Spanish, and American reactionaries and landowners find favor with the authorities and use their prestige against liberal or radical groups. It does not take much imagination, therefore, to see why a land-reform movement would not be welcomed and why there is strong pressure to have land previously redistributed restored to its "rightful owners." Nor is it difficult to see how any strong political movement to the left of the United States-dominated government would be looked upon as dangerous.

As far as the C. I. C. officers are concerned, they think entirely in terms of "military necessity." On May Day and at various other times Huk supporters staged huge demonstrations in the hope that the authorities would see that the movement had popular support. But while the army occasionally relaxes its policy against the Hukbalahap after such demonstrations, the respite is only temporary. Dissolution appears to be inevitable. But it will not be permanent; new plans and developments are already under way. Even in the November elections there may be significant developments.

Filipino liberals and leftists hope that progressive forces in the United States will establish and maintain relations with them and publicize and support their cause. We dare not fail them. This is the first opportunity America has had to work out, alone and unaided, the difficult problem of establishing democracy in another land. We shall be known by our acts.

[*This is the first of two articles on the Philippines by Captain X. The second will give a detailed account of the issues in this summer's Presidential campaign.*]

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

OUR CULTURE AND ITS CRITICS

BY ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

BY ITS qualities and by its defects, by its subject matter and by its manner, Harry Slochower's book "No Voice Is Wholly Lost" (Creative Age Press, $3.75), an ambitious attempt to find main trends in Western culture since Nietzsche, might prompt a discussion of many controversial matters. Nietzsche died in 1900. The world is now nearly fifty years older. Such a book as Mr. Slochower's could be regarded as a pioneer attempt to characterize the twentieth century. With its clearly demarcated discussions, its straightforward procedure, its well-chosen quotations, its broad learning, and its suggestive bibliography, this is the kind of book from which a student might set out on his way around the literature of a century which is now almost half spent. Particularly where Mr. Slochower has special knowledge, as for instance of Thomas Mann and other German subjects, his guidance has distinct value. It is when criticism is pushed beyond this point that misgivings arise.

First, there is Mr. Slochower's "Stalinism." "Stalinism" is a villainous word, the anti-Communist's simple inversion of the Communist use of "Trotskyism." If the concept had reference primarily to Stalin I would be unwilling to fling it in Mr. Slochower's face, but I am told by one who makes free with the term that it now means "cultural conformity tinged with political reformism," and this description, unfortunately, describes Mr. Slochower very well. He does combine an admiration of Soviet Russia and its friends with an easygoing attitude to culture. Bad authors, one cannot help feeling, are treated as respectfully as good. Writers who defend the true philosophy of "communal personality" and "universal culture" have a very fair chance of being ranked with the best. Hence such an undiscriminated list as "Heinrich Mann and Anna Seghers, John Steinbeck and Mikhail Sholokhov, André Malraux and Thomas Mann." The list shows the political colors of the author. I have no objection to the colors, but I find the "Stalinist" way of automatically approving all the "right" books just as offensive as the anti-"Stalinist" way—now more common in liberal and literary journals—of automatically disapproving the same books. When the critic is busy ill-concealing his "Stalinist" or anti-"Stalinist" criterion, a fair-minded discussion of a Leonov, a Malraux, an Aragon, or a Brecht is impossible. It is indeed no longer attempted.

Though there is an occasional footnote in which a fervent anti-"Stalinist" such as "S. Hook" is dismissed, Mr. Slochower's book does not bring the political discussion out into the open. "Three Ways of Modern Man," which Mr. Slochower published in 1937, was a frank book resting quite openly upon the assumptions of current red criticism. "No Voice Is Wholly Lost" is not quite so lucid. Sometimes we have the strange sensation of being back in 1937 again, and we wonder how Mr. Slochower could have been so little affected by what has happened in the meantime. But we also note that Thomas Mann is no longer considered anemically bourgeois. He is included in a new and broader popular front. And so, as the title of the book indicates, is nearly everybody else.

The more narrow-minded Marxism of the thirties was at least clear. This "dialectic humanism" of the "Stalinist" Slochower of 1945 is as fuzzy and pretentious as the celebrated anti-"Stalinism" of Arthur Koestler. In the table of contents the big names glitter and the big words impress. Here we find much towardization: Toward the Communal Personality, Toward a Dialectic Humanism. A good deal of exciting travel: Cosmic Exile; In the Fascist Styx; The Promise of America: John Steinbeck; Midway Passage: Between the Lower Depths and Universal Order; and Through the Lower Depths: Clifford Odets. All accompanied by music: an Overture on Nietzsche, a Roman Prelude, and an Aryan Finale. Unfortunately the sections on individual authors into which the book is divided are often so short that either almost nothing is said—as, for instance, in the sections on T. S. Eliot and Bertolt Brecht—or the argument, when allowed to get under way, as in the section on John Dewey, is annoyingly foreshortened and we have to read such a philosophical cacophony as this: "The result is an equivocal mixture of traditional Idealism and Absolutism with a new relativistic operationalism requiring 'metaphysical' explications."

Mr. Slochower may conceivably have some reason for devoting nine pages to a Werfel and only one to a Shaw. A greater shortcoming is indicated by the contrast between pretentious titles and a thinness of actual content, a thinness that cannot be unconnected with Mr. Slochower's indifference to matters of taste. The question arises: Is Mr. Slochower interested in those parts of culture which are ends in themselves—the arts—or only in problems of means, that is, of ethics? It is true that the arts cannot be pursued purely for their own sake, that they are intertwined with other phenomena, including ethics. Yet in our time we are frequently confronted with critics for whom ethics is an obsession. Their attitude is that of Lenin infuriated by the amiability of a Beethoven quartet. Lenin we can excuse since he was busy planning a revolution. Our academic activists are not. Can one not ask these secular puritans what they will do with their good society when they get it? Can one not be suspicious of a cultural critic for whom a Proust represents "the promise of America"? Are we not back here among the frightened Philistines? Is this not the healthy, wholesome uplift of all our cultural salvationists?

The moralist as cultural historian is a bull in a china shop. The arts are for him no more artistic than for the schoolboy who extracts Latin grammar from Vergil. He extracts his uplift. He makes his pilgrimages and voyages and quests through lower depths and all the way round his cosmic transcendences, and finally he reaches his up-to-date celestial city. How could he fail to? The whole scheme is cooked up for that purpose. We begin with Nietzsche and a chaos of values, we go through the lower depths, and we end up "towardizing" for all we are worth in the direction of a synthesis of everything that is lovely and of good report. And we are such good cooks that no odd or end is wholly lost. It's magnificent, but it's not cultural history, it's not criticism, it's not cricket. It's uplift. And if these are rough words, let me append here some ideas about the alternative to uplift.

Artistic material is better, not worse, material for the cultural historian than bluebook material because in the arts, and only in the arts, can the past be apprehended in living, organic forms. But we cannot write the history of the arts merely by listing names and addresses, births, deaths, and marriages, clichés, labels, and decorative adjectives—in the manner of the "Cambridge History of English Literature." Nor can we write the history of the arts by performing operations on them and extracting ideas with the surgical violence of Mr. Slochower or his friend Kenneth Burke. The medieval mind is one thing in treatises on "the legacy of the Middle Ages"; it is quite another (it even begins to make sense) in the "Confessio Amantis" or the "Roman de la Rose." The modern mind is one thing in these precious interpretations with their high hopes and their high hats. It is another in "A la Recherche du temps perdu," and another still, alas, in "Cannery Row." In our historian's scheme the development from one to another is called progress. There must be something wrong with the scheme.

The cultural historian is either just another philosopher let loose among the arts, which he finds awfully obvious compared with Kant, or he is a man who can write the history of types of experience, of sentiment, and of sensibility. But he cannot do this unless he has *had* the experiences, unless he has savored the sentiment and assimilated the sensibility. Cultural history not based, or partly based, upon such first-hand experience is mere shadow-boxing. The great shadow-boxers of today are the literary Ph.D.'s who write the history of labels and the philosophers rampant who do not even write the history of their own rampages but make out of hearsay and philosophic jargon something that sounds like something.

If the test of a literary critic is what he makes of an unsigned poem, the test of the historical critic or true historian is what he makes of the only unsigned, unticketed period in history—our own time. By what touchstone shall we judge him? In my view there is no correct version of history for the government or anybody else to authorize. We need as many versions as there are competent minds to devise them. But there are at least two versions we do *not* need. One is the optimistic version—from the lower depths to the higher synthesis—which we have recently been fed by Lewis Mumford, Erich Kahler, and Mr. Slochower. The other is the pessimistic version, which is the prerogative of ex-Communists, neo-Catholics, egocentric refugees, all the elegant or ferocious brood of Oswald Spengler.

Optimism and pessimism are rival poses. The last post-war generation, our fathers, left us a large assortment of both. Can we not decline to accept the legacy? The question is larger than my present theme. But it is not irrelevant to it. Our culture will not be saved by historians, but the writing of cultural history can perhaps be redeemed if we discard the fads and fetishes of a generation that is coming to look antediluvian. The new post-war generation will doubtless develop its own limitations in time; meanwhile let us hope that new life will be possible. There is some little evidence, for example, that the Ph.D. octopus may be checked, and that the universities after the war will demand men who are teachers and critics of life rather than bibliographers. But now I am myself growing optimistic. I shall soon be writing that they will beat their swords into plowshares and their *PMLA's* into *Kenyon Reviews*.

The Algiers Coup

CONSPIRACY IN ALGIERS. By Renée Pierre-Gosset. The Nation. $1.*

THE English title of Mme Gosset's unbelievable but true inside story of how and why a liberation was transformed into a libel of liberty is more revealingly appropriate than the French original, "Le Coup d'Alger." For the tragedy of the North African invasion was the betrayal of the democratic French patriots into the power of the reactionary conspirators. The plot that paved the way for the American landings, says Mme Gosset, was the work of several thousand men "divided as was France by quarrels and even by political hatreds, yet associated in the common interest of the nation." But on the very eve of the landings Robert D. Murphy, who master-minded the preparations on a personal directive from the late President Roosevelt, "altered his plans and rejected the French support previously used by him. . . . At the very moment when General Eisenhower [in Gibraltar], delighted at having at last convinced General Giraud, was assuring him of fullest support . . . Murphy was signing with Admiral Darlan in Algiers." Both the liberals and democrats on the one hand and the reactionaries, monarchists, and Cagoulards on the other had shared in the preparations which Mme Gosset describes with a wealth of fascinating and accurate detail until now unavailable in this country. Then Murphy, strong in the certainty of White House approval, transformed what might have been the start of the emancipation of a people into a putsch of a palace guard, and turned aside with a smile while the backstairs intriguers, political gangsters, technicians of the coup d'état stabbed in the back the real artificers of the *coup d'Alger*.

Mme Gosset tells the whole ugly story—or at least as much as can be told while military-security limitations are still operative—and tells it fairly, objectively, and well. We, the Americans, "made" Darlan, created the power of Darlanism for reasons of short-term military expediency, and later, when reasons of long-term political policy as well as simple honesty and decency should have dictated unmaking Darlanism, we deliberately adopted it as our fixed policy. We treated France as though it were Nicaragua: on the day Darlan was allowed to issue an "imperial proclamation" as "Chief of State," Murphy in the name of General Eisenhower dismissed as "petty divergences" the differences between a monarchist neo-fascism and democracy.

Darlanism, comments Mme Gosset, "far exceeds the limits of a temporary expedient, of a last-minute substitute, of a clever stratagem. It falls quite naturally into the general policy of the State Department toward the whole of Europe.

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* This book can be obtained only from *The Nation*, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

In the absence of principle, personality played a major role; so Mme Gosset, after setting her stage with an analysis of the political situation in Vichy and the psychological atmosphere in Algiers, combines sound journalism with keen insight in a brilliant dissection of the protagonists of the drama: General Weygand, who was Murphy's first choice but who funked when the test came; Admiral Fenard, the "key to the Darlan mystery," who weathered every political storm; General Donovan's cape-and-dagger boys—Knox, Knight, Rounds, Boyd, Pendar—who under State Department "cover" and Murphy's orders acted out a romantic thriller combining elements of E. Phillips Oppenheim and Eric Ambler with Frank Merriwell and the Rover Boys; Henri d'Astier de la Vigerie, "occult leader" of the resistance, a Royalist *condottiere* who was also a sincere patriot; Jean Rigault, malevolent, opium-smoking *deus ex machina*, and his master, the reactionary millionaire Jacques Lemaigre-Dubreuil; and scores of others. Most brilliantly successful of the portraits are the villains of the piece: Murphy, the spokesman for democracy with a taste and flair for recreating the atmosphere of the Faubourg Saint Germain and confusing it with France; Darlan, wealthy, cynical, intelligent, who early chose the ladder of opportunist politics; Giraud, "pure soldier," who twice escaped from the Germans only to surrender to the French fascists.

Mme Gosset stresses that whereas the pact with Darlan may be defended, the subsequent betrayal of French democracy was criminal and unnecessary. Months after the invasion "the worst Vichy men were still in power"; with American acquiescence, the Giraudists were outdoing the Darlanists in oppressing those patriots "who had daily risked their lives while preparing the landings." And, she concludes, two and a half years after the "liberation" the disastrous moral result of the State Department's policy is alienating the whole of Europe and creating a "European isolationism which constitutes an obvious danger for the peace of the world for years to come."

"Conspiracy in Algiers" is a book every friend of democratic freedom should read and not only because of the historical facts it so ably recounts. It is important because Admiral Leahy is now more than ever the *éminence grise* of American foreign policy, because Robert Murphy is still the chosen instrument of that policy, because the subordination of moral purpose to unprincipled technique of power is still draining the reservoir of American prestige throughout the world.

But lest any reader of the book assume that the responsibility for "betrayal in Algiers" was only Murphy's or even that of the State Department, the writer of these lines can give assurance that the facts—all the facts—were in the possession of the White House. On page 225 Mme Gosset says "we shall never know more" about a certain "mission to Washington." Let Mme Gosset be informed: the mission failed because Darlanism had then, and still appears to have, the approval of the White House. To paraphrase the late and unlamented Benito Mussolini, democracy does not appear to be an article of export.

PERCY WINNER

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Example of Tolstoy

TIKHON POLNER'S "Tolstoy and His Wife" (W. W. Norton, $2.75), translated from the Russian by Nicholas Wreden, is probably the best biographical study of the great Russian novelist now available in English. The relationship between Tolstoy and his wife had all the intensity and gravity of a drama wholly existential, marked throughout by experiences of anxiety, care, and significant choice. Hence this relationship provides the perfect framework for a biographical essay. Polner was a friend of the Tolstoy family, and in his account of Tolstoy's personality and career he exhibits the finest insight and mastery of the factual material. He is blessedly free of the modern biographer's mania for "coloring" and "fictionizing" the material at the expense of the facts. This is one biography where no demands are made upon us to believe things for which there is no evidence.

A good part of the book is devoted to an analysis of Tolstoy's religious experience—an experience peculiarly relevant to our time, when many people, by no means the least vocal among us, are once more endeavoring to recapture one or another form of religious awareness. The lesson of Tolstoy is not encouraging to such endeavors, however. For Tolstoy, whose conversion began with a strict adherence to Orthodox practices and dogmas, was soon compelled to think his way through to various heretical versions of the Christian faith until his search came to an end in the sharply self-limiting adoption of a few ethical precepts. Polner shows that the Gospel, too, "lost its special significance, and Tolstoy's ardor for it cooled." Finally, even the concepts of God and immortality ceased to hold any real meaning for him. In his diary he questioned himself whether he actually believed that the purpose of life was to obey God's will and to prepare for the future life. Was it really true that God desires love and unity to grow within the individual and within the entire world? He replied that "instinctively" he could not believe "anything so definite." "What, then, do I believe? I answered in all sincerity that I believe one must be good and humble, one must forgive and love." These articles of faith are of an exalted moral content, but there is nothing in them that contradicts a naturalistic reading of man's position in the universe.

Our contemporary god-seekers, so newly self-confident in their aspirations, would do well to ponder the example of Tolstoy.

PHILIP RAHV

Canada's C. C. F.

NATION READERS HAVE had a fairly good introduction to the C. C. F., but all of them would profit from reading M. J. Coldwell's "Left Turn, Canada" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $2.75) to fill out their picture of a socialist coalition of farmers, workers, and middle-class liberals operating in a political scene not unlike that of the United States. The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, of which Mr. Coldwell is parliamentary leader, constitutes the government of one Canadian province, Saskatchewan, and in the recent national election increased its representation at Ottawa from ten to twenty-eight members and doubled its popular vote. It had expected to do better. In his book Mr. Coldwell presents the political philosophy and aims of the C. C. F. Much of the material is taken from parliamentary speeches and public addresses, and in consequence the reader is let in on the actual debate of such political issues as conscription, war labor policy, big business and the war, Canada and the British Commonwealth, post-war planning. The book gives a picture of Canada which is a little more balanced than official releases or the romantic blurbs of lady tourists. With respect to domestic policy there is no doubt where the C. C. F. is headed. It wants a planned economy directed toward specific social objectives, making full use of Canada's natural resources, and guaranteeing social security and a high standard of living to the majority of Canadians. Beveridge would in general approve; Hayek would hate it. In fact Hayek, through his countless big-business disciples and interpreters, was probably the C. C. F.'s most formidable opponent in the last election. Some day soon Coldwell should do a definitive political study of Canada, because, made up as it is from speeches, the present book lacks integration and focus. Moreover, badly needed is a sympathetic but objective study of the C. C. F. itself as a political party; it has made impressive gains and has numerous opportunities but, we suspect, it has still a lot to learn in the field of political strategy. Such a study would be of immense benefit to American progressives, who face many of the same post-war dangers as the C. C. F. and who also share its opportunities for post-war gains.

KING GORDON

FICTION IN REVIEW

ONE need not be entirely sympathetic to the literary method of Paul Goodman, one may indeed be opposed on principle to fiction which denies us the emotional satisfactions of more traditional writing, and still find much to admire in Mr. Goodman's collection of short pieces "The Facts of Life" (Vanguard, $2.50). Among writers of the non-realistic persuasion, Mr. Goodman is unusually well-educated, imaginative, and witty, and even though, as we follow him from piece to piece, his unremitting literacy and cleverness become a bit wearing, this virtuosity must be to some extent excused as an excess of virtue. Mr. Goodman's volume contains at least one story, the title story, which is entirely delightful, and a play, Jonah, about the prophet of doom, which is both comic and wise. The fact that the collection as a whole falls short of these two items doesn't of course diminish Mr. Goodman's stature in relation to other writers of his convention. It does, however, tend to confirm an old suspicion that even the method of non-realism cannot forfeit story-telling to disputation and still be sustaining.

A few years ago I wrote a brief notice of Mr. Goodman's novel "The Grand Piano," in which I asked why Da-Da novels were always such ma-ma novels. I was referring especially to the self-commiserating tone of that book, a tone which is happily absent from the present volume. But I also referred to an infantilism which I think is still basic to Mr. Goodman's work, however adult its preoccupations may seem. This immaturity can best be defined as a refusal to accept responsibility, an unwillingness to make any commitments.

It is an attitude toward life and art which is amusing and not even unhopeful in the very young, but which has a disconcerting way of appearing as merely a trick for trying to stay young when it persists too long and when it even evolves a *form* so well designed for the assertion of intellectual and moral superiority. Obviously I do not imply that all methods of non-conformity are methods of irresponsibility; I do think, however, that there is a degree of acceptance of our common responsibilities without which the dignity of protest is, if only subtly, threatened.

And perhaps a sound measure of a writer's acceptance of his environment is in the extent to which he keeps his protest within the realm of satire. Satire always suggests the possibility of the desirable, but the author of "The Facts of Life," in common with the surrealists, is much more nihilist than satirist. Even in A Ceremonial, which is about a Utopia, when Mr. Goodman names some of his good things of life—children, trees, baseball, the late quartets of Beethoven—all of which he describes with an idyllic charm, his pervasive tone is one of mocking his own utopianisms. At first glance, this turn on himself, this persistent double edge of irony, may give the impression of complexity, but actually, as we examine it, it comes to look rather more like self-protection; we get the sense, that is, of a personality determined to do the rejecting before it is itself rejected. As a matter of fact, in the story The Canoeist this is more than a sense; here Mr. Goodman's impulse to self-protection is openly, even consciously, stated.

I could wish to avoid using the word negativism to describe this dominant note of Mr. Goodman's work. The opposite of negativism is taken, these days, to mean the announcement of a program, and it is clearly one of the refreshments of "The Facts of Life" that it has no program. Nevertheless, Mr. Goodman's excessive mood of attack, his need to assert himself above our common survival and benefit, often renders his thrusts pointless—which is what we must finally mean by negativism. For instance, in the story University in Exile Mr. Goodman is describing a dinner party at an American home attended by an assorted group of refugees, and he makes the following comment on the lack of appetite of one of the foreign guests: "She was puzzled whether the meat was pork, veal, or horse. It was lamb, soaked for three days in buttermilk"; and one wonders against whom the exaggeration is intended—against the hostess for the extravagance of her culinary art, or against the guest whose sophistication is unequal to such reaches of cookery. We reach the conclusion, and not from these few lines alone, nor only from this story, but from the volume as a whole, that everyone is mocked—hostess, guest, and even reader, everyone except the author himself, who alone remains inviolate, strong in his advanced knowledge of lamb soaked in buttermilk but immune to such snobbish blandishments. The University in Exile, by the way, in its entirety is also the most blatant instance of Mr. Goodman's offense against charity. For surely the courage to write of refugees as if they were as economically and socially determined as other people would not be undermined, it could only be strengthened, by an instinct of sympathy for their displaced lives.

On the other hand, there is the title story of the book, the best piece Mr. Goodman reprints and quite exempt from this criticism. The Facts of Life is an account of what goes on in the mind of a nine-year-old upon discovering she is Jewish. Making the best literary use I know of clinical Freudian material, it is a wonderful excursion into the unconscious realm where the first knowledge of Jewishness merges with the already old knowledge of femaleness into an extremely witty and fearful elaboration of the castration fantasy. It is a fragrant story, communicating a complete fictional experience, unique in the volume for the human overtones it is able to set up. In trying to account for its quality, the idea is bound to occur to one that perhaps it is explained by the part that a familiar reality is allowed to play in its conception: the child's sex, age, religion, and class may be points of departure for the author's fancy, but they are points fixed with an unusual firmness in an accepted and acceptable world. By even this much of a fond acceptance of some dominion above the dominion of self Mr. Goodman does his gifts a great service—as he himself would seem to recognize by naming his whole volume from this single story, which is, in important ways, its anti-principle.

DIANA TRILLING

"Tomorrow's Small House"

MODERN architecture has acquired some powerful new friends—the mass-circulation magazines. Where will they carry it? They realize that they have hold of something good and are outdoing themselves to put it over in their own lavish way.

From among the countless plans, models, and color reproductions through which this purpose is being accomplished, the most convenient to study are those produced through the collaboration of the *Ladies' Home Journal* with the Museum of Modern Art and with an imposing list of modern architects. Here the "art work" at least, leaves nothing to be desired in its vivid and charming faithfulness. The original models, on display through the summer at the Museum in New York, have been fashioned with watch-making fidelity and love, some by Devon Dennett, some by Raymond Barger Studios, on a scale of one inch to the foot, which means that a house seventy-five feet long is reproduced at the length of an ordinary bed or long table. Each model brings to life not only a house but the surrounding grounds; the trees and shrubbery are reproduced not by the accustomed sickly green sponges but by remarkable dwarf-plant material; and the interiors are complete down to the last teacup in its tiny saucer.

The collection indicates unmistakably, first of all, that the men who set out to destroy architectural "styles" have succeeded, in the course of twenty years, in creating one. All the houses are low and sharply cut. All throw great sheets of glass to sunward. All move in the large, clear, repetitive rhythm of the standard module. All but two are a single story high, and turn themselves indoors out in such a manner that an occupant could walk out of almost any part directly on to grass—or on to ice and snow. Every example speaks in the common vocabulary, which is crisp and purged and pol-

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ished. The term "modern" architecture now belongs in quotes, having achieved an identity, a manner, a look, that can easily be recognized by a broad public. It is this which renders "modern" architecture eligible for the new large-scale promotion, and, indeed, the common method of working will alone make possible large-scale production.

Less fortunate than a standardized method of work is the standard attitude which is taken toward methods of family living. It is unlikely that the group of leading architects represented could all independently have arrived at so nearly the same concept, an unimaginative one. It is easier to believe that there was close supervision by some unidentified top-side editor or other public-relations man who thought that he knew a great deal more about "public acceptance" than any mere architect. At any rate, all the houses are based on substantially the same schedule of rooms: first, a living-dining-kitchen combination, thrown always into an "open planning" area; then one or more small bedrooms for children and a large master bedroom for the parents; finally, a plentitude of sanitary facilities and a garage or carport. The interpretation supplied by the architects tends, as the Museum booklet remarks, to an elongated rectangular plan. This might better be called a "Pullman" plan, with all the main rooms strung along one side of a long corridor but with the difference that one or two auxiliary spaces such as bathrooms and carports may be placed on the other side.

How might a family live in such a house? It is to be feared that this kind of plan is just as conventional by now as the stock "Colonial" plan. If the house is really small, then the social rooms in the "open planning sequence" are not big enough, for example, to fool the radio. If the noise-loving children are to occupy this area, driving out the parents, then the furniture is too good for what they will want of it. If the good furniture is to be occupied by the parents, then the children are driven either entirely out of the house or into tiny cubicles marked "children's rooms," which generally are not big enough to play in, or, upon achievement of adolescence by the children, to entertain in. The absence of any usable equivalent for the old attic and basement, so essential to family life, negates much of the aesthetic charm. "Open planning" can become an empty shibboleth.

If the magazine and the museum have fostered better style than might be expected, they have fostered poorer planning. Another note should be made on cost. Although the sponsors talk glibly about a housing program embracing 1,250,000 dwellings a year (one-fourth more than the best yet), and although they point to a large middle group of families receiving $2,000 to $3,000 annually and able to lay aside $4,000 to $6,000 for a house, the exhibit itself bears no appreciable relation to any such program. In the judgment of qualified architects, most of the models exhibited would fall entirely outside this cost range, and a client would be lucky to build the most ambitious one for a cent under $30,000 today. The Museum begs the issue; but is this wise? The Museum puts forth its exhibit as something obtainable with "full use" of our "present potentialities." "Modern" architecture should stop leaning on the invisible, or on the future. "Modern" architecture is twenty years old and should accept the responsibilities of maturity, dealing with here and now.

A bad effect of using purely hypothetical costs is that architects avoid making realistic choices in detail. For example, the typical "open" plan of the Museum show is intrinsically costly. It demands much ground, so that neighbors may not stare in at every glass wall. A single story demands nearly twice as much expensive roof as two. A spread-out arrangement involves much periphery to be maintained and, in all but the balmier climates, to be heated: like the naked Indian, some of these houses are "all face." Superimposed on the costliness of novel detailing is the cost of greater tightness required by the big exterior surface and by the fine lines. For lack of close attention to costs, the architect's own best effects can be turned against him. For example, through open planning it has been possible to obtain an expressive big social room out of an area formerly occupied by a separate living-room, dining-room, and kitchen; and by the magic of glass it has been possible to add the out-of-doors to this living space, psychologically. Yet if costs

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run high, there will be an irresistible temptation to shrivel the actual dimensions, putting dependence on the illusion, until in the end the psychological space and the space outside are paid for out of space inside that might have been physically real and highly useful.

Fortunately there are architects who do pay strict attention to cost relationships, and one of them, Vernon de Mars, produced the exceptional house of the exhibit. It is two stories high, saving ground and roof. At some sacrifice of cross-ventilation, neighbors economize greatly by sharing the party wall. A basement might be a help, but at least the boys have a bedroom as large as the parents'. Sanitary facilities of a not too ambitious kind are nicely related not only to bedrooms but to work spaces such as kitchen, garden, and car. The house looks very pleasant, and so does the long back garden on a modest 30x100 lot. Significantly enough, the plan is the old four-square Colonial plan, except that the family car is stowed in what would have been the library.

There are other good examples to hand, many of them, not forgetting the workable little country house designed for *McCall's* in June by Wurster and Bernardi. But perhaps it may be said that "public-relations modern," having achieved a clear vocabulary and the means of aesthetic charm, must begin to turn realistic about families and about costs. The only future it can count on now is what it makes.

DOUGLAS HASKELL

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

MY ADMIRATION for Schnabel's playing has represented perception of his powers, not blindness to his weaknesses. In no other pianist's performances have we heard the sharp contours and subtle inflection of phrase, the clearly outlined structure of Schnabel's best performances; but he has occasionally chosen a tempo that was too slow or too fast, or not maintained it steadily, or pushed the expressiveness of a phrase to the point of distorting its form, or driven fortissimos beyond the limits of agreeable sound. And ever since his year's retirement for meditation and writing there have been occasional performances like the broadcast one of Beethoven's Concerto No. 3 with the New York Philharmonic on June 17, in which it was evident that he had not taken the trouble to achieve mastery of his fingers in the playing of the notes—a mastery without which there was imperfect execution not only of passage-work but of subtle phraseological inflection. The performance was like a ruin of the great performance in the Victor set.

The first of the Stadium Concerts ballet nights offered "Leonide Massine's Ballet Russe Highlights." The company is a little group of six principals: Massine, Lazovsky, Eglevsky, Baronova, Anna Istomina, Kathryn Lee; its repertory comprises bits of the old ballet repertory and a number of pieces newly created by Massine. Of the new things I saw the Russian, Polish, and Bohemian Dances, in which Massine merely arranged national steps, were engaging; but the others—whether serious, like "Vision" to Bach's Air for G string, and "The Warrior" to Rachmaninov's G minor Prelude; or humorous, like "Première Polka" and "At the Dentist"; or fanciful, like "Bumble Bee" to the Rimsky-Korsakov piece, and "Contredanses" to Beethoven's music—are rubbish.

The old things I saw were the "Nutcracker" *pas de deux,* danced by Baronova and Eglevsky, the "Blue Bird" *pas de deux,* danced by Istomina and Eglevsky, "Le Spectre de la rose," danced by Baronova and Eglevsky, the Barman's Dance from "Union Pacific," danced by Massine, and the finale of "Capriccio Espagnol," danced by the entire group.

In the performances the men stood

out—each in his own style—as the great dancers they are. Eglevsky, hampered by new partners and other unfavorable conditions, did not reach his top form of last season, but did some beautiful classical dancing. On the other hand Massine's presence and subtle art exercised their effect even under unfavorable conditions. And Lazovsky's theater and dance brilliance—the ease, the incisive and continuous rhythm of his soaring and whirling—also was unaffected by those conditions.

Every score of Aaron Copland shows his technical expertness and assurance; but these do not in every instance produce a piece of music that is enjoyable or interesting; and for me "Appalachian Spring" is one of the instances in which they do not. It is, of course, music for a stage work; and it may be that what I didn't enjoy in the music was related to what I didn't enjoy in Martha Graham's choreography. I had, not long before, heard a few young ladies fresh from Vassar exclaim over the artificiality of classic ballet and its limitations as an expressive medium as compared with modern dance; but I was much more aware of artificiality and limitations in the grim, angular prancing that I saw Martha Graham's company do at Bennington some years ago, and again in the more genial "Appalachian Spring" recently; and I suggest that those young ladies look at classic ballet next time with these observations of Edwin Denby in mind: "The expressive virtue of any dancing is its rhythm, and its rhythm is felt only in continuities (or phrases) of movement that offer the audience variations of bodily impetus clearly set in relation to a fixed space. And these long phrases of movement convey the specific meaning of the ballet—its drama. As the impetus of successive phrases of music suggest to the hearer a particular quality of emotion and thought, so the successive phrases of a ballet suggest to the observer a particular quality of human action. When you watch a girl moving about a room you sometimes guess what the quality of movement 'means.' It is not that she expresses herself by making handies; she does it by the rhythm of her actions. We often understand animals that way and they us. And in love we all know how dramatic such a moment of understanding is. It seems to tell more than any words and say it more irrevocably. And this is the natural phenomenon on which the art of ballet is built as a convincing human expression."

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Two Forms of Fascism

Dear Sirs: The present war is often called a war against fascism. This has been agreed upon by people holding a great variety of political and economic beliefs. I feel that this agreement is less complete than it seems because of the variety of connotations the term has gained in the last decade.

It seems to me that fascism as it has been practiced in Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain, and Argentina has had two phases. The first might be called the ideological phase; it has been presented to us by the ministers of propaganda of the fascist nations as Nazism, Fascism, Shintoism, and Phalangism. As an ideology fascism usually involves some or all of the following ideas and institutions—dictatorship by one party, a Führer, Duce, or Emperor, a master race, the subjugation of the individual to the state, the loss of civil liberties, a scapegoat for the ills of the country, an expansionist national policy, indoctrination of youth and early military training, the suppression of grass-roots Christianity often coupled with the substitution of some form of paganism, and the exaltation of intense nationalism. The second phase represents a situation which developed to a greater extent in Germany and Italy than in the other fascist nations. I refer to the way in which the vested interests, the land and property owners, and, in general, the privileged classes used the first phase of fascism, which was supported by a fanatical minority, as a lever with which to control the policies of the nation and suppress popular uprisings, people's parties, and other movements seeking to change the status quo. Two questions which might incidentally be considered at this point are: Was it reasonable, in the light of history, to expect that the second phase would follow the first? Are there forces in all capitalist nations which are always on the alert for a movement which might be used as a lever for the second phase of fascism?

I know some people have never included the second phase of fascism in their thinking on the subject. They see in fascism nothing more than a large-scale Ku Klux Klan or Silver Shirts organization. There are those in any country who find themselves potentially in the position of the groups who have used the first phase of fascism as a lever, and they find it easy in their own minds to justify such action. In condemning fascism they would be careful to lay all the stress on the first phase. Consequently the arrest and punishment of a Goebbels or a Himmler would be made to appear of much greater importance than that of a Krupp or a Thyssen. I myself stress rather the danger of the second phase because of its greater power for evil. I think that clearing up the haziness between these two phases of fascism would bring into the open in this country as well as among our allies the real issues of this war.

OWEN C. THOMAS

Washington, D. C., July 17

Giving Life to the Court

Dear Sirs: The prestige of the World Court must be established. Therefore when it has been set up and is ready to function, why should not an armistice be sought with Japan with the declared intention of submitting the whole question of The United States and the British Empire vs. Japan to the court for its decision?

Such a procedure would seem to be desirable for two reasons: (1) We are a people who believe in law and justice. Therefore we would derive more satisfaction from any decision handed down in a court of justice than from the most severe penalty which could be imposed upon Japan by force of arms. (2) The strength and authority of the World Court will, at the start, depend upon the willingness of the people of the world to submit to its verdicts. To have a case of the importance of Japan's aggression laid before the court at its very inception would establish a precedent that would be the breath of life to this instrument which we have conceived in order to maintain the peace of the world.

ALFRED A. KING

Lincoln, Neb., July 16

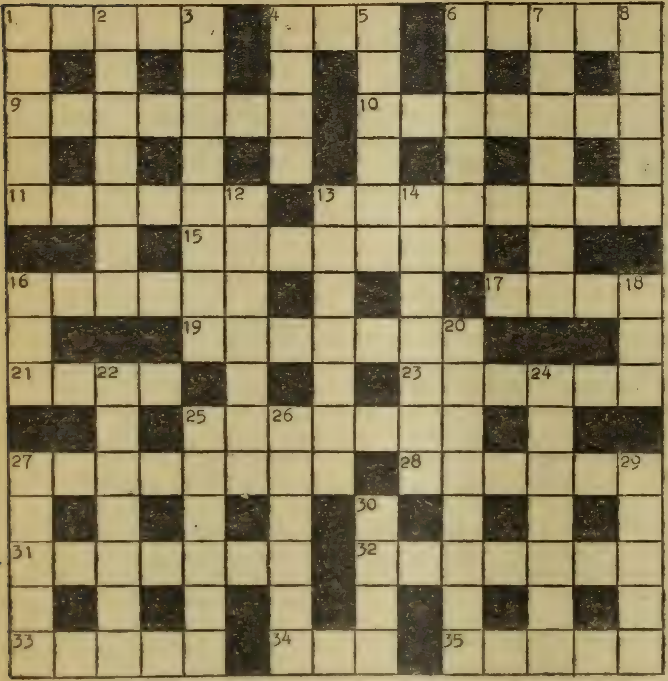
News from France

[*The following letter was received by a member of the* Nation *staff from a former fighter in the resistance in France.*]

My brother Jean came home four days ago after five years in German prison camps. He would have arrived earlier but he contracted typhus en route. The

Crossword Puzzle No. 122

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Home sweet home to someone
4 Cheek
6 May adorn a tale
9 Sounds like rain (hyphen, 3-1-3)
10 Goes to bed (two words, 5 and 2)
11 "Gorgeous Georges" Carpentier's favorite flower
13 Time indefinitely
15 He loves an argument
16 "The moving ------ writes; and having writ, moves on"
17 Has been defined as "nothing divided by two"
19 Children make chains of these flowers
21 Head down, eye on the ball, slowly back, and don't press. That's it!
23 Stuff straw hats are made of
25 "One who contends for a prize in public games" (dictionary)
27 This should reduce the swelling
28 Second tallest tower in the world
31 Out of the ordinary
32 Stuff porridge is made of
33 A European capital
34 Kind of bread, or whiskey
35 Chinese

DOWN

1 "I thought I saw a banker's clerk descending from an omnibus: I looked again and then I saw it was a -----potamus"
2 I will be found between two containers in Rome
3 Heavier on one side than on the other
4 Deceased
5 Sounds like a motor-boat (hyphen, 3-3)
6 Keeps bricks together yet keeps them apart
7 He lived in comfortable retirement for 39 years after writing *William Tell*
8 A change of linen for a former Russian dictator
12 Disorder
13 Mother and boys demand fruit
14 The other side includes a reserve
16 Nature's blackout
18 This horse hasn't a leg to stand on
20 More than satisfies
22 Belgian province where they make that effluvial cheese
24 A number often mentioned by cribbage players
25 Wake up!
26 He who had the care of horses at an inn
27 Symptomatic of some throat or chest trouble
29 Palely-purplish flower
30 How many legs has an octopus?

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 121

ACROSS:—1 BRAINS; 5 FLATTOP; 10 GRACE-NOTE; 11 APTLY; 12 ATHALIE; 13 SEABELL; 14 TABLE; 16 HI-JACKERS; 18 HANSEATIC; 20 SARAH; 22 MUMMERS; 24 SORGHUM; 26 OKAPI; 27 FURNITURE; 28 KISSERS; 29 TWENTY.

DOWN:—2 ROACH; 3 ICEFLOE; 4 SHOVEL HAT; 5 FLEAS; 6 ARAMAIC; 7 TO THE REAR; 8 PHYLLIS; 9 AGHAST; 15 BY NO MEANS; 17 JACK SPRAT; 18 HEMLOCK; 19 EREMITE; 20 SERVICE; 21 HAMLET; 23 SOFAS; 25 HAUNT.

Nazis made good use of his medical training: he worked in fifteen different camps! During that time he helped hundreds of prisoners to escape. Toward the end a large number of politcial deportees—Germans, Poles, Serbs, Czechs, and Frenchmen—were transferred to his camp. His job was to sort out the corpses each morning, an average of two hundred a day. Some were in a frightful state, for during the night the living had tried to eat them. Some of our friends have recently returned from Buchenwald or Auschwitz. The very sight of them makes one shiver.

When you look around, you can't help feeling a sense of disquiet about the future of this world. Where are the solutions that can keep this from ever happening again? It's high time to concern ourselves about a few of the Nazis in France, England, and the United States, as well as in Germany. There are still many in France, but they've gone underground so well that it is difficult to dig them out.

In France things aren't going too well—two million homes destroyed, no coal, nothing to eat. We'd like to explain to the American High Command that it is slightly indecent to feed German prisoners better rations than the French civilians are eating today.

The San Francisco conference seemed like a game of blind man's bluff in a dark room. What will come out of it? We're beginning to wonder whether we shan't wake up one morning five years from now to find that some of the United Nations are allied with Germany. A. R.

Paris, May 19

CONTRIBUTORS

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THE *Nation*

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Great Britain Goes Socialist

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

London, July 27 (by cable)

THE Labor Party has come to power. It has won 390 seats at least. It has majority of not less than 130 over the whole House of Commons. It has defeated 26 of Mr. Churchill's ministers, including men like L. S. Amery, Sir James Grigg, and Mr. Brendan Bracken. The Liberal Party has been massacred: its leader, Sir Archibald Sinclair, and its special aces, Sir William Beveridge and Lady Violet Bonham-Carter, were both defeated. So were Mr. Churchill's son and his son-in-law, Mr. Duncan Sandys, the Minister of Works. The left got fifteen million votes as against ten million votes for the right. Mr. Churchill, who will not return to Potsdam, resigned last night, and Mr. Attlee accepted the King's commission to form the first Labor government with a majority in the history of Great Britain. On any showing, this an epoch in our lives, perhaps an epoch in the life of the world.

Why did it occur? Why was Mr. Churchill, who two months ago seemed at the pinnacle of power, to find it taken from him by the massive and deliberate decision of the people?

The answer, I think, is threefold. First, there was widespread resentment at Mr. Churchill's effort to make this election a vote of personal confidence in himself. That seemed a *Führerprinzip*, a claim to indispensability which is out of harmony with the essential principles of democratic government. Second, I think I may fairly say that there was widespread disgust at the way in which Mr. Churchill allowed himself to become the instrument of Lord Beaverbrook's stunts and scares. It showed a febrile irresponsibility, if I may venture a personal word, to paint an inoffensive scholar like myself as the head of the Socialist Gestapo. Thirdly, no one believed that the vested interests behind Mr. Churchill had any serious convictions about the large-scale programs of social reform he announced. Everyone knew that they wanted to get back to normalcy as rapidly as possible. Finally, Mr. Churchill never understood—an amazing index to his mind—that with the fighting man no less than the civilian he was dealing with people who had been thinking hard for five years and were determined to be done, once and for all, with the old order.

The Labor Party in the new House of Commons will be the best party we have ever had. It is fully representative of most areas, geographical and functional—the cathedral city as well as the mining village, Tory strongholds like Dover as well as business symbols like the exchange divisions of Manchester and Liverpool. It has broken the Chamberlain tradition in Birmingham. It has an overwhelming majority in London and its suburban areas. It has won a goodly number of rural seats, its first big triumph in the countryside. Professors, lawyers, doctors, school teachers, journalists, business men, trade-union organizers, and trade unionists from the assembly line—all these have their due meed of representation. Above all, and to me best of all, it is a young party and the youth is contributed by the service candidates, rank and file as well as officers, among whom I am certain that I could name confidently at least three as the leaders of the Labor Party in the next generation.

It is a grim task upon which the Labor government embarks. First, it has to give all its energy and aid to the swift and decisive defeat of Japan. Simultaneously it must employ all its powers to evoke a new sense of hope in Europe and, out of that evocation, to make the unity of the three great powers real and unbreakable. It must end the era of support for obsolete monarchs in exile and decayed systems of privilege which have been accustomed to look to Downing Street for support. It must press forward with genuine determination to Indian freedom. It must make that pan-Arabism, so carefully cultured since 1939, understand decisively that the tragic remnant of European Jewry will not be sacrificed to make a holiday for Arab effendi in any part of the Middle East. It must give to France, yes, and to renascent Italy, the kind of friendship which gives power to their creative genius. It must use its new influence to rebuild the unity of the working-class movement all over the world. Is it too much to hope that we may look for active support from America? For there innumerable men and women organized the greatest campaign in the history of the nation to eliminate insecurity and fear and give new status to the underprivileged. Nor did the objectives of the New Deal stop at national boundaries. The vision of Franklin D. Roosevelt included a world in which the Four Freedoms had become a reality. The foreign policy of the Labor Government points toward such a goal; its fulfillment will require the active cooperation of the liberal and working-class movement of America.

On the domestic side the problems are also immense. We have at once to try and build the foundations of socialism within the structure of a society dominated by a capitalist economy, and to carry through those immediate measures like housing, the orderly demobilization of the fighting men, the reorganization for peace of the war-time economic controls which touch every phase of our national life. It will not be easy once the first excitement has died down. Privilege in Britain is strong. It has the psychological tenacity of a group of men accustomed to the habit of power. There will be relentless opposition on every inch of the road. Victory will depend upon the courage and audacity of the new Cabinet. This is not a time for half measures. It is not a time for doubt. It is a time to go forward boldly and to show in deeds the actual faith of the party in its principles. That is the way to overcome the persistent efforts the City will make, as did Wall Street with Roosevelt, to render the path a hard one. That is the way also to keep the House of Lords in its place. I think there is a real chance of this. As the country has moved left, so the party has moved left. Also there is a strong following in the new members for the policy of great experiment, boldly conceived and skilfully and resolutely exercised. This is to be a socialist government. It is by being socialist that it will hold the public opinion it has won.

The American who seeks to understand this election must compare it with the historic victory of the Whigs in 1832. After long years of reaction, the old aristocratic Toryism was compelled to give way before the advance of the middle class. The structure of bourgeois democracy was built into the foundations on which the superstructure of aristocratic privilege had been erected. In the election of 1945 the Fourth Estate, the common people, have opened the barriers which shut them out from their right to power. The Labor Party in their name will seek to make a revolution by consent. It will try to build the socialist commonwealth for the creation of which it has a decisive mandate by the processes of constitutional democracy. That ought to be possible. I hope it will be possible. But I think of the fate of the Weimar Republic, of Italy handed to Mussolini by vested interests, of Spanish democracy slain without protest from those who should have been its friends, of Austria gobbled up by Hitler while democracy in Europe and America pretended that it was not their concern. Where the rights of property are concerned, its owners lose all sense of reason and justice in their passion to make the state power the servant of their right to exploit the masses of people.

Will it be different this time? I do not know. Much depends on the courage of the Labor government. It is still true, as Pericles said, that courage is the secret of freedom. Much depends on its ability at home to make this great adventure a great training of the people in the knowledge of their power. Much depends abroad on the eagerness and the speed with which the government evokes all over Europe the half-awakened forces of democracy. They are there, waiting for the encouragement which would give them the right to cooperate with this new Britain with all their strength. There is the Soviet Union, which could, and I think will, draw the inference from the Labor party's victory that a great bastion of its military security has been gained on which a stronger friendship between our peoples can be built. There is India, with whom we can hope to write a new chapter in our common destiny.

The chance is there. The faith is there. We must organize behind them will and determination so that, out of the horror of this war, there may come—if slowly, nevertheless surely—a renovation of the human spirit which will turn it toward creativeness and plenty instead of toward destruction and suffering. This is a day, indeed, to echo the famous sentence, "We have nothing to lose but our chains and a world to win."

Let us go forward to the fulfilment of emancipation. If it is wise for us to be humble, it is not less wise for us to remember that destiny has given us a supreme opportunity.

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The Shape of Things

THERE WERE NO DARK HORSES AMONG THOSE named by Mr. Attlee for leading positions in the new British government before he left for Potsdam. Bevin, Morrison, Cripps, Greenwood, Dalton are men of the highest standing in the Labor Party and its most experienced administrators. But in matching men with offices the Prime Minister confounded some of the prophets. True, the appointment of Ernest Bevin as Foreign Minister was generally expected; his speech at the Blackpool Labor Conference in May was a frank bid for the position. From the point of view of the striped-trousers school of diplomacy the choice of this burly, plain-spoken trade-union leader is incongruous to say the least. Let them recall how admirably Arthur Henderson, another trade-union leader, filled this office in the last Labor government. Mr. Ernest Bevin is as British as Winston Churchill, but, unlike him, internationally minded. He has excelled as a negotiator in the hard school of industrial relations, he will not be intimidated by anyone, and he will certainly not become the Charlie McCarthy of his permanent officials. Herbert Morrison, with his drive, his administrative ability, and his understanding of economics, had been considered a natural for the treasury. Instead he becomes Lord President of the Council, an office without specific administrative responsibilities, and Leader of the House of Commons. This means he will be charged with pushing the government's legislative program through Parliament, a task to which, as a skilled political strategist and a keen debater, he is well suited. With Morrison otherwise engaged, Hugh Dalton, one of the party's chief economic experts, had a clear path to the Treasury. The selection of Sir Stafford Cripps, however, as President of the Board of Trade, has been a surprise. In our view it is an excellent choice. This is a key position in the reconstruction of trade and industry, and no one has a firmer grasp than Cripps of the nature of the problems to be solved.

*

BIG BUSINESS IN BRITAIN IS STUNNED BY THE Tory defeat but, when it comes to, it will surely seek to nullify the verdict of the polls. It has lost its grip on the machinery of the state but economic power will afford it many opportunities to delay, block, and sabotage Labor's program. In such activities British business can count on the sympathy of American business men and, if we allow it, their positive aid. Already Arthur Krock has portentously declared in the New York *Times* that "our foreign economic policy must be resurveyed" in the light of British Labor's proposals to nationalize certain industries and "to engage in a highly expensive program of public housing and social security." (The very large Conservative pledges on this score appear to have escaped his notice; or, perhaps, he did not take them seriously.) Fearing that Labor's program may produce "a demoralized British economy," Mr. Krock says the United States must watch its commitments; "it should not underwrite State Socialism." He then quotes with approval Mr. Baruch's advocacy of measures to safeguard America against foreign socialization schemes, the promotion of cartels, and "the undercutting of human standards." This is confusing. It is the British Conservatives who have fostered international cartels, and Labor is far more likely to cooperate with the United States in their suppression. Nor do we see a British Labor Government "cutting human standards": that surely is a trick of private enterprise. Nevertheless the drift of the Krock-Baruch thinking is clear enough: to protect the American "system" our financial and economic power must be used to thwart socialism abroad. We submit that in this day and age such a doctrine is political dynamite.

*

THE TESTIMONY OF THE CHIEF WITNESSES IN the trial of Marshal Pétain has been largely a defense of their records. Pétain indeed has come to seem like a lay figure—and his stony silence reinforces the impression. Whatever prestige he had left, even upon his return to France, seems to have melted away; it is significant that whereas in a poll of French opinion last September only 3 per cent wanted him to suffer the death penalty, in May of this year the figure has risen to 40 per cent. As man and marshal of France, Pétain is finished, whatever the verdict may be. The main interest of his trial lies in the fact that it has turned into a wide-ranging examination of the reasons for the French disaster. And the examination is going on outside the court as well. Francois Mauriac, writing in *Figaro*, asserts, for instance, that not only Daladier but everyone in France and elsewhere who applauded the Munich pact must accept a share of guilt.

> Pétain [he writes] has assumed before God and man responsibilities of which nobody can relieve him. But we should be hypocrites if, before joining our voices with all who accuse him, each of us did not ask himself: "What did I do or write or think at the time of Munich? In what mood did I greet the armistice?"

Pétain's trial has thrown into bold relief the outlines of the civil war that was going on in France long before the outbreak of the war between the nations in 1939 and is now moving into its decisive phase. M. Mauriac's excoriation is just, but we hope the thesis that "we are all guilty" will not be carried too far. The civil war is still on. It must end not in an amnesty to misguided leaders and vicious tendencies on the ground that they stopped short of treachery, but in a clear decision—and a clean sweep of French reaction, of which Pétain was only one of the uglier manifestations.

*

THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF THE POTSDAM Conference will include, we hope, a definite announcement on reparations, which have been the subject of some disturbing rumors. According to one report agreement was reached at Yalta for splitting a total of $20 billion to be extracted from Germany within five years. Russia was to get half this amount, the United States and Britain $4 billion each, while "the lesser victims" would share the remaining $2 billion. Such a division, it seems to us, is based on power rather than equity. Actually no reparations within

Germany's capacity to pay can begin to compensate for the devastation the Nazis have left behind them. But whatever payments are forthcoming should be allotted to injured countries in proportion to their losses. On this basis Russia would certainly rank for the biggest share—perhaps even as much as 50 per cent—but that share ought to include whatever German goods are being carried off by the Russians from their occupation zone in advance of a reparations agreement. According to reports from Paris, Moscow regards this booty as outside the general reparations pool. Such rumors are disturbing the French, excluded as they are from Potsdam, but they are likely to be even more disturbed by stories from several sources suggesting that the grand total of reparations will in the first place be distributed among the Big Three, each of which will retrocede some part to smaller nations. We trust that this report will prove entirely without foundation, for distribution on such a basis would be truly monstrous. It would place at the disposal of the big powers an enormous patronage fund with which countries pursuing policies approved by the patron would be rewarded while those that kicked over the traces would be punished. It could become a means for supporting, say, a conservative government in France or for disciplining a radical one. Justice demands that Germany's victims receive reparations as a right, not as a favor granted by one or other or all of the Big Three.

*

THE DICTATORS OF ONE OF THE UNITED Nations, Argentina, came a cropper when they launched a vilification campaign against American Ambassador Spruille Braden. In answer to the government-inspired attack on Mr. Braden, several thousand Argentines accorded him a spontaneous ovation in which shouts of "Viva Braden! Vivan los Estados Unidos! Libertad! Democracia!" filled the air. A statement signed by 362 prominent Argentines has protested the government's anti-Braden campaign. Apparently neither the repressions of their own dictator nor the recognition given him by our State Department have weakened the Argentine people's determination to get rid of Perón and restore democratic institutions. That day is not far off, as the recent action of the moderate Radical Party, Argentina's most powerful political organization, indicates. It has surmounted earlier threats of a split and stated its united and unequivocal opposition to the Perón regime, which had long sought its support. Any of its members who accepts office in the present government or collaborates with it in any way will automatically be eliminated from the party. In addition, it has called for free elections, freedom of the press, and a lifting of the state of siege. The students' strike and opposition statements issued by business men and livestock producers show that the anti-Perón wave is no longer restricted to labor, leftist, and professional groups, but includes all sections of the population. The campaign against Braden has provided an opportunity to reopen the Argentine issue.

*

THE PROCESS WE FORESAW WHEN TRUMAN inherited the Presidency is now clearly under way, only it is happening even faster than we expected. One by one the Roosevelt men are being replaced. Their resignations are being accepted without protest although with courteous "regret." Their jobs are going to persons not so very different in point of view but different enough to indicate a direction. The direction is to the right. We predict that this process will be speeded up as the 1946 elections draw near. Mr. Hannegan will want men at the head of departments and agencies who will appreciate the need of providing good jobs for good Democrats down below. But there is one impending change that ought to be prevented at all costs. Secretary Ickes should not be permitted to retire from the Department of the Interior. That he is planning to quit as soon as Mr. Truman gets back from Potsdam is generally assumed. And friends of Mr. Ickes say that the President is ready to let him go. If as good a man were available for the job we would not protest Mr. Ickes's resignation, for the Secretary is the last remaining indigenous New Dealer and he has earned a furlough. So far no appropriate successor has been suggested, and the danger is that the post will go to a political appointee. This would be a calamity; nothing less. For the Interior Department has under its heterogeneous jurisdiction such immense national assets as the great river developments—save only the TVA—and the federal oil lands. There is just one way to make sure these resources are protected and exploited for the benefit of the people as a whole, and that is by keeping the Secretaryship out of the hands of the politicians. Mr. Ickes should stay where he is until he is certain that his job will go to a man who can be trusted to stand off the private oil and power interests.

*

THE RAIL JOURNEY HOME FOR RETURNING veterans has the elements of a nightmare postscript to their combat experiences. According to one reporter they reach the end of their trip "looking a good deal like Bill Mauldin's Willie and Joe." It should not be so. Of course, with the roads carrying five times the passengers carried before the war, conditions are bound to be difficult. But planning would have avoided much of the present jam. As long ago as December, 1943, the Truman committee warned that failure to provide for the "replenishment needs of transportation agencies in terms of manpower, materials, and facilities . . . would be to run the risk of a breakdown." Nothing important was done, and today, at the very moment when troops are being deployed for a final blow against Japan, "manpower, materials, and facilities" are all lacking. Short-term planning has been even more neglected. The testimony of J. Monroe Johnson, Director of the Office of Defense Transportation, before the Mead War Investigation Committee, placed the blame fairly on the army. No inkling of the redeployment program was given out until early in May, it was revised toward the end of May, and in the months of June and July the actual arrival of troops exceeded by 50,000 and 97,000 the army's estimates. The redeployment program calls for moving 2,000,000 troops home within ten months. Clearly certain steps are needed. (1) There must be closer cooperation between the army and the ODT: this is elementary common sense. (2) The 65,000 rail workers asked for by Col. Johnson to man the existing rolling stock must be found either in surplus-labor areas or within the army. (3) Ports other than New York could be used as debarkation points, and if air transport now available were pressed into service, as Senator Mead suggests, widely dispersed landing fields in the East, South, and North could serve as terminals. And finally, civilians can still cut their travel: it is a small enough contribution toward giving returning veterans a break.

⁂

SOME MEN BY THEIR VERY EVIL SERVE THE good. Such a man, perhaps, is Senator Bilbo. The advocates of white supremacy, of Anglo-Saxon superiority, have employed all manner of specious devices to conceal the twisted quality of mind and soul behind their racial bias. Not so Bilbo—and perhaps we should be grateful. Starkly, without shame, and with no hint of camouflage he parades his ignorant contempt for the Negro, the Jew, the Italian, for all to see. When you look at Bilbo, listen to his words, read his letters, you find yourself confronted suddenly with the incarnation of evil. He is no more a representative of Southern democracy than he is of Northern democracy. He is Exhibit A of what free Americans have been fighting against throughout their history. Bilbo is a one-man chamber of horrors, an unanswerable argument in favor of elimination of an obscene evil from a society of free men.

Negrín on Labor's Victory

Mexico City, July 30
(*By wire to* The Nation)

"I applaud every act which strengthens the bonds of friendship between the British and Spanish people and which, in the early future, will link even more closely the Spanish Republic and the United Kingdom. From the very first day of the Spanish war the Labor Party and the British labor movement as a whole understood perfectly the universal meaning of the Spanish struggle and did everything in their power to support the legitimate regime. Had Labor been in power at the time, the outcome of our struggle would have been different. Even after the war's end and the recognition of the rebel government by the great powers, British socialism persisted in an unyielding hostility towards the totalitarian regime imposed upon the Spanish people by the now-defeated Axis. Now the road is open for an era of intimate collaboration between Spain and the British nation as soon as a constitutional regime is reestablished in my country. As a Socialist I am convinced that the Labor victory will immensely strengthen socialist and progressive forces the world over, and that its effects will manifest themselves in the internal and foreign policies of the countries of western and Mediterranean Europe. As Premier of the government of the Spanish Republic, I can say no more without unduly intruding into the internal affairs of a friendly country. Because of its historic and geographical position, and as the first country to lead the fight against fascism, Spain is destined to be an important bridge between the countries of Europe and of the American continent."

JUAN NEGRIN

Revolution by Ballot

THE British people knew what they wanted—a different kind of government to build a different kind of Britain—and they went after it in a highly practical way. Before the votes were counted it had been feared that the general election might produce a stalemate. With three major parties in the field, as well as numerous minor groups, it seemed quite possible that no one party would gain a working majority in the House of Commons. The electorate, however, thrust the minorities aside, reestablishing the two-party system on a more solid basis than in any election since 1908 when the Labor Party first emerged at Westminster. In spite of a considerable popular vote, the Liberals were crushed. Historically they had been the party of the middle class, but in this election the middle class joined the working class in backing the Labor Party, giving it, for the first time, truly national status.

Refusal to become entangled in the snares of a multi-party system is one sign of the political maturity of the British; another is the recognition that a leader incomparable in war was likely to prove insufferable in peace. Admiration and gratitude for Mr. Churchill remain strong but the voters knew they could not take him without his party. The Tories sought to submerge their record beneath the Churchillian victory smile; they attempted to make the election a personal popularity contest. But the people wanted no Führer, even if he bore the magic name of Churchill.

By using their votes purposefully, Britons have set an example to the world and have helped to revive faith in democracy. They have shown that governments can be overthrown by ballots even more effectively than by bullets. They have served notice on the vested interests that they demand radical changes in the British economic system. In 1945, as in 1832 and 1688, they have effected a revolution, all the more impressive because it is a bloodless one.

We speak of revolution without any thought that socialism will blossom in Britain overnight. Indeed, it will be well if friends of British Labor, at home and abroad, keep their expectations on a sober level. Clement Attlee and his colleagues inherit a full load of difficulties and it would be unfair to hope for too much too soon. Left governments in the past have often suffered more from the tendency of their followers to pass from over-optimism to disillusion than from the malice of their opponents. Let us, therefore, remember that politics is the art of the possible and not set utopian standards for the new Cabinet.

Before the Labor Party's domestic goals can be reached, many obstacles have to be overcome. "We have a job," said Mr. Attlee in his first statement after the election results were announced, "to build up in this country the highest standard of life that we can achieve for all." But Britain's wealth has been drained by the war and, until it has been replenished, there can be little hope of improving living standards on a broad scale. A large part of the nation's resources must be directed into exports, so that funds may become available to buy essential imports, and to put into rebuilding and improving capital equipment. That means consumption must be discouraged by the continuation of rationing and other wartime controls; it means taxes, even on small incomes, must remain high.

We do not doubt, however, that the new Labor government will push steadily ahead with the great program of social reform which has been mapped out in Britain during the war years. Although this program was indorsed by the Tories, we expect that they will seek to stymie it when it takes actual legislative form. Moreover, it will probably prove impossible to tackle such problems as housing without a direct attack on the vested interests of the landowners. At least partial nationalization of the land appears to be an essential step, if the crying demand for homes is to be met expeditiously. But such a step is almost certain to bring the Labor government into conflict with the strongly Conservative House of Lords, which retains the power to delay, though it cannot finally block, bills passed by the Commons.

The domestic policies of the new government will be of vital interest to America, as conservative commentators like Arthur Krock have instantly recognized. Successful measures taken at Westminster to promote economic welfare cannot but influence the course of legislation in this country. Immediately, however, we are more concerned with British Labor's foreign policies. During the election a great deal was said about "continuity of foreign policy," and Conservative spokesmen charged that if Labor won it would upset the international apple-cart. This was merely campaign rhetoric. The foreign policy of any country is continuous in so far as it corresponds to certain fundamental national interests. Thus Britain, under Labor direction, will certainly continue to collaborate closely with the United Nations. It will carry on the war against Japan—that was immediately made clear—and will give full support to the San Francisco Charter. No great country has a bigger stake in future peace, for to none would another war so surely bring disaster.

Again, Britain depends on foreign trade, not merely to prosper but to survive, and the safeguarding of its commerce must be a major objective of any British government. Labor, therefore, will not hasten to liquidate the Empire with which Britain's economic links are so close and vital. But we may expect a new emphasis on self-government, a speeding-up of the process of evolution from colony to commonwealth, a clearer realization that imperial trade ought to be on the basis of partnership and that higher standards of living must be achieved throughout the Empire as well as at home.

Similarly, while the main lines of policy in regard to Europe are likely to be unaltered, there is reason to hope for a complete change in methods. Any British government must concern itself with the security of the home island and of imperial communications. More than ever, Britain must seek to prevent domination of western Europe, from whose shores London has so recently been bombarded, by any aggressive power. That means closer political and economic relations with its continental neighbors, and the Labor government seems to be in a far better position to promote such ties than its predecessor. For the Tories, blinded by class interest, have tended to lose sight of national interests. Using their influence to protect property and privilege on the Continent and to thwart the leftward trend, they have succeeded only in raising suspicion and irritation.

British Tory policy has been particularly unrealistic in the Mediterranean, where Churchill sought to guard the imperial life-line with a phalanx of reactionary governments. Now we may expect an early break with Franco, whose tottering throne shook with the news of British Labor's victory. In Italy, too, democracy will surely get its chance unimpeded by Churchillian attempts to salvage a corrupt monarchy. Above all in Greece, we hope to see a sharp reversal of the policies which put fascism back in the saddle to carry out a savage reign of terror against republicans, democrats, and socialists. Only through the rise of stable, popular governments in these countries can Britain's legitimate interests in the Mediterranean be safeguarded. Dictators are always untrustworthy allies.

The British Labor Party never was tainted by any sympathy for fascists. Against their poisonous doctrines it stood firm when many British Tories fawned on Hitler and praised Mussolini to the skies. Now it has a powerful mandate to complete a victory, only half won by the downfall of the Axis, by basing its foreign policy squarely on democratic principles. The eyes of the common people everywhere are upon it; it must not fail them.

Enemies of the Charter

THE ratification of the United Nations Charter in the United States Senate by an all-but-unanimous vote was blanketed by even more momentous events in other parts of the world. But it, too, marks a major turning point. For it proclaims officially the decision of the American people to assume their full responsibilities as citizens of a great world power. This is how the people of other countries will take the vote in the Senate, and this is its real significance. The absence of open opposition, so startling in contrast to the fierce battles of twenty-six years ago, reflects the change in the mood of the country. It does not mean, unfortunately, that isolationist Senators are, as a breed, extinct; they are merely circumspect. They know that isolationism is at its lowest ebb and they are not disposed to risk their necks by appealing to it at this stage. With two exceptions, the isolationists voted to ratify the Charter. The result is a true reflection of the temper of the country and a somewhat distorted reflection of opinion in the Senate. The victory for international responsibility is a genuine one; but the battle is not over. It will take vigilance and high morale to prevent the opponents of world organization from whittling away the value of the victory later on. To get a clear picture of the stategy of the opposition—and to understand the vote itself—it is necessary to glance back at last week's debate.

Senator Connally opened with an elaborate and rather dramatic presentation of the Administration's position, recalling the "conflict that raged here in this chamber" in 1919 "where the League of Nations was done to death." He was followed by Senator Guffey and Senator Vandenberg, both supporting the Charter. Not a word was spoken in opposition. Then Senator Fulbright got up and expressed the uneasy feeling that must have pervaded the chamber. He wondered whether the apparent unanimity of opinion reflected "the true convictions of this body" and suggested that perhaps the opponents of the Charter were waiting to make their fight not on ratification but on the question of the power of the American delegate on the Council and the areas in which American troops could be used.

During the second day's debate Senator Wheeler announced his intention to vote for the Charter in a forty-four-page address devoted almost entirely to its weaknesses. And he admitted that he intended to delay his real attack until the military agreements came up in the Senate, announcing baldly that "Charter ratification is only a blind for the real fight ahead—and I want to go on record as saying that there will indeed be a fight in the future, a real fight." But in revealing his strategy Wheeler also partly stymied it, for Hatch broke into his monumental address to demand that "if anybody has any objections or reservations to the Charter, let them be offered now; let it be fought out now." So the issue was in the fire.

The supporters of the Charter argued that ratification involved acceptance of Article 43, which provides that "all members of the United Nations . . . undertake to make available to the Security Council on its call, and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces . . . for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security." The agreements referred to would merely fix the exact numbers and types of the forces and facilities to be made available. Wheeler argued that such a commitment would "take the power away from Congress, and the President [could] send troops all over the world to fight battles everywhere." The American people, he said over and over, would never accept such a policy.

The showdown was useful if only because it brought the opposition out of ambush and indicated what sort of attack the Charter must still face. It did not reveal the strength of the isolationist forces, since Senator Wheeler conducted the skirmish alone. The danger is that the present widespread demand for active American participation in world affairs will have simmered down by the time the military agreements are presented, perhaps a year hence. Then, if Europe is still politically unsettled and unity among the big powers is still only a hope, Senator Wheeler and his cohorts may be able to win enough converts to defeat a proposal to give the American delegate on the Council power to act. This is obviously the combination of factors he is banking on; and this is why he insisted that the military agreements should be ratified by two-thirds vote of the Senate rather than by a majority of both houses. The President's message from Potsdam announcing that the agreements will be submitted "to Congress" was, of course, a direct answer to the Wheeler maneuver. We hope it will prove a conclusive one.

Many people have attacked the new security organization for its lack of effective power. The veto provisions in particular have been criticized as a means to maintain intact the full sovereign rights of the Big Five. And that is what they are. But if Senator Wheeler has his way, the United States will supplement the veto power of its representative on the Council with the power of Congress to neutralize the Council's action against an aggressor. The defenders of the Charter and of America's responsibility in the world have done well to expose the Senator's intentions. It remains to be seen whether they have also defeated his plans.

Japan's Choice

"THE tremendous air and sea bombardment of Japan of the past two weeks has already altered the situation to such an extent that the position of the enemy in the Far East is ceasing to be comparable with that of Germany before D-day and is approximating to that obtaining after the liberation of France and Belgium and before the crossing of the Rhine." This estimate by *Veritas,* war commentator of the British Information Services, was made before the latest smashing blow to the remnant of the Jap fleet, and before the American Twentieth Air Force began to make good its promised B-29 raids on eleven specified Japanese cities.

To this enemy, already badly mauled and facing the imminent assault of the greatest military force ever assembled, the governments of the United States, China, and Great Britain offered an ultimatum: unconditional surrender or "prompt and utter destruction." If the first alternative were chosen, Japan would be disarmed, its military caste broken, its sovereignty restricted to Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, and Shikoku, along with certain minor islands, its war criminals brought to stern justice. But the Japanese would not be "enslaved as a race or destroyed as a nation." They would be left sufficient industry to support their economy but not to make war; their rights to free speech, free religion, free thought would be restored. Japan would be occupied but only long enough to insure that "there is being established in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people a peacefully inclined and responsible government."

Now this ultimatum is more than a demand to an enemy government to surrender. It falls just short of being a challenge to a people to revolt. That there is deep war-weariness in Japan and deep discontent with the militarists in power is evident from recent propaganda to the home front. *Veritas* quotes General Kanji Ishiwara who, after repudiating the notion that military leaders should have a dominant peacetime role, asserts that the Japanese people "must have absolute freedom of press, freedom of speech, and freedom to form associations. . . . Since the outbreak of the China affair we have been having too much officially inspired speech and journalism." Such a statement reflects the military's loss of prestige, arising from uninterrupted defeats, and the growth of popular unrest. It is a situation we must exploit. The ultimatum fails to do so because it fails to drive a sharp wedge between the Japanese people and their rulers.

The ultimatum calls for the elimination "for all time [of] the authority and influence of those who deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest." Does this mean the "moderates" among the industrialist Zaibatsu who are looked on with special favor by our State Department and who, as Laurence Salisbury pointed out two weeks ago in *The Nation,* have been involved up to their necks in Japan's war ambitions? Mr. Grew would hardly admit that they were meant. Does it mean the elimination of the Emperor? We very much doubt it. John Embree in a new book, "The Japanese Nation," declares that the "irony of the present situation is that the American government, apparently accepting the present role of the Emperor at Japanese face value, permits no propaganda to Japan that might undermine his prestige; and in the event of an occupation of Japan, our military government officers will undoubtedly, in the name of law and order, repress a revolution which might affect the imperial position." The recently revived myth of the divinely descended, divinely appointed Emperor is one of the cleverest devices of the war lords to divert the minds of the masses from social and political revolt to a mystic belief in imperishable national destiny. Our bombs are already shaking that belief. If the Imperial Palace were brought squarely into our propaganda—as well as aerial and naval—bombsights, the Japanese people might understand that when we spoke of democracy we meant democracy.

As we might have expected, the Tokyo government turned down the Potsdam ultimatum. Militarists are not in the habit of signing their own death warrants even if their refusal calls for the destruction of their nation. But the militarists of Tokyo may not have the last say. It is our obligation, in order to hasten the end of the war, to talk directly to the Japanese people, making it unmistakably clear that surrender will bring them not only release from war but also the chance to win the free life which, heretofore, Emperor, militarists, and industrialists have denied them.

Labor, Vets, and Jobs

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

[*Mr. Bolté,* The Nation's *military critic, joined the British army before Pearl Harbor and fought as a lieutenant under General Montgomery. He was wounded at El Alamein, and is now chairman of the American Veterans Committee.*]

IT IS probably true to say that full employment is now accepted as the major goal of American domestic policy after the war, and that a majority of our citizens are prepared to have their government assume responsibility for seeing to it that this goal is reached. However, the schizoid personality of machine-age man being what it is—noble vision, feeble achievement—it is also true that many of our citizens are wondering whether we can do it. Consequently there is a general business of looking around for the air-raid shelter, and plenty of effort to make sure that the job will be there for Number One—just in case. And the two behemoths of the modern industrial era, organized capital and organized labor, are weighting their sandbags against the day when peace breaks out and they start in earnest to belabor each other over which gets the major cut of a pie they are afraid may grow smaller and smaller instead of bigger and bigger. In this impending mêlée it could turn out that the guy who made it all possible—the man with the gun who beat off the enemies of the Republic—will get the short end of a very dirty stick.

The facts are simple. Twelve million of the nation's healthiest young men, normally a considerable segment of the labor force, are engaged elsewhere. Already in something more than a trickle, and before long in a flood, they are going to be looking for jobs. Only about 20 per cent of them have a legal right to reemployment. The other 80 per cent will begin asking hard questions very quickly if they can't get jobs themselves. An appreciable sector of American management is preparing to cash in on the situation by using the veterans to smash organized labor. An appreciable sector of American labor is reluctant to let the veterans move in and get some of the gravy if it involves any loss to themselves. The Congress of the United States, having passed a law which is subject to an astonishing variety of interpretations, is showing no inclination to clarify the situation. Pressed for an answer, any one of these groups (possibly excepting some management quarters) will say: "The only solution is full employment." Check. But what happens during reconversion? We probably won't get full employment all at once; and while we're waiting, who's going to get the pay-envelopes?

As potential allies in this struggle for power and jobs, veterans are being wooed assiduously from all sides. It is a vital battle: the stakes are very high. What are the bare bones of the problem?

The trouble started, as is usually the case, long ago. In 1940 Congress passed the Selective Service Act. At the insistence of the labor unions, it wrote into the act Section 8, which specified that any person called for military training who "has left or leaves a position other than a temporary position" shall be restored to that position, "or to a position of like seniority, status, and pay," if he "is still qualified to perform the duties of such position" and applies for it within forty (later amended to ninety) days of his discharge from the armed forces, "unless the employer's circumstances have so changed as to make it impossible or unreasonable to do so; . . . and shall not be discharged from such position without cause within one year after such restoration."

That seemed fair enough. You got drafted for a year and came back to the old job just as if you'd never been away. But what happened? Pearl Harbor. The "national emergency" went on for five, six, seven years. And in 1944, *four years after passage of the act,* the Selective Service System issued Local Board Memorandum 190-A, setting forth its ideas of what Congress meant when it wrote the act. Declaring himself interpreter as well as administrator of the act, Major General Lewis Hershey said that any man who replaced a man already drafted was in a "temporary" job, and was therefore not entitled to protection under the act if he was subsequently drafted himself; and, further, that the word *"position"* in the act meant *the specific job* a man was drafted from, so that when he returns he must be restored to that specific job "or to a position of like seniority, status, and pay"—even if it means discharging a worker with greater seniority.

Now see the results of 190-A: an aircraft factory has eleven workers drafted off a single punch press. Only the first worker has a right to a job. Even if he doesn't take it—and many veterans say they won't return to their old jobs—none of the others has any right to it. Meanwhile the riveting department has been cut back and many old riveters have gone into the punch press department. The first man drafted from the punch press, who had six months in the plant and two years in the army, comes back. The old riveters have at least eight years' seniority; one of them—could be the union committeeman—has twelve. He is discharged to make room for the veteran. At the end of the year guaranteed in the act, the veteran is thrown out because he now has a total of only three and a half years' seniority, and the old riveter is rehired.

The American Legion has strongly endorsed 190-A, and a Federal Circuit Court has upheld this interpretation of the act. The unions, naturally, have howled murder. They say that a man is entitled under the act to "the totality of job rights" he would have had if he had never been taken into the armed forces, and therefore that an employer cannot reemploy a veteran if it means laying off a non-veteran with greater seniority. They point out that if their interpretation of the act is correct it will be possible to do away with Selective Service's artificial definition of the term "temporary position" and to treat any worker who joined the armed forces as a permanent employee entitled to protection under the act unless he was specifically hired on a temporary basis. The War Labor Board and an arbitrator have held that this interpretation of the act is correct.

Thus confusion is complete, and no one—veteran, employer, or worker—knows either his rights or his duties. The result is that the veteran "is in danger of finding himself in a law court rather than in a job," as the current *Bulletin* of the American Veterans Committee points out. This new organization, comprising veterans and servicemen of the current war, has therefore just called on Congress to amend the act "in such a way that all parties concerned know precisely what their rights are."

The American Veterans Committee objects to 190-A because it gives too many veterans too little and too few veterans too much ("the first man who took the job has more rights than he would have had if he had never gone into the armed forces"). In addition, A. V. C. says, "under the present law the disabled veteran has little chance of reemployment, since he is required to be able to perform the duties of his old job." A. V. C. therefore recommends amendment of Section 8 to provide for reinstatement of a veteran on the basis of seniority, including time in uniform, on a plant-wide basis, with automatic upgrading and "a rate of pay equal to or better than that received by him before he entered the armed forces." For veterans who came from establishments not using the seniority system—which would include banks, offices, shops, etc.—"the new legislation should provide that any veteran employee who was not hired on a specifically temporary basis must be reemployed in a position equal in pay to or better than the one which he had before he went into the armed forces."

In other words, more veterans would have reemployment rights, but no veteran would get more rights than he would have had if he'd never been drafted. Any veteran who was drafted out of a job would be assured one at least as good in the old establishment, provided that the employer was employing at least as many people as he was when the veteran was drafted.

What about the millions of veterans who were drafted straight from school or college or their own businesses or the ranks of the unemployed—the bulky remainder of that 80 per cent? They have absolutely no statutory rights to jobs. In an effort to help them make up lost time, the C. I. O. has been urging its member unions—with varying success—to bargain with management for the inclusion of a clause granting every veteran synthetic seniority for his time in service, *once he's been hired.* (The United Automobile Workers, C. I. O., put this clause into its contract with Packard, and it proved itself for five hundred veterans who would otherwise have been laid off during a cutback. Some local unions are not buying it; most of management is very definitely not buying it.)

The major auto companies have countered with proposals that no one hired since May 1, 1940, shall have any seniority whatsoever; Ford has offered to lay off any worker in the plant to make room for a veteran. The three major veterans' organizations of the last war—the Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and Disabled American Veterans—have proposed that seniority for time in service be imputed for purposes of new employment, with the proviso that no one presently working be laid off to make room for a veteran, unless the lay-off is ninety days or more.

The unions are certainly not buying any of these. The motor-company proposals are obviously preposterous; the veterans'-organization proposal would make it too easy, the unions say, for management to close a strong union department for ninety days, then replace the whole department with veterans carefully screened for their union sentiments.

This is a nice dilemma, in which management has all the better of it from a public relations viewpoint: they appear truly patriotic, giving "the boys" everything; while the unions are, as usual, the ogres holding onto their ill-gotten gains. Obviously the only satisfactory solution *is* full employment: to which end the unions and the veterans' organizations, in common with most Americans, are now working. The dilemma remains: during transitional unemployment, do some of the men who have borne the brunt of the war go on relief, in which case they may move into some Gerald L. K. Smith's camp, or do some of the war workers go out, in which case organized labor may be weakened?

A subcommittee on seniority of the A. V. C. has thrown out to the members the following *faute de mieux* solution: Let there be legislation or adoption of a contract clause granting synthetic seniority for their time in uniform to veterans seeking new employment. Thus a veteran with three years in service could if necessary replace a worker with less than three years' seniority. To prevent arbitrary lay-offs of "undesirable" employees, let the worker with the least seniority be laid off. Further to prevent lay-offs aimed at affecting union strength, let every union plant official have super-seniority with respect to the synthetic seniority of any veteran. Limit the veteran's use of this synthetic seniority to one job; and limit the time after discharge in which he could exercise his rights.

Such a clause might serve to spread disorder and sorrow a little more evenly, in case there should turn out to *be* disorder and sorrow. It will still not recommend itself to a good many citizens, even as an admittedly *faute de mieux* solution (significantly enough, the National Planning Committee of A. V. C. voted against accepting the subcommittee's recommendation, and A. V. C.'s New York Chapter No. 1 voted it down two to one). Nevertheless, it can be argued strongly that the veterans should be given this opportunity to catch up a little on their more favored brethren who were allowed, perhaps even forced, to stay home. But after having said that, one must add "Amen" to the final word of the A. V. C. *Bulletin* on the subject:

> The conferring of particular rights on veterans with respect to jobs will not of itself provide jobs for veterans. Only if there are jobs for all is your job assured. Full employment is the prime goal for which we must fight, for without it the special benefits of today will become the breadlines of tomorrow.

America's Post-War Trade

BY ROBERT CHANDLER

II.

[*Robert Chandler is the pseudonym of a Washington economist. The first part of this article appeared last week.*]

PROBABLY the American business man can bring enough pressure upon his own government to get it "out of business" after the war. But other governments cannot be handled in that way, and American exporters are going to find that private trade cannot be resumed on the old terms. Suppose an American firm, having cleared all the hurdles at this end, wants to ship goods to France. Private trade between France and this country has always flourished, but today France is not interested in resuming it. France agrees in principle to permit private exports to the United States provided such exports are screened, or reviewed, by a French government agency and provided the foreign exchange goes to the French government, with payment made to the French shipper in francs, not dollars. The French government keeps the dollar. France does *not* agree in principle to accept private imports from the United States.

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Countries will spend carefully their limited supply of foreign exchange.

France has not gone Communist; it is simply facing the realities of the present situation. France must restore its economy. It must rebuild its shattered cities, its bridges, its ports. It must repair or replace its worn-out industrial equipment.

It must import raw materials in order to start its factories running. Above all, it must provide jobs and food for its people. Only by the most careful governmental planning and supervision can it hope to ration its small supply of foreign exchange to take care of all these needs. Moreover, the French government will not permit men to carry on their former businesses if they are suspected of having been collaborationists. And, finally, in the case of many businesses, it is not known who the actual owners are. The 1939 owners may be dead, or prisoners of war, or refugees, or in French prisons.

At every turn the French government must decide what need is most urgent. Shall it import leather shoes or leather belting for industry? Shall it sell the West African peanut crop to the United States and acquire dollars or keep the peanuts for the vital health needs of the French people, whose diet has been deficient in fats and oils for four long years? How much coal should France import, and how many pitprops which will allow French coal mines to be reopened? The French government cannot allow the individual trader to decide these things. For some time after the war whatever France buys from the United States will be bought by a government purchasing mission, and possibly, the procedure will be permanent.

Government bulk purchasing is a fighting phrase to the American business man. He thinks of it as an instrument to turn the world into one gigantic Socialist experiment. It is not; but, even if it were, what could we do about it? We have accepted the Russian system of government-controlled trade, and if other nations develop the same or a similar system, we shall have to accept that, too.

If much of our trade with Europe—which, with the British Empire, used to take between 60 and 70 per cent of our exports—must exist in a misty mid-region between private trade and "socialism"—can we not do business, on our own terms, with South America? Can we not take over the trade the Germans have lost? Perhaps—if we meet certain conditions. In our biggest year before the war our exports to South America amounted to around $700,000,000—a far cry from the billions which are talked about today. Though the Latin American countries have acquired fairly large dollar balances during the war, largely from our procurement programs, they are naturally interested in knowing how much the United States will buy when the need for critical raw materials lessens. At the Conference in Mexico City Assistant Secretary Clayton took up this point and said he thought the United States would stockpile critical materials. He could not say definitely that it would do so, for the decision would have to be made by Congress.

The Germans, whose trade we wish to capture, were wiser than we have hitherto shown ourselves. A German trader who went into a South American country to sell his goods always looked around for some local product he could buy. A German chemical company, for example, encouraged a group of men in one country to produce rotenone—an important drug used in insecticides. When we entered the war, government representatives found that we had to have rotenone and so we began to develop its production—but as a governmental project. Will the private trader continue the practice? Some of them will, no doubt, but will enough do so to build up our imports to a point where South America can buy from us? If the government buys raw materials for stockpiling, as Mr. Clayton suggested, the government will certainly be remaining in business.

German traders selling goods always looked around for some local product to buy.

Mr. Clayton recognized that the United States will have to import if it expects to export, but the remarks of most business men and government officials do not indicate any keen awareness of this fact. England must export so that it can import the raw materials it requires for its domestic economy. We must import so that foreign countries can buy from us. At the present moment, however, we seem to be making very few plans for increasing our imports, or, what is even more important, for persuading the country that we must increase them. We are accustomed to import certain basic materials—coffee, tea, rubber, cocoa, many fats and oils, most of the ferro-alloys, burlap—but we shall have to buy more than we did prior to this war if we are to sell goods abroad and permit our debtors to pay interest and principal on our loans. We could use lumber and wood products to conserve our present depleted supplies, but there is no evidence that their admission would be approved by Congress. In fact, producers of raw materials are likely to combine in a demand for even higher tariffs. Our wool growers, for instance, are already worried over the competition of synthetic fibers and of Australian wool, which can now undersell American wool even with the thirty-four-cent tariff.

All this adds up to a dangerous situation. For a time a foreign country can pay for what it imports with gold, itself a commodity, but the supply of gold is fairly limited. In the end it must pay by selling other goods, pay for shoes, for example, with wood pulp. There is no other way of doing business. We have come to feel that we made a serious mistake in not entering the League of Nations after the last war, and we are anxious to rectify that mistake. But our economic blunders after the last war were quite as serious. In fact, it might be argued that the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act and our insistence upon collecting the debts caused greater damage than our failure to join the League. They certainly led other nations to adopt economic policies which led to restriction of trade, depression, the rise of Fascism and Nazism, and finally war. It will not be enough to join a collective-security organization if we do not mend our economic ways.

We should therefore recognize a few fundamental facts *now*.

1. Exports alone do not create jobs. If we lend money to other countries so that they will be able to buy our goods, and this money is never repaid, exports will prove to be the biggest boondoggle of all time. They will do more than other made work. Unless exports contribute to the free flow of trade throughout the world—as any kind of buying and selling does within a country—they simply mean subsidizing one group of workers in this country, and in a foreign country, at the expense of the taxpayers.

2. If we wish to create this free flow of trade throughout the world, we shall have to take thought about how to add to our imports, and this will involve, for us as for other countries, some over-all planning. If private imports are not large enough to cover exports plus service charges on loans, the government will have to step in and increase imports by various devices—stockpiling of strategic materials, encouraging exporters to develop and procure imports which will fit into their own business, encouraging Americans to use the special products of other countries, such as Oriental rugs, foreign pottery and glass, and the like. This will require considerable readjustment in our domestic production, but if we wish to develop international trade, we shall have to make the readjustment. As a matter of fact, after England passed the Peel Act in 1844 insuring free trade, its domestic manufactures prospered, even in competition with imported foreign products. If our domestic producers prove unable to compete with an imported product, it will be cheaper and more politic to subsidize the domestic producer while he changes over to another line than to continue indefinitely to subsidize, through tariffs or other devices, an essentially uneconomic system.

3. In the modern world of technology the prosperity of one nation depends on the prosperity of all nations. When we consider the devastation caused by the war, the terrible lack of goods all over the world, the prospects for peace-time trade seem so immense that there should be room for us all. But not if we all start out by erecting barriers. Not if we refuse to accept, in the interest of peace, a minimum of the planning which we have accepted in the interest of winning the war.

The prosperity of one nation depends on the prosperity of all nations.

We know these things, but we are not translating our knowledge into action. The public needs to be educated about, say, the relation of bauxite production here and abroad to our economic well-being quite as much as it needs to be educated about the problems of international security. We are talking about exports but failing to emphasize the special problems of export allocations, of foreign-government controls, of importing, and similar matters—all things of tremendous importance to the peace and prosperity of the world.

Leopold III: Traitor or Patriot?

BY JEAN E. GROSFILS

[*Mr. Grosfils, a Belgian journalist, is editor of the Brussels newspaper,* La Cité Nouvelle. *The recent vote in the Belgian Parliament supporting Prime Minister Achille Van Acker's stand against the King gives particular point to this cabled dispatch.*]

Brussels, July 25

IT IS difficult for a Belgian to discuss the question of the King without letting passion overrule sane judgment. I shall, however, try to present it as objectively as possible and not allow personal feelings to color my interpretation.

Belgium has a constitutional monarchy—that is, the powers of the King are strictly limited. The President of the United States enjoys much greater powers than a Belgian King. When Albert I, the great King who ruled during the first World War, died, February 19, 1934, in a mountain accident, his son Leopold III became his successor and ascended the throne February 23. The sympathy of the Belgian people went out to the young King. His father had been a great national hero with an international reputation, and it was felt that a heavy task faced the thirty-three-year-old monarch. A little more than a year after his accession Leopold's wife, Queen Astrid, was killed in an automobile accident in Switzerland. Young, pretty, generous, and unpretentious, Astrid had been adored by the Belgians. The people felt a deep pity for the King and his three young children in their bereavement. Astrid became a veritable cult with the Belgian people, a part of the national tradition.

In the two years preceding the outbreak of the war the King's acts occasioned bitter debate. For example, he granted amnesty to the Belgian traitors of the first World War, who later returned to Belgium. One of these, a Dr. Martens, was awarded an honorary position after he had been pardoned.

Then, in October, 1936, the King spoke in favor of the Cabinet's policy of reasserting Belgium's neutrality. This action took place when collective security was being considered as the one safeguard against aggression. The King's decision was received with mixed emotions. Certain elements, especially the Walloons, who were sentimentally attached to France, criticized him. But the majority of the people—represented in both branches of Parliament—approved his action or made no open protest.

In the months preceding the German invasion of Belgium the King as commander-in-chief of the army remained very popular. It is true that certain elements, chiefly in the middle class, complained that the King surrounded himself with incompetent advisers; they pictured him as authoritarian, and claimed that he gave his friends special powers to the detriment of the high command. But on May 10, 1940, when the Germans attacked, all criticism of the King ceased. The Belgians, with memories of 1914, rallied behind the son of Albert I. The campaign lasted just eighteen days. The army, ill-prepared for defense—Belgium has a population of only eight million—fought valiantly. Pushed back to the sea without any hope of bettering the situation, the King capitulated. One remembers the storm of criticism evoked abroad, especially in France, by the news of the capitulation. But in the years that have passed, the King has been largely cleared of the calumnies uttered at that time. No one now questions seriously the necessity of the King's action or suggests that it represented a breach of loyalty to his allies.

At the time of the capitulation his ministers begged the King to leave the country with the government, continue the fight from abroad, and make the Belgian Congo the center of the renewed war effort. Remnants of the Belgian army were still in France. It was possible, many reasoned, to reorganize them and send them once more into battle. Despite his ministers' entreaties, the King was obdurate and decided to remain in the country. The government fled to France and later to England. In Belgium the decision of the King brought sharp criticism from some, praise from others. In London the ministers dropped the discussion, and slowly the breach, at least on the surface, was healed. The Belgian people themselves, tortured and oppressed, organized resistance against the Germans. The King was a prisoner in a castle near Brussels, and the Belgians considered it indecent while they were under the heel of the enemy for anyone to discuss his actions.

From time to time, however, unfavorable rumors spread. The King often left his residence with the permission of the Germans. He had gone abroad and conferred with Hitler in Berchtesgaden. He was even willing to form a government while the country was occupied. Most Belgians refused to believe these rumors. But now it appears that they had some substance. Prime Minister Achille Van Acker, in his recent testimony before Parliament, presented documentary evidence that the King had taken a German victory for granted and had therefore failed to take strong military measures: that he had expressed disapproval of Belgian soldiers who crossed the lines to serve with the Allies after their country was occupied, and finally that he had discussed with Hitler the possibility of a *modus vivendi*, with himself on the throne, after the war. Foreign Minister Henri Spaak read extracts from former Prime Minister Pierlot's memorandum of May 25, 1940. The King was asked what he planned to do if the Germans overran the whole country. He replied, "I don't know. But I can save the people some suffering. In any case the cause of the Allies is lost."

Toward the close of 1942 the King announced through Cardinal Van Roey, Primate of Belgium, that he had married a young Belgian woman, Miss Baels. The announcement created a sensation. Few approved the conduct of the King. People found it difficult to approve the marriage of a Monarch who had said: "I remain in the country to share the fate of the prisoners of war." Were the soldiers in the German prison camps getting married? In addition, the bride's father was open to criticism. It was rumored that at the time of the invasion he had abandoned his post as governor of a Belgian province. Finally, the marriage served to bring the royal question to the fore again while the country was occupied by the enemy; it brought into the open an old issue which had been a source of national disunity.

During the occupation the Germans, as everyone expected, violated all international laws. Young men and women were forcibly carried off to Germany to work, with resulting misery to themselves and their families. Some believed that in view of the conduct of the Boches the King should have cast aside his silent role and spoken out. The protest he eventually made was much too feeble, in the opinion of those engaged in the resistance movement.

But, while criticizing the King, the vast majority of the people were far from suspecting that his actions might some day raise the question of abdication. In September, 1944, Brussels was liberated. Soon the government returned to the capital. The chambers met, and under the Constitution had to name a regent since the King was not available. The King's brother Charles was chosen by an overwhelming majority, a fact which gave some indication of the Belgians' passionate devotion to the institution of the monarchy. Later the King announced that his health would not permit his return to Brussels and requested his brother to remain as regent. But by mid-June of this year the King reported such a notable improvement in his health that he was in a position to come back at once. This news brought on the political crisis which still continues. The world press has carried a full account of the King's negotiations with individuals inside Belgium and I shall not repeat the story. In the past three months he has consulted and questioned all the representative Belgian leaders. Meanwhile the chief political parties have taken their official stand. The right favors the return of the King; the left is for abdication.

Many favoring the King's return argue that he did not act wrongly and that most of the criticism is calumny. They contend that once liberated the King should come right back to Belgium and resume his reign. In addition, many of those less favorably disposed to the King have supported him, fearing that his abdication would be the first step toward a republic. The vast majority of Belgians favor the monarchy because the country is split by language and religion. The King's suporters argue that the campaign against him is directed by the Communists bent on destroying the country's strength. The partisans of the King are mainly among Catholics, rightists, the wealthy classes, farmers, and the inhabitants of the Flemish-speaking areas.

Among those who favor abdication many contend that the regent is performing his duties admirably. They say that the King's eldest son could be crowned and serve under the regent until he becomes eighteen. Thus the person of the King would no longer be subject to debate. The function of the King is to crystallize about his person a unanimity of national sentiment. It is argued that if this unity should become impossible, he should retire. The quarrel has reached a very bitter stage—a tragic event for the Belgians. But it is probably better at this point to probe deeply into the wound. Belgians can then form their opinions with all the facts before them. Heretofore in their history they have shown enough wisdom to rise above partisanship and adopt measures that will stand up to the searching light of truth. They can probably do it again.

In the Wind

CRYSTAL BALL DEPARTMENT: George E. G. Catlin, a former Socialist candidate for Parliament, forecasting the British election results in the *Commonweal* of July 27, concluded thus: "Laski is likely to have the . . . dubious satisfaction of being known as the man whose personal vanity lost his party their electoral chances of victory in 1945."

ADVERTISING: A survey by the Radio Council of Greater Cleveland among middle-class people shows that nearly 80 per cent prefer to take their commercials straight, without music. In fact, 59.86 per cent said they would like to see singing commercials banned, and 71.68 per cent said they had been turned against some products by the blatant manner in which they were advertised.

REAL ESTATE: A Los Angeles realtor offers "a nice clean profit" in "colored property," meaning houses in Negro areas. "The real-estate boom is now nearing normal," says one of his broadsides. "Prices in certain districts are already back to normal. Get on this Gravy Train today. . . . Cash is King. Sell your old 50-year-old houses full of bugs, termites, broken plaster, not on foundations, for all cash."

HEALTH: A booklet advertising Lake Minnewaska, New York, contains the following item of information: "Restrictions: Christian clientele. Persons suffering from tuberculosis or other objectionable diseases not accommodated. Dogs are cared for in the stables."

HERALDRY: Sir Edward Grigg, former Member of Parliament for Altrincham, Cheshire, England, was recently raised to the peerage. His choice of the title Lord Altrincham was protested by six Labor aldermen and members of the Altrincham Town Council. The mayor referred the matter to the Sewage Disposal Committee, who supported Sir Edward by a vote of five to three.

RELIGION: This advertisement appeared in the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, *Patriot* on July 21: "Tonight Only: Harold G. Palmer, redeemed Hebrew and former convict, will tell 'How Christ Saved Me.' Sponsored by Youth for Christ."

LOST-AND-FOUND: A Paris warehouse full of fine furniture which Hermann Goering's agents had looted from French homes and crated for shipment to Germany was taken over by the Americans, and certain pieces were sent to Versailles to furnish Allied headquarters. The French government recently tried to recover the furniture, but learned that it had followed SHAEF to Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay $1 for each item accepted*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

SEVERAL weeks ago *The Nation* printed an advertisement which was also an epitaph on a way of life.

> Due to extreme age of few remaining members [it read] the famous Mt. Lebanon Shaker community property is now offered for sale. 250 acres; 3-acre lake; ski-run; woods; unsurpassed Berkshire view . . . several dormitories; 3 smaller houses; barn. Ideal for summer theater. . . .

It recalled very vividly the long morning I spent at one of the other remaining Shaker colonies—somewhere in Maine. The Shakers had a penchant for high places, and the colony I visited commanded a magnificent sweep of cultivated fields falling away and far mountains rising. There were dormitories and smaller houses, and a fine little Shaker meeting house decorated in Shaker blue. Most of the remaining members were old and it was clear that the colony must vanish, but we were guided about by a young woman who seemed to have preserved intact, against all the vicissitudes of modern life, the attitudes and character and even the appearance, or so it struck me, of the veritable Shaker. Her face had an antique look about it, a look also of calm and dignity and dedication which one seldom sees in contemporary faces. The curious thing was that this young woman seemed more in character than any of the older people we met, as if in her the Shaker idea had had a new, belated, flowering. Her elucidations of Shaker history and principles obviously came out of an unswerving belief as well as extensive knowledge. As she conducted us over the grounds and through the buildings her voice and talk, her whole aspect, recreated an earlier age—in spite of the evidence all about us of the inroads of the modern world and the modern temper. These inroads were suggested by the sense of superannuation and of emptiness which hung over the place, but they were most vividly illustrated in the furnishings of the fine buildings which the Shakers knew so well how to construct. The exquisite hand-made furniture which must once have graced these rooms was gone, except for a few stray pieces, and the elderly Shaker woman sitting placidly in an ugly machine-made rocker seemed both a physical and a spiritual symbol of what had happened not only to a religious sect but to the handicraft culture in which it could flourish.

The Shaker girl, by the way, had something to say about the reasons why the members of the colonies in earlier days were such superb craftsmen. She said they worked better than others because they felt secure—for life, she meant, as well as for eternity. They belonged to a community and their livelihood was assured. The young woman's comment on this score seemed to me profound and not at all antiquated.

THE APRIL ISSUE of *Horizon* contained another instalment of Augustus John's rambling autobiography, which I find delightful partly no doubt because it is so utterly disconnected from here and now. Among many other things, he touches upon the decline of taste among the descendants of people who were probably not even aware of the concept of taste but whose houses and furniture fulfilled all its requirements—in proportion, in texture, in workmanship. The sureness with which a New England builder, 150 years ago, constructed a beautiful house has always puzzled me. His models were good, of course, but that does not explain why his adaptations of fine models—for they were usually adaptations rather than slavish copies—were so right. I think it must have been a matter of a hand and eye trained to principles of proportion and texture and workmanship which were not merely the manifestations of an individual talent but the discipline of a prevailing culture.

To get back to Augustus John. He speaks of the difficulty of finding a room in the English countryside where he can paint. All he requires is "a simple whitewashed room, fairly lit and sparsely furnished in the plainest style." But where, he asks, is such a thing to be found? And he continues:

> The village inn may be perfectly situated and its bar satisfactory, but venture upstairs to view the accommodation offered there and you are likely to return, discouraged, to the bar, before moving on. The progressive degradation of popular taste in the last hundred years has now reached its nadir and has rendered travel a process of alternate elation and defeat. Who is content to sleep, let alone wake, amidst a clutter of mean junk? . . . The productions of local industry and craftsmanship which used to dignify the humblest cottage have been looted by the antique dealers and now are seldom seen outside museums, curiosity shops, or the houses of enlightened amateurs. They have been replaced by imported articles of imitation luxury turned out in monstrous centers of mass labor here or abroad. Having sold or been done out of their birthright, the people, habituated to the ensuing squalor, end, like drug-fiends, by craving for it.

One has only to enter almost any one of those simple, beautifully proportioned New England farmhouses along the highway to discover the sad accuracy of Augustus John's remarks.

"MOVIE MONEY," by which I mean Hollywood salaries, the prices paid for movie rights, and so on, is real; yet it has always seemed to me harder to believe in than stage money. The reason is simple. The amounts bandied about are so fabulous that the imagination cannot cope with them any more than it can visualize the vast sums so casually mentioned in connection with the United States Treasury. I don't expect to have to test the reality of movie money, but I'm sure that if I were faced with the necessity I would emerge from the experience, as so many people are reputed to do, with no more actual cash than I had before. Perhaps there are people who save money in Hollywood, but the classic sequence in which the indigent writer who suddenly receives $1,000 a week manages somehow, in spite of his good resolutions, to spend that much seems to me to represent the truth if not the fact about movie money.

The incident which has inspired these remarks has, however, a rather different point. A friend of mine, who has a reputation as a literary critic, recently received an announcement of the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Annual Novel Award, and an inquiry as to whether she would be interested in being a first reader of the manuscripts that would be submitted. Obviously she was asked only because of her reputation, and it is not surprising that as she studied the financial data set forth on page two of the announcement, she assumed that for once she might earn a fee commensurate with her qualifications. Here are the figures, in their mounting glory.

$125,000
Minimum to the Author

$175,000
Maximum to the Author
Contingent upon Sales

$25,000
To the Publisher upon Publication

Making a Maximum possible Total of
$200,000

My friend, who is only human, indicated that she might be interested and asked what the remuneration would be. The dénouement came with the telephone call the next day. The price Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer had put on the services of a literary critic well known enough to have been heard of in Hollywood was "Seven fifty." When the figures were reported to me in this form, I thought it meant that the salary for the job of a first reader in the great Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Annual Novel Award was $750. It seemed to me adequate, though not excessive in terms of movie money. It turned out, however, that it was a matter of piece work and that Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer was expecting to get good literary critics to read manuscripts at $7.50 each.

If the award is announced, as it is supposed to be, on August 15, we may assume that readers were found. But one of my few remaining illusions about Hollywood has been punctured. I am not surprised at Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's low estimate of the worth of literary critics. I am shocked that that great company is capable of writing a check for as little as $7.50.

Apologies to Vansittart

BONES OF CONTENTION. By the Rt. Hon. Lord Vansittart. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.75.

A FEW words about the reviewer: it is good law to cross-examine the witness, and good science to measure the aberration of the instrument. The undersigned was born and bred in the most orthodox anti-Tory tradition. He has strong prejudices, which he honestly calls principles and convictions. He has in the last forty years joined three leagues advocating reconciliation with Germany, and he would gladly join a fourth now. During the two world wars and between the wars, he has worked incessantly against hatred. So what goes by the name of Vansittartism—*Delenda est Germania*—was to him an abomination. He had read in the past a few lurid samples of the noble lord's eloquence. The case was clear: Vansittart and all his works should be obliterated.

It is the hardest thing in the world to confess an error. Germany in 1919 could be coerced, but not persuaded, to say *Peccavi*. Because we murdered the League of Nations, we still believe that the league was not fit to live. "Liberals"—Harry Elmer Barnes for twenty years, Harry Emerson Fosdick in 1939, Louis M. Boudin as late as 1945—attacked Versailles and the French policy in terms which had a Hitlerian ring: they have not apologized yet to the shade of Clemenceau, and probably they never will. Well, I too hate to acknowledge a mistake. But, to my infinite embarrassment, I found that I agreed with Lord Vansittart.

This is the first book of his that I have read in full, and I enjoyed the experience. It is written in a style which makes Westbrook Pegler's seem hesitant and flabby—but with an Eton accent. Westbrook at his Pegleriest would not quote offhand Ammanius Marcellinus and Velleius Paterculus. Vansittart's main thesis is now a commonplace, indorsed by Germany's best friends: that Germany *as a nation* is committed to a mad policy of ruthless domination. Not Hitler alone is guilty, but an ever-deepening and widening trend, from Frederick II to Bismarck, to William II, to Goebbels and Goering. I deeply regret that Vansittart is right. It would be infinitely more comfortable if he were not. But the Germans have proved him right, and I have to accept the evidence. The terms he suggests for Germany would have seemed crazy ten short years ago: tomorrow, they will be imposed by the victors, and be accepted by the rest of the world as just and moderate. There is surprisingly little difference between the essence of Vansittartism and Thomas Mann's message to the Germans* on the day of their surrender.

We might agree, negatively, in damning the Germany that worshiped Hitler. But, the cursing over, we do not yet part company. A great point in favor of Vansittart is that he is not swayed by class prejudices. While George N. Shuster praises "the upright courteous folk, the great ladies and gentlemen to be met . . . in East Prussia," Vansittart does not spare the highest society: nobility, general staff, bureaucrats, industrialists, church leaders—he might have added university professors: Germany will not recover her sanity until she has been decapitated. The essay on The Destiny of France is a model of intelligence and generosity compared with the attitude of Smuts, Roosevelt, and the vast majority of our journalists; I wish it could be read by millions. But most of all, I appreciate his plea for international honesty. Our treatment of the smaller nations will be the *test case*. Vansittart combats, courageously, the Super-Power nonsense: according to tough and realistic William T. R. Fox, indorsed by Frederick Schuman, three "elephants" with every right, and forty-seven "squirrels" with none. "From the end of 1918 onward," says Vansittart, "the great powers made great fools of themselves. . . . I have not sufficient confidence in the wisdom of great powers to believe in the duration of a world controlled by them." "The full participation of *all* our allies in the occupation of Germany—and in the direction of all policy toward Germany—is indispensable if there is ever to be any improvement in Germany." This chapter also I should like every American to ponder. Secret meetings of supermen—Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam—are exactly what our democracy has been fighting against. Yet there was no one to urge President Truman not to give the lie so promptly to his own promises at San Francisco. On this fundamental issue, even *The Nation* faltered.

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* Printed in *The Nation* of May 12.

It may be that Lord Vansittart is weak on the constructive side. He admits a Federation of Europe (who does not?) but only as a distant goal. He does not seem to realize that the most propitious time is *now*. He wants to destroy Germany, not the Germans: he does not clearly state, as Roosevelt did, that the German people (not the German nation) must be reintegrated into the European family. All negative policies lead to frustration and despair. The triumph of our might will simply deepen in the Germans their old conviction that might is right. But any plan for genuine reconstruction, rehabilitation, reconciliation, is branded as Utopian —even if it starts with as definite a foundation as a European Zollverein and a European control of basic industries. We still believe that drifting is realistic, and steering feeble idealism. But I do not want to quarrel with Lord Vansittart about what he failed to say. With what he did say, I blush that I agree; and I tender to him my reluctant and all the more sincere apologies.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

BRIEFER COMMENT

Peace and Progress

ECONOMIC FATALISM, so prevalent in the last century, is rapidly disappearing in contemporary Western society. No longer do we blame God for booms and slumps; we believe that man can control his economic destiny. Consequently there is a growing demand for economic planning, but if this is to be fruitful, those who finally determine its directions—the sovereign people—must be able to understand and evaluate the schemes that economists draft and politicians debate.

That is one reason why Kenneth E. Boulding's "The Economics of Peace" (Prentice-Hall, $3.75) deserves more attention than it appears to have received. Mr. Boulding, a graduate of Oxford now teaching at Iowa State University, has deliberately adopted the role of "intellectual middleman" seeking to spread popular knowledge of "the silent revolution in economic thought" which has taken place in the past few decades. On the whole, he has performed admirably the task of providing a layman's introduction to Keynesian thought. Unlike most economists, he writes extremely well; he is clear, interesting, and sometimes witty. Unfortunately, he also betrays a touch of scholastic arrogance which ill becomes the student of so empirical a science as economics.

The book is divided into two sections—The Economics of Reconstruction and The Economics of Reform. In the first, Mr. Boulding reviews Europe's experiences after the last war, reminding us how reconstruction "was hampered constantly by the desire to 'return' to the golden age of 1913." That kind of nostalgia is less in evidence today; 1939 does not appear glamorous in retrospect. Consequently there may be a better chance to tackle reconstruction as part of the much vaster job of construction that faces the world.

In the second and longer section Mr. Boulding deals with the problems of distribution in advanced industrial communities, but as he does well to emphasize, it is only a minority of the world's population that is embarrassed by apparent overproduction. In most societies, the overwhelming problem is how to bring about economic progress, how to overcome chronic scarcity due not so much to exploitation as to "the sheer unproductiveness of the mass of human labor." To lift the load of poverty from Indian or Chinese backs, there must be an increase in output per head, for progress is impossible where the toil of one man barely suffices for his subsistence. This is a problem to which industrial nations, in their own interest, need to apply themselves with missionary zeal.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Thoreau's Way

NO RENUNCIATION of the world was ever outwardly less spectacular than Thoreau's retirement to a back-yard wilderness on July 4, 1845. At the same time nothing ever more forcefully demonstrated the truth of his own later statement that no place is either more or less wild than the wildness which one imports into it. His gesture has taken hold upon the imagination to an extent completely unjustified by any of its physical aspects and during recent months there has been quite a little flurry over the one hundredth anniversary of an exploit externally a great deal less spectacular than a camping trip on Bear Mountain. Even the *Saturday Evening Post* celebrated it with an illustrated article and, less surprisingly, an exhibit was staged at the American Museum of Natural History. After reading or re-reading "Walden" itself, those who want to know more about why its author has meant so much to a great many different sorts of people can not do better than to address themselves to George F. Whicher's "Walden Revisited" (Packard, $2). The little book is actually a general account of Thoreau's career plus an extremely acute, well-written critique of his ideas, and a more illuminating or more readable ninety-seven pages has never been written about him. Professor Whicher stops this side of uncritical idolatry but his is a thoroughly sympathetic account of one of the greatest and most stimulating of protestants. Perhaps the world has never seemed less inclined to go Thoreau's way but that is all the more reason to remind ourselves of what can be said for his protest against the assumption that Man is first of all a producer and a consumer.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Rush Job

THE READER WHO HAS NEED of a history of the war should not be misled by the publishers' claim that this book is the first "to survey the entire European war, each of its campaigns and all of its strategy, up to the point of the fall of Nazi Germany." "Unconditional Surrender" by Everett Holles (Howell, Soskin, $2.50) offers only the barest account of the war up to Montgomery's recovery in North Africa and our own landing there, and is entirely unsatisfactory on the Russian campaigns. The style is a vigorous journalese of fairly high quality. The historical narrative, somewhat confused at the outset, is enlivened—or encumbered—with ready-made, radio-type descriptions of action and that sort of characterization which consists in saying that a general is heavy-jowled. For the most part the book adds nothing to public knowledge, though here and there the author's opinions suggest that he has inside information. At other points, concerning the Arnhem disaster for example, Mr. Holles is behind the times with his explanation. Considerable disapproval of the political strategy of the war is expressed, particularly with regard to Badoglio and the Italian crown. This critical attitude, however, is not consistently maintained. The book does not come to an end but merely stops with President Truman's announcement of May 8 and Mr. Churchill's speech. Evidently "Unconditional Surrender" is a high-spirited rush job; it will give little real satisfaction to a serious reader. RALPH BATES

Baedeker to Bureaucracy

THE BUSINESS MAN—or anyone else for that matter—who is about to take an important post in Washington should read "Big Democracy" by Paul H. Appleby (Knopf, $2.75). No more useful Baedeker to the bureaucracy has been written. Mr. Appleby addresses himself to the mind of government, to the kind of thinking that policymakers in federal posts must do in reaching decisions. He makes it clear that acting "in a governmental way" is different from acting privately. He tells why it must continue to be different if we are to have a democracy.

His point is not well understood. Washington holds no more tragic figure than the executive who comes with the high resolve to make his office function in the well-ordered image of the Amalgamated Widget Company. Such men always fail. And when they do they go home convinced that politics and the Great Boyg, bureaucracy, have thwarted them. Congressional and journalistic criticism seem to them interference and persecution. Questioning of policy within their agencies seems to them disloyalty and intrigue. Resistance to policy by other agencies means that the government has no over-all policy.

During his eight years as assistant to Henry Wallace and his four years as Under Secretary of Agriculture Paul Appleby learned to navigate Washington waters skilfully. Though he has left the government for private business he looks back and finds federal processes good, efficient, and well adapted to their objective. He accepts bigness, red tape, politics, a degree of conflict, the balancing of interests. He tells why he accepts them and some of the methods of dealing with them.

Special groups of readers might profit immensely from reading selected chapters of the book. Those who go to Washington on business might well read the chapter on delegation of authority to different levels within a department: their time and the time of the officials they visit would often be saved. Chamber of Commerce committees seeking field offices might study the chapter on regional decentralization: they would find, often, that their trip was unnecessary.

The extent to which Mr. Appleby draws upon the Department of Agriculture for his illustrations may dull the book for some readers. But this department is a good laboratory, and his conclusions are general in their application. The book is meaty and cogent: it contains no tabloid formulas or Sunday-supplement solutions to federal problems.

PHILIP S. BROUGHTON

Science and History

DR. MORRIS ZUCKER'S two fat volumes of almost eighteen hundred pages on "The Philosophy of American History" (Arnold-Howard, $8.50) have been hailed, according to his publishers, as "one of the truly great original achievements of our times," and as "the most profound analysis yet made of the philosophy of history," because in it "history for the first time attains the rank of a science." With these encomiums the author appears to be in full agreement. His new historical dispensation, "the Historical Field Theory," has a mixed parentage. In it, however, a Marxist strain easily predominates, while physical scientists, particularly Einstein and Maxwell, provide false analogies and terms which help confuse. In the first volume the nature of "the Historical Field Theory" is set forth, and in the second American history is rewritten in accordance with it.

This theory is, in Dr. Zucker's words, "based upon the application of scientific principles to the analysis of history." These principles are: "(1) history is the record of events in society; (2) society is an aggregate of three component divisions—the state, the economy, and the ideological superstructure; (3) the specific form of the social structure is determined by the nature of the social continuum established by the relations of these aggregates; (4) this continuum provides the matrix for the events which history records; (5) society is progressive to the extent that it permits fuller play for the difference of social potential in its creative elements during its virile state; (6) and finally that happenings of historical significance are derived from the operation

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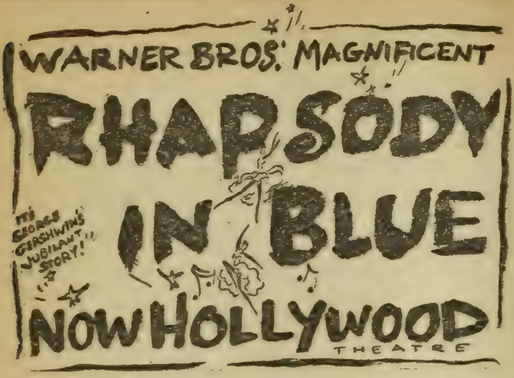
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of definite social laws which are causal in character."

If this tiresome work were less violently personal, cantankerous, prejudiced, and arrogant, the reviewer might be more inclined to commend it for even attempting to deal with theoretical questions with which few professional historians are concerned and for its occasional common-sense judgments. Throughout the two volumes Dr. Zucker conducts endless polemics against theories which meet with his disfavor, and condemns to a horrid historical death an impressive number of individuals as "lunatics" and "idiots." His substantial ignorance in the literature of the historical areas about which he fearlessly writes—ancient, medieval, modern European, and American—permits him to fashion facile generalizations, to dash off irrelevant value judgments, and to applaud his own contributions. Quite apart from other considerations, his work is all too frequently in conflict with that scientific method and spirit to which Dr. Zucker asserts exclusive ownership. "We had to destroy the lackadaisical idea," he writes, "that since this is still a free country every historian has an inalienable right to produce his own laws of social movement." HENRY DAVID

MOTION PICTURES

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

GERSHWIN'S career as a serious composer was based on fallacious reasoning—as fallacious as the reasoning would have been that because Johann Strauss wrote delightful *Wienerwalzer* he was the one to write the Viennese symphony and opera, and this on the ground that only the Viennese waltz was the proper substance for the truly Viennese symphony and opera, which was to say that because the Viennese waltz expressed Viennese feeling on the emotional level of a waltz it must be used as the substance of music which expressed Viennese feeling on the level of the symphony and opera. If Strauss had acted in accordance with such reasoning he would have produced the same delightful waltzes arranged in the formal patterns of serious music; and that was the result in Gershwin's case.

His serious works are filled with characteristic and superb Gershwin show-music, pieced together in the required formal patterns with derivative and inconsequential connective material in the idiom of serious music—show-music which communicates, in these contexts and in Carnegie Hall, exactly what it would have communicated in a musical show and in the Alvin Theater. That is true of the Rhapsodies, the Piano Concerto, and "Porgy and Bess," in which there is a further fallacy to take note of. A couple of years ago Duke Ellington presented in Carnegie Hall his "Black, Brown and Beige"—described as "a tone parallel to the history of the Negro in America," and based on the idea that since the American Negro had produced jazz, jazz was the medium in which to express in musical terms everything that had happened to him from his arrival here in slavery down to his participation in the present war. If that was absurd, what is one to say of Gershwin's expressing Negro life in Broadway show-tunes and even more glaringly incongruous material in styles borrowed from opera—for example, the recitative in which Catfish Row Negroes sing such facts as that they will have to get up at five o'clock the next morning. Only in "An American in Paris" does Gershwin succeed in inventing imaginative non-show-music material—such as the opening theme—that is on the level of the show-music; also he achieves his most successful integration of material in a continuous progression; and I find this to be the best of his ambitious works.

The occasion for this little survey is a flood of Gershwin recordings issued by Victor and Columbia to "tie in" with the film "Rhapsody in Blue." To begin with Gershwin's own "Rhapsody in Blue," Columbia offers a new recording made by Levant with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy (Set X-251; $2.50), while Victor gives new promotion (and one of its useless 25-cent showpiece "albums") to the one made some years back by Sanroma with the Boston "Pops" Orchestra under Fiedler (Set SP-3; $2.25). When I wrote about Levant's performance of the Piano Concerto last year I spoke of Gershwin's playing as I recalled it; now it occurred to me to get hold of the old Victor record of Gershwin's own performance of the Rhapsody (an abridged version) with Whiteman's Orchestra; and this not only confirmed my recollection of the deftness, lightness, and precision of his playing, but amplified it: in its simplicity of style the playing had an unfailing and subtle continuity of rhythm and phrasing. As against this, Levant's playing astonishes me again by its crude treatment of piano and phrase; while Sanroma, who has the sensitiveness as pianist and musician that Levant lacks, chooses to play the music in an unendurably affected style. Which brings me to this point: usually a composer must rely on performance-directions in the score to convey inadequately the form in sound that he has in mind, and the inadequate notation gives the performer an excuse for what he does with the music; but in this case there is a recorded performance by the composer which establishes unmistakably and authoritatively what he wanted the music to sound like; and there is no excuse for the extravagances of Sanroma and Fiedler, Levant and Ormandy. As for recording, the Victor version has the sound of the Boston "Pops" recordings of several years ago, which overemphasis of highs made shrill and hard and clangy; the Columbia is on the dull, wooden side.

Continuing with the collection of excerpts from "Porgy and Bess" that Robert Russell Bennett pieced together for Reiner, Columbia offers Reiner's performance with the Pittsburgh Symphony (Set 572; $3.50), and Victor Sevitzky's with the Indianapolis Symphony (Set 999; $3.50), which makes some cuts. Reiner's is the finer performance by miles; Sevitzky's the better recorded one by the same distance. Specifically, in the Victor sound everything is correctly placed in space, correctly balanced, cleanly defined in absolute quiet, and sensuously beautiful; in the Columbia sound things stick out disproportionately and there is a great deal of muddy confusion.

There is even more of this muddy confusion in the recorded sound of Rodzinski's performance of "An American in Paris" with the New York Philharmonic Symphony (Set X-246; $2.50). Remembering Toscanini's performance I find the performance only fair.

BOOK REVIEWERS

ALBERT GUERARD, professor of comparative and general literature at Stanford University, is the author of several books, of which the latest is "Europe Free and United."

PHILIP S. BROUGHTON is in charge of government relations at the advertising firm of Young and Rubicam. He was formerly with the War Manpower Commission.

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Letters to the Editors

The Court's Virtues . . .

Dear Sirs: It is gratifying to read in Mr. Percy E. Corbett's interesting article on The Second League, in your issue of July 7, his measured statement that "the new tribunal can be expected to carry on its excellent work." Yet the article contains references to certain features of the Statute of the International Court of Justice upon which I should like to comment.

Mr. Corbett states that the new Statute "preserves the vices of the previous structure." He first refers to "the institution of *ad hoc* judges," which in his view "will be a standing impediment to the growth of a tradition of impartial detachment." As I view the record of the Permanent Court during the eighteen years of its functioning, there was no such impediment. The *ad hoc* judges were useful in two ways: they frequently enabled the Court to proceed with surer knowledge of local conditions and local usage in regard to the states before it, and they gave better assurance to the people of a losing state that their case was understood at each stage of the Court's proceedings. Moreover, the "institution" was in line with a whole century of development with respect to international adjudication. Instead of calling this feature a *vice*, therefore, I deem it a *virtue* of the old, as well as of the new Court.

A second "vice" was found in the exclusion of individuals as parties before the Court. At a time when the prime need of the world is for a court which will deal effectively with disputes between states, this seems to me a misplacing of emphasis. Neither at the meeting of the United Nations Committee of Jurists in Washington, nor at the San Francisco conference, was a proposal made by any delegate to correct these alleged "defects."

In referring to the "new rule" in Article 94 of the Charter concerning possible measures to be taken by the Security Council to insure compliance with the Court's judgments, Mr. Corbett seems to have overlooked the analogous provision in Paragraph 4 of Article 13 of the Covenant. Had he recalled the experience of the Council of the League of Nations—the provision in the Covenant was invoked only once in eighteen years—he might have saved himself the fear that this provision in the Charter would "engender a practice of deferring satisfaction of judgment until the winning party lodges complaint with the Council," and that the "new" procedure "could develop into a political appeal over judicial decision."

During the past winter the matters discussed by Mr. Corbett were carefully considered at twenty-five regional group conferences arranged by the American and Canadian Bar Associations, and on each of them conclusions at variance with Mr. Corbett's views were reached by the American and Canadian lawyers participating. MANLEY O. HUDSON

Cambridge, Mass., July 19

. . . And Its Defects

Dear Sirs: Thank you for sending me Judge Hudson's letter concerning my article in your issue of July 7.

After reading it, I find myself still regarding as defects those provisions in the new statute which preserve the practice of appointing *ad hoc* judges, and which exclude individuals as parties before the court. The first rule perpetuates an unhappy distinction between the national and international administration of justice. The second perpetuates the limitation of international law to the rights and duties of states *inter se* and refuses the individual a protection which he increasingly needs.

As for the third point, Judge Hudson's argument based upon Paragraph 4 of Article XIII of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the experience, or rather lack of experience, in the application of that paragraph is probably conclusive. He is quite right in saying that I had overlooked this paragraph, and I am most grateful that his correction should be added to the record.

P. E. CORBETT

New Haven, Conn., July 21

Beaverbrookism in Canada

Dear Sirs: In the article Canada Stands Pat, in your issue of June 23, Mr. Maxwell Cohen finds (in reference to the C. C. F.) that "the loss of ground during recent months is not easy to explain." He implies, however, that it is to be attributed in part to C. C. F. leaders' lack of knowledge that "this was the world of Keynes, Beveridge, and Hansen," etc.

It strikes the writer as odd that Mr. Cohen failed altogether, in his search for an explanation, to take into account the notorious pre-election pamphlet "Social Suicide," by an advertising man named Trestrail. A good deal of publicity has been given recently to Lord Beaverbrook's methods in the British election campaign. The Trestrail pamphlet was Beaverbrookism on the lowest level; in fact, by comparison the average Beaverbrookism would probably be found to be truthful, fair, and decent.

Mr. Cohen ignores this bit of popular propaganda, presumably because he considers it unimportant. Yet practically every voter must have been introduced to Trestrail through the mails; and it would seem to be a safe speculation that only a small proportion of the six millions to whom the pamphlet was delivered in the closing weeks of the campaign had ever heard or read of Keynes, Beveridge, and Hansen, or, if they had read these names in the press, had more than the foggiest notions about what their owners stand for.

Throughout the campaign the "world of Keynes, Beveridge, and Hansen" was much less vivid in the mind of the average voter than the nether world of Trestrail. GEORGE DUNCAN

Calgary, Alberta, July 4

A Matter of Emphasis

Dear Sirs: I was much interested in Coleman Rosenberger's article Is "Freedom Road" True? in your issue of July 14. But it seems to me that Mr. Rosenberger defended Mr. Fast's thesis on those points which most historians concede, that is, the fact that the Southern aristocracy could not become reconciled to the freedom of their former slaves, with all that this implied. Mr. Fast also described the growing realization of the former slaves and the "poor whites" that their interests lay together vis-à-vis the Southern aristocracy, which desired to return to the pre-Civil War conditions. It seems to me, therefore, that Mr. Rosenberger might have devoted his time to buttressing this part of Mr. Fast's thesis by pertinent quotations rather than proving what has been proved. MALCOLM BONDY

Brooklyn, July 15

THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

MORE THAN THE ARRAIGNMENT OF AN AGED reactionary is involved in the Pétain trial; it adds up, as Charles Micaud points out on another page, to a grand inquest on the forces which for more than a century have struggled to undo the work of the French Revolution. During the past week the proceedings have been highlighted by the testimony of Laval and the letter written to Pétain by Admiral Leahy, American ambassador to Vichy from January 1941 to April 1942. It is easy to see why the defense protested vigorously when Laval was called as witness at the instance of the court. The slippery ex-Premier is concerned with saving his own skin; his evidence supports the Marshal's case only to the extent necessary for his own protection and, where the record is most damning, he seeks to place responsibility on his nominal boss. A notable instance is his admission that on June 22, 1942, he proclaimed over the radio his hopes for a German victory. "But," he adds, "that broadcast was approved by the Marshal." This damaging statement brought Pétain to his feet to break his vow of silence by a quavering denial.

*

ADMIRAL LEAHY'S LETTER STATES THAT HE first learned of Pétain's "sad predicament" on June 22 last when the Marshal's appeal to him to testify in his favor was delivered. (Is it possible that the President's chief military adviser never reads the papers?) It is clear that Pétain's request placed the Admiral himself in a pretty sad predicament. As he points out, his official position makes it impossible for him to become involved in French "internal controversy." Yet to ignore the appeal would be to turn his back on a man for whom he had frequently expressed warm friendship and to whose administration he had, by his continued presence at Vichy, lent an aura of respectability. Admiral Leahy attempts to back out of this uncomfortable corner carrying water on both shoulders—not an easy trick. He notes that the Marshal did sometimes take action "at my request in opposition to the desires of the Axis"; he recalls that on other occasions, when Nazi demands were accepted, Pétain defended this course on the grounds that refusal would result in additional suffering for the French people; he expresses his conviction "that your principal concern was the welfare and protection of the helpless people of France." On the other hand, the Admiral feels constrained to point out—he has his own place in history to consider—that at the time he urged the point that "positive refusal to make any concessions to Axis demands . . . would, in the long view, have been advantageous to France." Thus he seeks to defend Pétain's motives while condemning his judgment. The record of the Admiral's mission to Vichy, however, leaves his own judgment very open to question and, therefore, justifies skepticism about the worth of his evaluation of Pétain's sincerity.

*

FEW OF THE NAMES IN PRIME MINISTER ATTLEE'S government will be familiar to the average American but the men and women he has chosen are anything but a collection of political neophytes. Nearly all of those appointed to senior positions have had long Parliamentary records and considerable administrative experience either in previous Labor governments or in the late National government. We note with particular pleasure the appointment as Minister of Education of Ellen Wilkinson who, throughout the war, was Herbert Morrison's lieutenant at the Home Office. Miss Wilkinson has both drive and ability and her heart will be in the job of translating "equality of educational opportunity" from an ideal into a reality. A newcomer to office, though an old and skilled Parliamentary hand, is the dynamic Aneurin Bevan who, as Minister of Health, will be a leading member of the team assigned to tackle the housing problem. Lewis Silkin, Minister of Town and Country Planning, will occupy another key position in this field. He has been for years one of the most valuable members of the London County Council and, as a leading expert in real-estate law, he should prove adept in cutting through the legal tangles with which landlords so often impede public housing. The job of overcoming the British coal crisis and fulfilling Labor's pledge to nationalize the mines goes to Emanuel Shinwell, who made an excellent record as Minister for Mines in the last MacDonald government. He combines a vast knowledge of the coal problem with incisive ability as a debater. These, then, are some sample bristles from the new broom with which Britain is to undertake a stupendous job of house-cleaning. In due course, we plan to present our readers with detailed information about many more of them.

*

A STATEMENT BY THE TERRIBLE PROFESSOR Laski that public ownership of the Bank of England was the key to the Labor Party's program has toppled quotations for the Bank's stock and upset digestions in Wall Street as well as in London's "City." Mr. Laski declared: "A government which is not responsible for the operation of credit is not master in its own house." Just so, comments the *Wall Street Journal*: "When you can guide investment and when you can have direction over income and expenditure you certainly have mastery," and it goes on to suggest that nationalization of the Bank will be the first step to the enslavement of the British people. What it doesn't explain is why the control of British credit long exercised by the directors of the Bank did not involve "mastery" of the economy by a body responsible only to its shareholders. The answer the Labor Party would give is that the Bank did, in fact, have the power to decide how many men should be unemployed. Moreover, it ascribes the smashing of the Labor government in 1931 to the machinations of Montagu Norman, then Governor of the Bank, and it means to see that there is no repeat performance. However, the present excitement on this score seems a little disproportionate. As the *Wall Street Journal's* own London correspondent has cabled: "British financial observers find it difficult to see why proposals to socialize the Bank of England should be found so disturbing. Since the abandonment of the gold standard, the Bank's policies have been controlled by the British Treasury." In fact, in practically every country in the world, including the United States, control of the volume of credit has become a function of government. What British Labor now seeks is control of the direction of credit in accordance with a system of priorities which will give such necessities as housing precedence over luxuries. If the Tories had been returned to office, it is difficult to see how they could have done much less and kept their promises to the electors.

*

THE HISTORY OF WARFARE PROVIDES NO parallel for the astonishing performance of the United States Third Fleet and attached British forces along the Japanese coasts for six weeks. Carrier-based planes, ranging in number up to 1,500 or more, have taken off day after day to destroy Japanese aircraft on the ground and in the air, sink coastal vessels, shoot up trains, and bomb naval bases. Surface elements of the combined fleets have paraded off-shore to shell factories, military installations, and even a railroad line, not once but more than half a dozen times. More than 1,000 aircraft and almost as many ships have been destroyed or damaged. And all this has been accomplished without serious opposition from the Japanese. It is as if an enemy fleet had been attacking Charleston, Norfolk, Baltimore, New York, and Providence, meeting no opposition from the U. S. Navy, the Army Air Forces, or the Coast Artillery, and with anti-aircraft fire directed only against attacks on our major fleet units in the Brooklyn Navy Yard. With this demonstration of power added to the continuous Superfort raids, the odds against the Japanese have become so long that a sudden surrender would not be surprising. But their failure to give up in the face of such odds and the clear threat of still worse punishment to come, also serves to indicate that there may never be a surrender, except piecemeal after the German pattern. The power is certainly there to force such a surrender, if that is the only way to win it.

*

A FORTHRIGHT AND INFORMATIVE STATEMENT on the army's discharge policy is overdue. Secretary of War Stimson must know that his press handout on the subject last week was nothing of the sort. It was belligerent but it left unanswered the growing number of embarrassing questions hurled at the army concerning the slowness of the discharge process. "We shall not let any man go," Secretary Stimson announced, "whose going jeopardizes the life of the men who remain to fight." Does Mr. Stimson seriously imagine that anyone is asking the army to do so? The question is, when does such jeopardy really enter the picture and when is it just a rhetorical bogey invoked to help the army retain its grip on the maximum number of men for the maximum length of time? In view of the niggardly rate of discharge it is perfectly proper for citizens to ask why returned combat veterans with high point scores are engaged in picking up cigarette butts in domestic garrisons; and why we were able to discharge men over 38 to do particular types of civilian work when we were fighting a two-front war and have raised the age to 40 now that we have a one-front battle on our hands. Senator Johnson of Colorado has branded the discharge point system "a mathematical monstrosity" created "to stall, confuse, and bewilder." These are hard words, but taken on top of criticisms by Senator Downey, Secretary of the Interior Ickes, and Representative May, chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, they are worth more consideration than Mr. Stimson has deigned to give them. Demobilization is not exclusively a G. I. problem. To drop 10,000,000 men into the country's economy with the sound of the war's final shot would obviously be disastrous. Equally disastrous, and even more cruel, would be an effort to keep millions of veterans doing close-order drill for a year or so after the war. The only way out of the dilemma is to discharge *now* as many as can possibly be spared without slowing the war on Japan. In the last analysis the army must be the judge on this vital point—but even judges may be called to account.

*

A CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION OF THE operations of the Office of the Alien Property Custodian is not only long overdue but essential if we are to end the covert power exercised by German cartels over industry in the United States and Latin America before the war. The sensational discovery reported from Frankfurt-am-Main by a correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune* in the Bosch case provides a typical example of the underhanded methods used. Army investigators found secret contracts between Robert Bosch and the Enskilda banking interests in Stockholm, ostensible owners of the American Bosch Company. These agreements provided for the secret maintenance of German ownership and control. I. F. Stone then discovered, and reported in *PM*, that while the American Bosch company was taken over in 1942 by the Alien Property Custodian, the company is still being run by the pre-war management. The army in Germany found a memorandum from George Murnane, the New York banker, assuring the German firm of his loyal intention to resume pre-war relations after the war was over. Stone reported that this same Murnane is today chairman of the board of the company under the Alien Property Custodian. It is time Congress found out in how many cases "seized" companies are still in the hands of the old managements and prepared to resume old cartel ties once the war is ended.

*

CONGRESSIONAL TOURISM WILL PROBABLY BE cramped by the President's directive denying service transport facilities except to traveling groups formally authorized by Congress. Anxious as we are to see our legislators' stock of knowledge about foreign countries increased, we can only approve checks to "fact-finding" expeditions of the kind that recently whirled through London. This unofficial committee of eleven Congressmen is engaged, according to its spokesman, Representative Wickersham, "in an intensive study of conditions abroad." Its itinerary calls for stays as follows, including in each case time spent in traveling: England, Scotland, and Wales, three days; Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, four days; one day each in France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece, Turkey, Syria, Irak, and Iran. "Complexity of Near East problems," commented the London *Evening Standard,* "must account for the slow-down in the search for facts which occurs at Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Damascus, Port Said, and Cairo. For each of these towns a whole day of study is allowed." Then Casablanca, which has a fine resort hotel, is given two days, though just what is to be investigated there is not revealed. As the *Manchester Guardian* remarked, Phineas Fogg is the only known rival of these gentlemen and his concern was solely with beating the clock. As a contribution to international gaiety, junkets of this kind are all very well. But it is not so funny when Congressmen return to pose as "experts" on a score of countries and to deliver *ex cathedra* a jumble of misinformation and undigested opinion.

*

DR. GERHARD ANSCHUETZ WAS THE AUTHOR OF the Weimar Constitution and so, naturally enough, he spent ten years of Hitler's reign in a Nazi prison. During those ten years, he thought and thought about the Nazi dictatorship and how it happened. It happened, Dr. Anschuetz says, because of paragraph 54 of the Constitution, which permitted the President of the German Republic to assume all power in the event of a national emergency. Under it, President Hindenburg declared the unemployment crisis an emergency and called upon Adolf Hitler to solve it. And then one thing led to another until the Nazi state came into full bloom. Anyway that's how Dr. Anschuetz figured it out. And he promises that if he has anything to do with writing another constitution for Germany there won't be any paragraph 54 in it; instead there will be a system of checks and balances as in the American Constitution. We think all this is very sound but we wonder if it ever occurred to the good professor during his ten-year *Denkfest* that there were a few other things wrong with Weimar Germany besides paragraph 54; and that one of them was too many—far, far too many— Dr. Anschuetzes.

Unfinished Business

THE Senate has joined the House in a summer recess that is scheduled to continue until October 8. Under normal circumstances no one would begrudge Congressmen a two-month respite in a busy legislative year; but these are not normal times. The imminence of victory in the war carries the threat of economic catastrophe unless the government has a workable program for the transition period—and virtually no legislation has been enacted to assure smooth reconversion and adequate post-war employment. If under ceaseless bombing Japan should reconsider its rejection of the Potsdam ultimatum we would be faced with unprecedented unemployment. The Administration would be powerless to combat the combined deflationary effects of the cancellation of war contracts and the demobilization of ten to eleven million servicemen.

Senator Barkley reminded the Senate of its shirked responsibilities on the day of adjournment by listing fifteen domestic measures that had been recommended by Presidents

Roosevelt and Truman but ignored by Congress, including such major items as revision of the Social Security Act, rehabilitation and reintegration of the armed forces, public housing and highway improvement, additional valley authorities patterned after the TVA, medical insurance for low-income groups, and liberalization of unemployment compensation; to this list should be added legislation to protect the jobs of racial and religious minorities. These measures represent the minimum of esssential short-range planning to prevent a crisis.

Most urgent among the items of unfinished business, however, is legislation implementing President Roosevelt's campaign promise of 60,000,000 post-war jobs. A full-employment program is not something that can be improvised in a few days when the crisis is upon us. In view of the advanced state of the war against Japan we cannot safely wait until October to begin consideration of this indispensable program. At this stage delay is irresponsible.

The report of the Mead committee indicates that there are many vital matters in connection with the war itself that should have attention. The conflict between the army and the various civilian agencies responsible for production apparently has reached such proportions that it cannot be resolved by War Mobilizer Snyder or even by the President without Congressional aid. In his attacks on the army for hoarding men who are urgently needed in crucial sectors of the civilian economy, Senator Johnson has raised fundamental questions regarding the War Department's demobilization policy. Since the public has not sufficient information to decide what the right answer to these questions is, it is clearly up to Congress to provide it. A careful and prompt investigation is in order. We hope one of the President's first acts upon returning to Washington will be to insist that Congress get back on the job.

The Potsdam Decision

I. Only a Beginning

THE making of peace in Europe is a job that has two main parts. One is the final destruction of German military power. That part of the job was well planned at Potsdam. The other is far more elusive and difficult to accomplish. It is the creation of positive conditions which will encourage peace and friendly dealings among nations. This part of the job was only begun at Potsdam.

The smashing of German power had largely been achieved by the combined armies of the victorious Allies. What remained was a considerable industrial plant which might some day be used for the production of arms, and a lingering reluctance among certain sections of the German people to believe that they were totally and finally licked. Potsdam provided a program for ending both sources of possible future trouble.

The industrial capacity of Germany beyond what is required for peace-time needs, frugally defined by the victors, is to be carted off to build up the productive strength of the United Nations, particularly Russia. The economic details of this plan are discussed below. What it adds up to in broad terms is that Germany will be reduced to poverty. Its role as an industrial power will pass to other nations. It will not be able to plan to make war for it will have neither the resources nor the machinery to turn out modern weapons.

The other necessity was to change the attitude of the German people. It may be true, as most Germans today insist, that a majority of the people disliked the Nazi dictatorship. But whether it is true or not, no one can doubt that a dangerous proportion of Hitler's subjects accepted the twin ideas of Teutonic superiority and the omnipotence of the state. At Potsdam the German state went out of existence, formally as well as actually. This event more than any other should drive into the German mind the reality of defeat, and its meaning. For in Hitler's Reich even the army came second. It was the mighty dictator-state, personified by the Führer, defended by the Wehrmacht, that concentrated in itself all the energy and intelligence and power of the people. Now the state has been supplanted by the absolute military rule of four victorious powers which will control Germany from top to bottom until it has developed acceptable evidence of a capacity to rule itself—peaceably and under democratic safeguards. This short demonstration of the collapse of the Hitler myth was a necessary contribution to the mental and emotional disarming of Germany. The "master race" was officially interred at Potsdam in the rubble of administrative buildings.

But the crushing of German power leaves a wide area for positive measures of peace-making in Europe. In this area the victors must establish justice, social equality, political freedom, and the protection of the rights of individuals and minorities and lesser nations—for these are the only secure foundations on which peace can rest. At Potsdam they made a few hopeful gestures in this direction. As far as Germany is concerned, the most hopeful was the agreement to permit political and trade-union activity among anti-Nazi groups. The Russians have allowed parties to function from the beginning of their occupation; now the permission will be extended to the whole country. Obviously it will be a half-artificial exercise as long as foreign military control continues. But it will give democratic elements among the people a chance to rebuild organizations crushed by the Nazis and to establish lost habits of administration. Out of this will come gradually a new political life for Germany. It is too early to try to guess what shape that life will take. What must be recognized is that the German people will meanwhile be preserved in a state of artificial social and political peace—like prisoners in a well-run jail—and will therefore have no opportunity to assist actively in the purge of the fascist poison that permeated the body of their country. That job will be left to the victors; and the Germans will be robbed of what would have given them their best chance of political health.

Perhaps the most valuable positive act of the Potsdam conferees was the slap administered to Franco. This should knock out from under his regime a major prop, particularly if it is followed with the severing of diplomatic relations by Britain and the United States and an economic boycott such as was applied for a time to Argentina. Franco's reaction to the verdict shows how fully he realizes his danger. While the Spanish Republicans pull together their strong but scattered forces, the Generalissimo is hastily summoning his advisers to consider ways of circumventing the intentions of the Big Three. He will have to work fast, for this time it looks as if the powers meant business. The new British government is clearly not going to continue Churchill's tactics, and even in Washington one can detect evidences of impending change.

This move, together with the decision to make the peace promptly with Italy and Hitler's other former associates, will have a wholesome effect on the entire European situation. It will make possible the renewal of normal processes of trade and diplomatic intercourse and restore hope to peoples who have labored too long under the frustrations of military control and political intervention.

A third excellent decision reached at Potsdam was to establish a Council of Foreign Ministers to carry on from where the three chiefs of state left off. This is a long-needed change. The European Advisory Commission has never had the authority to lay down major policies. The new Council presumably will have. In view of the gap left in the settlement of Europe's outstanding problems, the creation of this Council is of immense importance.

For the gaps are enormous. They cover the larger part of the territorial claims that have been put forward by various nations and a wide range of economic and political adjustments. The start made in this field at Potsdam was not auspicious. We are particularly disturbed by the tentative decision, which will, however, almost certainly be ratified, to turn over to Poland areas of Germany west of the Oder and Neisse rivers. Changes on Poland's western frontier were inevitable, but the annexation of such vast German regions is certain to create dislocations. The history of irredentism after the last war should have been a warning to the powers at Potsdam—including Poland itself. It is to be hoped that a better solution will be reached when the questions of Germany's western boundaries and of other disputed frontiers are considered by the Council of Foreign Ministers.

II. Germany's Economic Future

THE ECONOMIC terms imposed on Germany by the Potsdam conferees are both harsher and more realistic than those of the Versailles Treaty. They are more likely to result in the actual extraction of reparations than the astronomical bill presented in 1919. That bill could be paid only by the delivery of newly produced goods (which the debtor countries were mostly reluctant to receive), and, before such goods could be forthcoming, Germany had to be supplied with credits for raw materials and for expanding its industry. This time payment is to be in the form of existing capital equipment and will be directly linked with disarmament. Germany will thus make reparation through the loss of its war potential, which, it has been estimated, includes a productive capacity in the heavy industries about four times greater than a peacetime economy would require.

For the division of the reparations taken, a rather elaborate formula has been concocted which, nevertheless, still leaves certain points obscure. Russia gets a major share, since it is to have whatever is removed from its own occupation zone plus 10 per cent of the takings in the western zone. In addition it is to get 15 per cent of the total western "removals" against payment in food and raw materials. Out of its share Russia is to settle Polish claims but apparently it retains full discretion respecting the amount and nature of the satisfaction given. Claims of the United States, Great Britain, "and other countries entitled to reparations" are to be met from the western zone and from external German assets. As we pointed out last week, the division of reparations ought to be determined by agreement among the interested states and not by Anglo-American ukase. But on this point the communiqué is silent.

While removals of reparations property are to begin as soon as possible, the amount and character of "the industrial capital equipment unnecessary for the German peace economy and therefore available for reparations" is to be decided by the Control Council comprised of the four Allied "zone commanders." The Council, however, must follow principles fixed by the Allied Commission of Reparations, which is to include France, while final approval must be given by the commander of the zone from which equipment is to be removed. It is not going to be easy to operate all this complicated machinery without friction and delays. But, at least, it is encouraging to learn that during the occupation period "Germany shall be treated as an economic unit."

"Payment of reparations," the Potsdam report declares, "should leave enough resources to enable the German people to subsist without external assistance." They must, however, another paragraph suggests, subsist mainly by means of agriculture and light industry. Their standard of living is not to exceed "the average of the standards of living of European countries"—excluding the U. S. S. R. and Britain. Just what this may mean it is hard to say. Before the war living standards in Europe varied tremendously: they were comparatively high in such western countries as Denmark and Holland, very low in the Balkan countries. That of Germany was almost certainly above the average, so that a decline, and probably a steep one, is to be its lot. On this score the Germans can hardly expect better treatment; they have no claim to more than subsistence so long as the countries they have victimized remain on short rations.

But the question does arise as to whether the arrangements made by the Big Three will permit even a low average standard to be maintained. Germany will have to grow almost all its own food since its much reduced surplus of coal and manufacturers will be needed to buy raw materials. Moreover, it will have to produce its food in an area barely three-quarters of the size of the pre-Hitler Reich if, as seems certain, the provisional assignment to Poland of territories extending to the Oder and Neisse rivers is sustained.

Moreover, this diminished area will have to provide for a much bigger population than formerly since eventually ten or twelve million Germans are to be thrown out of the Sudetenland, Hungary, and the new Polish provinces. Even after making allowances for the very heavy casualties which Germany suffered in the war, it appears certain that the country is going to be seriously over-crowded.

In time Germany may be able to intensify its agriculture—it would require a big production of fertilizer, and fertilizer manufacture is closely linked to that of explosives—and so provide the bulk of its food and employment for a larger population on the land than before the war. But it would still have to find jobs for a very large number of industrial workers. If the Ruhr remains German—the French would like to include it in a separate Rhineland state—it will still have surplus coal. But most of the raw materials it would need to operate light industries on a larger scale would have to be imported and that means it must rebuild its export trade. By means of low wages, and under the conditions being set for Germany wages will inevitably be low there, it might be able to offer consumers' goods—textiles, toys, clocks, furniture, drugs, and so on—at very competitive prices. What will this mean in terms of labor standards in other countries?

Presumably, the suppression or strict limitation of the German metal and chemical industries will mean reduced competition in world markets for America and Britain. But if Germany's selling opportunities are thus curtailed, so too will be its ability to buy. Before the war it was a very large importer of primary products from all parts of the world. In particular, it was the chief customer for the agricultural surpluses of southeastern Europe which, in turn, looked on German industry as its main source of manufactured goods. Who will now buy these surpluses and so enable the Balkan countries to obtain the industrial goods they need? Will Russia, which in normal times is likely to produce similar surpluses itself?

The fact is that Germany's change of economic status must have wide repercussions beyond its own borders and it is not clear that the Potsdam conferees have considered all the economic implications of their decisions. A poverty-stricken Germany, bottled up in a confined space, must remain an endless problem, however much its aggressiveness is curbed by strong-arm methods. Some means must be found to integrate it with the European economic system, of which geographically it forms the heart, or the penalties we impose upon it will backlash on its neighbors. From this point of view the economic section of the Potsdam report is disappointingly negative.

Negrín's Fight for Unity

BY J. A. DEL VAYO

Mexico City, August 5 (By cable)

THE Spanish issue is rapidly moving toward a climax. Developments during the week in which this dispatch appears may well prove decisive for the Republican cause. Two events have sharply accelerated the tempo. The first was the decision of the Big Three to bar Franco Spain from the United Nations. The second was the first public report to the Spanish Republicans by Dr. Juan Negrín of his stewardship as Prime Minister, delivered at the Bellas Artes Theater here on Wednesday evening, August 1. Called on four days' notice, the meeting was generally considered the most impressive and significant Republican event of recent years. It was an invitation affair, and the hall was filled to capacity. The organizers of the meeting said that the number of requests for tickets on the morning of the day it was to be held would have filled a hall five times its size. The selection of the Bellas Artes, Mexico's finest auditorium, was in itself a political event. Under government regulations the theater is barred to political meetings. The authorities made an exception for Negrín.

The address of the Republican Prime Minister was delivered in an atmosphere of great solemnity and even austerity. The hall was decorated only with the colors of Spain and Mexico. There were no introductions and no closing remarks. Dr. Negrín was the sole speaker. At eight o'clock sharp the lights went on. Dr. Negrín appeared on the platform, briefly acknowledged the applause of the audience, and launched at once into a two-hour discourse—a discourse interrupted dramatically when, for five minutes, the electric current failed and the audience, which had been following him with close attention, spontaneously lighted matches and cigarette-lighters to illuminate the stage and his manuscript. Dr. Negrín's only acknowledgment was to move forward to the edge of the platform to receive this improvised light, and the address continued. The first half was devoted to the causes which led to the defeat of the Republican forces. It was the first public speech which Dr. Negrín had made as head of the Government of Resistance since the meeting of Parliament at Figueras in 1939. During all these intervening years opponents of Negrín have represented the attempt of the government to go to Madrid and carry on the fight there after the loss of Catalonia as a heroic but futile gesture. On Wednesday, Dr. Negrín explained why continued Spanish resistance made sense, emphasizing how in the Second World War the resistance in 1940, by Russia at Moscow and Stalingrad, and by Yugoslavia, proved decisive factors in the outcome of the war. If the Casado revolt in Madrid had not taken place the Republican army could have resisted for a long time. In making this report Negrín wanted not only to justify the government's policy of resistance but also publicly to brand the British and French agents who conspired to bring about the surrender of Madrid.

At the same time he made known the limits to his own policy of unity. In the new coalition, he said, all Republicans may find a place except those who betrayed the Republic and delivered Madrid to Franco. With those there is no possibility of understanding. They had sinned against Spain as much as Franco had, and they must be excluded. He was referring to Colonel Casado and his accomplices.

The second half of his speech was a full report on the activities of the government since its departure from Spanish soil. Freed from the silence imposed upon him by the war, he recited a series of acts clearly indicating that at no time had the government given up the fight for the Republic. He received a great ovation when he said: "I do not want a Republic restored by the intervention of any foreign power. I want a Republic restored by the action of Spaniards." He stated that the policy of his government had been consistently based on collaboration with the United Nations and particularly with the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and France. Sarcastically dismissing allegations of communism, he demanded, at the same time, respect and justice in the new coalition for all the parties which through the years have fought for the restoration of the Republic.

Dr. Negrín insisted that without agreement on the part of at least a majority of the parties, if not all of them, the government was in no position to act with the authority and efficiency demanded by the decisive character of the present moment. "We can hardly ask for recognition from other governments for a government which is not recognized by Spanish Republicans." He affirmed his readiness to support any solution which would end the present stalemate, even offering to withdraw as Prime Minister if such a concession would lead to real unity and a much broader coalition than could be obtained under his leadership. Until such a solution is found he will not desert his post.

The speech has made a deep impression. Virtually every legation in Mexico has asked for the full text, and many members of the diplomatic corps were present to hear it delivered. In Republican circles the effect has been to accelerate greatly the negotiations which have been going on continuously for three weeks. Within the first forty-eight hours after the meeting Negrín saw more people than in all the days previously. If a Gallup poll were to be taken of Republican sentiment here today, Negrín would receive on overwhelming majority. The opposition boils down to the Prieto group, and there, aside from personal animosities, the basis of disagreement is objection to the inclusion of Communists in a coalition government. The tactics of the Prietists are causing defections from their ranks. *El Universal* "leaked" the story that when Prieto was in New York recently he refused to see Negrín and that, despite this, Negrín later called at the hospital where Prieto had undergone an eye operation, to wish him a speedy recovery. This has created a profound impression. Many Spaniards have also resented the statement, issued by the Círculo Pablo Iglesias headquarters of the Prieto group, that Negrín has no right to speak as a Socialist, although he is a member not only of the party but of its executive committee elected in Spain. Political tension is approaching the explosion point. Only the other day two Prietists were forced to leave a coffee house frequented by Spanish Republicans.

During the three weeks of his stay in Mexico, Negrín has been constantly engaged in negotiations with the political groups. He has seen the leaders of the following parties and their subdivisions: Izquierda Republicana, Unión Republicana, Socialist Party, Communist Party, Esquerra Catalana, Partido Socialista Unificado de Catalińa, Unión General del Trabajo, Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo, Partido Nacionalista Vasco, Partido Federal. From them he has sought agreement on the following four basic points:

1. Coordination of efforts inside and outside Spain to hasten the liberation of the Spanish people and the re-establishment of the Republic.

2. An amnesty which opens the way for a general policy of national reconciliation.

3. Election in Spain of a new Parliament — with the least possible delay after the liberation of the country.

4. Continuation of the policy of solidarity with the United Nations, of which the Republic feels morally a part.

Drawing by David Stone Martin

Prime Minister Negrín

By Sunday, Negrín's political conversations were practically ended. One of the longest was with delegates of the Prieto group, Otero and Albar. Negrín's position was by this time perfectly clear to all the persons with whom he had talked. But in order to put a stop to the maneuvers of those who still represent him as clinging at any price to his office, he made the following declaration to Agencia España:

"I do not know how to state matters more plainly than I have already done. It is absolutely false to suggest that I am trying to hold on to my position as head of the Republican government. I came to Mexico to request the cooperation of the parties and of public opinion in order to proceed as rapidly as possible to the selection of a president of the Republic so that the ministerial crisis can be solved in a constitutional way. That has been my desire and my will for two years, as I explained on Wednesday night. The accession of the Provisional President of the Republic will automatically produce the resignation of the government. And it is the exclusive right of the President to choose the person who will be intrusted with the formation of a new government."

Within the next few days the final results of his negotiations will be known. There is a growing belief that rapid decisions must be made. Negrín himself has in effect told the parties: "I shall accept any solution upon which you agree, if it is a constitutional solution. If we put off a settlement of the political crisis until a meeting of the Cortes can be called, it may mean a delay of two months. Do you think, after Potsdam, we can wait so long? Or might it not be wiser to settle the crisis now and submit our decisions to the Cortes afterward?" Some persons have proposed that constitutional procedures be telescoped in order to set up a broad coalition government in exile as soon as possible. This would mean appointing a Provisional President in the Person, probably, of Martinez Barrio—without waiting for the Cortes, which must eventually, of course, ratify all decisions.

In the week beginning tomorrow the parties and leaders must find the answer to Negrín's question. The masses of Spaniards agree with him that there is no time to be lost.

Will America Go Socialist?

BY I. F. STONE

THE results of the British elections pose two tasks for the Left in the United States. One is to provide American support for the program to which Attlee and his associates are pledged. The other is to exploit fully at home the political repercussions of Labor's victory in Britain. Both require that we begin to think and talk in frankly socialist terms.

I need hardly dwell on what the success of the new British Labor government means to all of us. The hope of achieving socialism without bloodshed and dictatorship, of developing a democratic socialism suited to the Western European and American peoples, of avoiding the creation of a monolithic state, of preserving elements of economic freedom and enterprise within the framework of socialist direction and planning, depend on the outcome in Britain. The failure of the British Labor government would weaken democracy and socialism throughout Western and Central Europe and revive the danger of an Anglo-American coalition against the Soviet Union.

Many of the major domestic problems which face the new Attlee Cabinet are of international importance. Effective mobilization of Britain's coal industry is almost a life-and-death matter for ravaged Europe. Socialist reconstruction of Britain's bombed-out areas would provide experience of the greatest value in the field of public housing everywhere. A full-employment economy in England, by expanding the need for basic materials from abroad, would make it easier to create full employment in other countries.

In the field of foreign policy, maintenance of Labor's power in England provides substantial basis for the maintenance of democratic regimes in Europe and their establishment in Asia. In the field of colonial policy, Labor offers the one possibility of working out a program which will realize the potentialities and satisfy the aspirations of the colonial peoples. But the attainment of these objectives will not be automatic. The realization of a socialist program in Britain will depend on the extent to which Labor's followers at home can keep the heat on their leaders, many of them rather weak-kneed men, and the extent to which Labor's friends abroad can protect them from the pressure that will surely be exerted against socialist policies by Wall Street. This is where we come in.

The new British government's severest economic difficulties would seem to lie in the foreign field. From a financial point of view, the nationalization of coal, steel, or transport is little more than the matter of exchanging the securities of new public corporations for those of the private enterprises to be taken over. It is Britain's heavy dependence on the import of materials and food from abroad that constitutes the crucial weakness of the new regime. These imports must increase sharply if there is to be adequate rehousing and full employment. Two costly world wars have largely exhausted the foreign investments which might have financed these imports. For the next five or ten years Britain will need extensive loans and credits, and these must come principally from the United States.

Openly or covertly, attempts will be made to exact a political price for these loans. The price asked will be the abandonment of socialist policies. To counteract Wall Street pressure on Britain, the Left in this country must create wide public understanding of the need for socialist measures to solve Britain's economic problems. In housing, coal, transport, credit, power, and steel, these are not a matter of theory but of economic necessity. The housing problem is too enormous for British private enterprise to handle. Britain's basic resource, coal, is in the hands of a sick industry that can be restored to health only under public ownership. The backward British steel industry needs public funds for modernization, and the cartel must be taken over by the government if prices are to be reduced to a level on which British steel can again compete in world markets and pay for British imports. This whole story cannot be told in the current fashion of lip-service to the sacred cow of "private enterprise." It requires education in socialism.

The other side of the story is to explain that, unless it is to follow a policy of suicidal reaction, American finance capital must support Britain's experiment. An economically thriving Britain is essential to an economically prosperous world. To choke off the limited socialist program to which the new Labor government is pledged is not to save private enterprise in Britain but to assure its disappearance under the combined effects of depression and the demand for more radical and sweeping measures. To deny Britain loans would be to force the new government toward intensive use of the foreign-trade controls that spell disaster for the free and expanding world market on which the future of American capitalism itself depends. It would also invite the empire and Europe to combine against us for self-preservation.

Fundamentally, and this brings us to the American home front, the future of American capitalism is not so different from that of British capitalism. It is younger and healthier and has more elbow-room than its British brother. But here as there the preservation of areas of genuine free enterprise depends on large admixtures of socialism. And here as there full employment cannot be achieved without over-all planning and direction by government. The effect of the British elections has been to bring some glimmering of this home to American conservative opinion. An example is provided by Mark Sullivan's sudden advocacy (New York *Herald Tribune,* August 3) of the Full-Employment bill "as doing for American capitalism what socialism promises to do for Britain." When Sullivan moves that far left, it is time for the rest of us to move over.

We need to abandon the shabby and inadequate catchwords of the New Deal, its bootstrap economics and subsidies for planned scarcity. It is time to lay the foundations for a new socialist movement in America, to analyze our problems in socialist terms, to begin a campaign of public education in them. What I am suggesting is a Marxist approach, but one which will be non-sectarian, undogmatic, and rooted in a realistic appraisal of concrete problems.

It would be good if we began with something like Britain's Fabian Society, a group of scholars and experts who could make a study of American industry and economy from a frankly socialist rather than a "liberal" point of view, but so ably, objectively, and accurately as to command respect among thoughtful men of all shades of opinion. There ought to be sources to which newspapermen, labor leaders, and legislators could go for comprehensive socialist analyses of such matters as the situation in the railroads, the farm problem, the question of steel prices. Above all we need a new examination, this time from the left, of America's capacity to produce and to consume, made in terms of each industry and each commodity, with a view to the planned expansion of production and a steady rise in living standards.

Current liberal shibboleths and leftist ignorance are an obstacle to the solution of basic American economic problems. A striking example in the former field was the anticlimactic nonsense about a return to "free enterprise" in railroading which capped Wallace's otherwise able analysis of the transportation problem in his famous speech at Dallas. A less obvious example of the latter is the current vagueness about the steel industry. It is not enough to criticize a pricing system which supports half-capacity operations. The real problem is to work out a program under which full-capacity output would be economically possible.

There are areas in the American economy, like railroading and power, where government ownership would immensely stimulate genuine enterprise in other businesses. There are other areas in which anti-trust enforcement is hopeless and only government competition can restore economic health. There are problems like full employment, the low living standards of the South, the mechanization of agriculture, which can be met only by planned cooperation between governmental agencies and private owners. These are characteristic problems of a mixed economy, and they will best be met by socialist prodding and socialist understanding. The world is moving inevitably toward socialism, and if the transition in our own country is to be brought about by democratic means, these are the paths along which we must begin to move. It is time for the American Left to follow the British example.

The New Labor Parliament

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

[*Mr. Vallance, formerly editor of the London* News-Chronicle, *is now on the staff of the* New Statesman and Nation. *In 1939 he was a frequent contributor to* The Nation. *During the war he has been Director of Psychological Warfare for the British War Office.*]

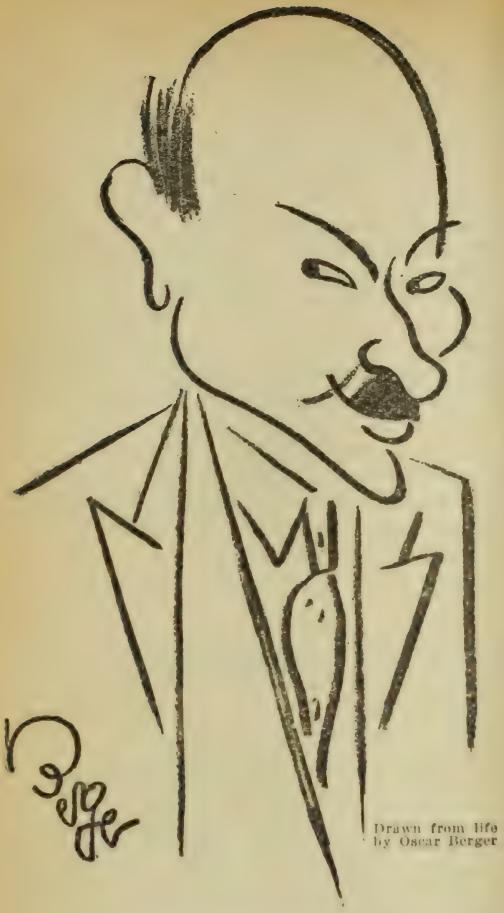
London, August 1 (By Cable)

THE ballot boxes sealed for three weeks kept hidden the fact that July 5 witnessed a silent revolution in British political life. At this Wednesday's assembly of Parliament the choosing of a Speaker presented a remarkable contrast to observers sufficiently venerable, like your correspondent, to remember 1919. Then, under the leadership of the architect of victory, Lloyd George, the government benches thronged by elderly "hard-faced men who had done well out of the war," reflected the nation's acceptance of a policy allowing private enterprise a free rein in the short-view exploitation of a profitable peace. The nation's emphatic refusal to repeat this experience is manifest today on the benches crowded by Laborites who give a vivid impression of youthfulness, vigor, and practical idealism.

In the House of Commons, now effectively reverted to a two-party system, the outstanding feature is that Labor is no longer a mere political wing of the industrial movement. Out of 390 members, whose average age of less than forty-five compares with that of fifty-five in the last Parliament, only 120 are trade-union officials, mainly from coal and transport. The remainder naturally includes a number of individual trade unionists, manual or technical workers, but these were selected by "constituency" Labor parties and therefore are not tied to trade-union apron strings. An analysis of the members shows nearly 50 per cent from the middle class—more than forty lawyers, thirty business men, twenty journalists, twenty teachers, ten doctors, a good sprinkling of economists, accountants, engineers, clergymen, architects, and farmers, not forgetting one film director, one playwright, and two barbers. The servicemen exceed one-third of the total, which includes twenty-one women and over 100 members with previous experience in municipal government.

The consequence is that Britain has, for the first time, a positively socialist Parliamentary party in power with the probability of a long tenure increased, first, by the unlikelihood of the domination of a sectional trade-union view, and second, by the support of an impressively wide cross-section of the community, rural as well as urban, as indicated by the extent to which the landworkers and traders in small market towns have defied the squires and gone left. Those who, like Herbert Morrison, have always argued that a Labor Party based exclusively on an appeal to industrial workers would be unable to secure power, can now point to a convincing black-coated conversion to the socialist cause. Labor is truly the inheritor of that popular evolutionary upsurge which brought about the Reform Act of 1832, transferring political power from a landowning oligarchy to the mercantile middle class, and which, with the Liberal victory of 1906, ushered in an era of reformed social services.

We must recognize, of course, that the voting on July 5 was in part "anti" the Tories and Churchill. The electorate



Drawn from life by Oscar Berger

Prime Minister Attlee

was not ungrateful to its great war leader but it regarded the flagrant Tory effort to convert the election into a personal plebiscite for the former Prime Minister as a real threat to democratic institutions. When Churchill took Beaverbrook's fatal advice and sponsored an extravagantly partisan campaign of distortion, vilification, and bogey-raising stunts ("Gauleiter Laski," "Marxist," "Gestapo," etc.) he committed political suicide. "Not cricket" is a deadly verdict in England. Nearly every constituency visited by Churchill in a victory parade through cheering crowds rejected the Tory candidate, and even in his own constituency, uncontested by Labor, 10,000 votes were cast against him in favor of a "philosophic farmer" candidate. The fact is that the majority of the electorate took the election much more seriously than Beaverbrook, who never understood England, imagined. They were unimpressed by scares or appeals to "vote national: vote Churchill"—slogans of the predominantly Conservative big-circulation press. Long before the dissolution of Parliament they had reached their verdict on the domestic and international results of fourteen years of Tory rule. The men of Munich no less than the slum landlords and industrialists, who had preferred the profits of scarcity to full employment, received a delayed sentence.

The positive side of the polling results, however, is equally manifest. Significantly, the Liberals shared the Tory rout. The sponsoring of 300 candidates with no possibility of winning office was regarded justly as an attempt to throw a monkeywrench into the works. The electorate had doubts about a party which gave the impression that it was composed partly of camouflaged reactionaries and partly of Beveridgites afraid to face the logic of their own thinking. In addition, after the disillusioning compromises of the long coalition, the country's mood was hostile to the idea of a center party holding the balance. Liberalism still represents nearly 10 per cent of British opinion, but the party's votes were thinly scattered and the party is dead as an electoral force. Equally emphatic was the rejection of the splinter groups—Common Wealth and the Communists—illustrating an impatience with irresponsible left extremism and a sober determination to have a practical program of democratic socialism applied to everyday problems.

These problems are many and clamant, notably the appalling scarcity of houses and consumers' goods, congested trains, a grave shortage of manpower for reconversion to civilian industries, the continued separation of families due to slow demobilization, and the threatening wage disputes of the dockers and railmen. In a war-tired country irritation and disenchantment will flare up if there are any signs of the government's failure to live up to Morrison's promise of "bold, decisive, sensible" action. The difficulty will be to assign correct priorities to Parliamentary measures. Housing apart, it will be necessary to expedite bills implementing, first, improved workers' accident compensation; second, the promised Beveridge social-security plan including full national health service; third, the nationalization of coal mines and of the Bank of England, pending the formulation of plans to control transport, electricity, and land acquisition along the lines of the Uthwatt report, and the general location of industries. Die-hard opposition by the House of Lords is unlikely, but the essentially dilatory legislative procedure of the Commons must be speeded up.

Fortunately there is no Labor commitment to produce the millenium like a rabbit from a conjurer's hat; moreover, the mass of the party's supporters are neither utopians nor direct actionists but solid, sensible people prepared for patient cooperation if the government shows that it means business and demonstrates a real sense of urgency. The first appointments to the new Cabinet made a good impression. Attlee is an unspectacular Premier, analogous to Campbell Bannerman in 1906, a quiet, dignified, admirable chairman of a team. Bevin is expected to renovate vigorously Foreign Office methods rather than to revolutionize a policy in which the keynotes of friendship for the United States and the U. S. S. R. are obviously constant. Morrison's position as general coordinator of the domestic policy is important.

To sum up, Britain has voted power to a party which has successfully forged an alliance between trade unions preoccupied with bread-and-butter issues, and middle-class Socialists pledged to substitute gradually the conscious organization of the community's well-being for the competitive scramble and restrictionist polity of monopoly capitalism.

Background of Collaboration

BY CHARLES A. MICAUD

[Mr. Micaud, now an American citizen, is the author of "The French Right and Nazi Germany." He teaches French at West Point.]

VICHY and Montoire are the final links in a long chain of tragic events, Pétain and Laval products rather than causes. The French nation may find the condemnation of collaborationist leaders psychologically necessary, a gesture both revengeful and purifying, but it is not sufficient. The punishment of guilty individuals would even be dangerous if it were allowed to take the place of a purge of institutions and merely served to bolster a hopelessly out-dated social system.

For the real issue is social and political. Collaboration is only the logical outcome of appeasement, Sedan and Montoire only the results of Munich. And Munich itself?: a puerile reflex of social defense on the part of a frightened bourgeoisie, which put class interests above national interests and lost on both counts.

In twentieth-century France feudalism was not dead. Many still believed in the virtues of hierarchy, in the right of the élite—that aristocracy of birth and wealth—to govern, and the duty of the masses to obey. This Tory outlook would not have long survived the impact of the French revolution and of modern technology if the Whigs had not become Tories.

The bourgeoisie, which had made the great Revolution, began to look upon its own child with profound misgivings. After the proletarian uprisings of 1848 and 1871, and with the success of socialism at the turn of the century, these former liberals began to question the desirability of democratic procedure. The law of the majority was all right so long as it did not threaten their privileges; but if the majority wanted radical social changes, they would not hesitate to make a counter-revolution.

While in Great Britain the conservatives had the political wisdom to grant concessions at the opportune moment, the French bourgeois believed in holding the barricades as long as possible. The result was inevitable. The working class, convinced that the Republic was only a shield for the preservation of privilege, flocked to the banner of Marxism, thus fanning the fears of the bourgeois and increasing their reluctance to reach a working compromise.

The crisis came to a head in 1934 with the famous Paris riots of February 6. The *coup de force* did not succeed but it launched the semi-fascist leagues on their meteoric careers. While many *ligueurs* were convinced that they were fighting only for political salubrity, the Leftists refused to be taken in by their lofty slogans. They understood that the new collectivists of the Right were not genuine socialists, but saw in the regimentation of economy the means to an end: the maintenance of disguised privileges in a frozen, hierarchic society.

In answer to the threat, workers and petits bourgeois united, and the victory of the Popular Front postponed the showdown. But reaction was far from dead. Fear of communism was cleverly used to discredit the new government, sabotage the social reforms, and separate the petits bourgeois from the workers. The *Parti Social Français*—legal heir of the outlawed Croix de Feu—soon became one of the largest parties in France, while the *Parti Populaise Français*—Doriot's party—enrolled the most dynamic section of the Right. Only the Christian Democratic party resisted the authoritarian temptation. The field was ready for Pétain's "National Revolution."

In foreign policy the way was also made ready. The Rightists had always flattered themselves on being the only real patriots; they had consistently warned the pacifist Left that Germany could not be appeased, that "one does not mix fire and water." Yet in 1935, as the Left and more especially the extreme Left were becoming aware of the Nazi menace and urging firmness, many Rightists quite suddenly became converted to a policy of appeasement.

They successively backed Mussolini in his Ethiopian venture, Franco in Spain, even Hitler when he sent his legions into the Rhineland, and later at the time of the Anschluss and of Munich. For in their eyes the dictators were the protectors of "Western civilization" against "Soviet barbarism." A victory over them would also mean the triumph of the working classes in France and of the U. S. S. R. in Europe. And this victory had to be avoided at all costs, even at the cost of France's vassalage.

The red menace was Hitler's most successful political weapon. With the connivance of the Right he succeeded in preventing a Franco-Soviet military alliance, which alone could have saved Europe. The strategy of the reactionaries was simple: since Germany had to expand, let her expand in the Ukraine. She probably would be satisfied. If not, well, France had her own Maginot line.

Here lay the real meaning of the Munich agreement: France and Britain were implicitly giving Germany a free hand in Eastern Europe. The Right hailed it as a great victory, for Munich eliminated the bellicose extreme Left from the government of France and Soviet Russia from European affairs.

It was too late in the spring of 1939 to convince Moscow that London and Paris had changed heart. In August the pact of non-aggression with Germany was signed, opening the Western gates to the Nazi flood.

After the defeat most Rightists acclaimed Pétain as a savior, the only man with enough prestige to impose the counter-revolution they had been hoping for. While the greater number were cautiously "waiting to see," some even followed the National Socialists in demanding total collaboration with the victor. By contrast the forces of resistance, in France as elsewhere, were drawn for the most part from the working classes and the Leftist professional groups.

The former internationalists proved to be the real patriots.

This conflict between national and class interests during the decade preceding this war often overshadowed the struggle for national existence. So it is apparent that the punishment of individuals, however guilty, is far from being a complete solution. France was brought to the edge of the abyss by political and social problems that the nation was unable—or unwilling—to face and solve. These problems remain, some even aggravated by the long strain of war. The penalty for failing to find a solution may be not only a violent revolution but a third world war.

Let us not imagine that the status quo ante is possible. The choice in Europe is no longer between liberalism and collectivism. For liberalism can thrive only on an accumulated stock of optimism, and the stock is too badly depleted. Even capitalists have turned against liberal economy to look for security in a regimented society.

The choice is between three kinds of collectivism: the dictatorship of the proletariat, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, or a dynamic form of social democracy: a fluid evolutionary society practicing the ideas both of political liberty and of economic equality. This implies an economy of abundance based on full production and optimum distribution: essentially a new equilibrium between bourgeoisie and proletariat, until higher living standards abolish the very concept of class.

This is of course the only valid and lasting solution, but perhaps not the easiest. America can play a part in helping social democracy to triumph, even if it be only the negative one of non-interference.

Fuel, Food, and Freedom

BY ALAN BARTH

[*Mr. Barth is an editorial writer for the Washington* Post.]

WAR has left the economy of Western Europe in a condition which perfectly illustrates the cliché, "a vicious circle." For example France, desperately in need of sugar for the nourishment of its people and with a large sugar-beet crop on hand, cannot process the beets because of an acute shortage of coal. And French coal cannot be mined because French miners are too undernourished to work in the pits. Therefore the sugar-beet crop is not harvested or is allowed partially to rot, and the miners, left undernourished, are rendered still less capable of producing coal.

This circular deficiency is no less vicious in respect to other commodities which depend upon coal for processing. And it is no less vicious in the other liberated countries of Western Europe. France, somewhat better off than most, is a prototype. For lack of coal, utilities cannot operate, mills cannot turn the available raw cotton into clothing, railroads cannot move acutely needed foodstuffs from rural areas to urban centers. A highly industrialized civilization, deprived of its motive power, has fallen into paralysis.

Coal, in this context, is quite as important to the achievement of peace as the United Nations Charter. For the indispensable basis of peace is employment and a decent living standard in a functioning society.

It has been said a number of times that the people of Western Europe are faring worse under "liberation" than they did under Nazi occupation. Taken literally, this is probably an overstatement. In some portions of the territory they conquered, the Netherlands in particular, the Germans looted so ruthlessly as to cause widespread starvation; some Dutch civilians subsisted on tulip bulbs and many were so emaciated, when found by our troops, that they were able to receive food only through intravenous injections.

Things are somewhat better now. As John Corson reported in *The Nation* of July 21, "During the six months following liberation the military authorities shipped in for civilians (in France) 262,150 tons of food, clothing, medical supplies, and petroleum. This volume represented *less than one-fifth* of the supplies estimated to be necessary 'to prevent disease and unrest.' And the need was greater than had been estimated." Still, death as a direct result of starvation will probably be rare.

But death as an indirect result of inadequate diet, inadequate clothing, inadequate home heating, is likely to be extremely prevalent in the course of the approaching winter. Infant mortality is already at a shocking level. And people who have been "liberated" tend to expect something more than a mere change from outright famine to malnutrition. The psychological consequences of their frustrated hopes can be very serious indeed. As the Germans discovered, these are not docile people. They have been accustomed to fighting underground and in guerrilla bands. If they cannot go to work and solve their problems by orderly means, they will seek to solve them through violence. And neither disease nor unrest can long be prevented under current conditions.

The root problem is to set a disrupted industrial machine once more in motion. And the key to this problem is coal. First, Western Europe must be supplied with enough coal from the outside to ward off the worst dangers and terrors of another winter and to prime the pump of its industry. Second, it must be supplied with the means to produce coal from its own mines so that the normal system of production and distribution can again operate.

There is only one way to meet the first of these needs, and that is by the shipment of coal from the United States. Britain, which customarily supplies some of Europe's coal, is now suffering from an acute shortage at home. Harold L. Ickes, in his capacity as Solid Fuels Administrator, outlined the situation vividly in a statement on July 20:

> In the light of reports received within the last few days on the desperate coal situation in Europe, I have come to the conclusion that, beginning at once, we should permit

> the shipment for civilian use in the devastated countries of approximately six million tons of American coal between now and January 1, 1946, if possible. The race in Europe today is one between coal and anarchy. Europe must have coal without loss of time if serious political and social upheavals are to be prevented. I do not think that it is going too far to say that a coal famine of such severity as to destroy nearly all semblance of law and order is certain to occur in certain countries in Northwest Europe next winter unless immediate and drastic action is taken now.

About 700,000 tons of the six million are already in transit. Mr. Ickes has made delivery of the balance conditional. It seems worth noting that the mimeographed OWI press release of his statement just quoted has the words "if possible" inserted by means of a caret at the end of the first sentence, as though they were an afterthought. And Mr. Ickes insists that coal can be produced for export only if the army will release at least 30,000 of the 130,000 miners who, he says, are now in uniform. This is a demand to which the army has already refused to accede, on the ground that it would disrupt the point system of discharge. Mr. Ickes, in turn, has threatened a direct appeal to President Truman, and has presented his case before the Mead committee in Congress. Since, at our present rate of production, we are sure to be faced with a coal deficit at home amounting to about 40 million tons, some constructive adjustment to the manpower shortage in the industry seems imperative. Perhaps miners in uniform can be furloughed if they cannot be discharged. At any rate, the delivery of coal to Europe is so vital an adjunct of our foreign policy and our real national interest that it must be accomplished even at the cost of some sacrifice here. It should be noted that the anticipated 40-million-ton deficit is in relation to a national production which, even by the most pessimistic estimates, will amount to 575 million tons in the current "coal year."

The six million tons constitute, in part at least, not a gift but a restitution. The British and American armies have been taking out of France alone, for instance, about 300,000 tons of coal a month. From September, 1944, through May, 1945, they withdrew a net amount of 1,200,000 tons of coal from French mines for the maintenance and movement of troops. And French production, normally about 60 million tons a year, today is at the rate of no more than 22 million tons.

This has left the French without even enough coal to operate their essential public utilities; last winter the electric lighting system in most French cities functioned no more than four hours a day—a condition scarcely contributory to law and order. It has left the French with little fuel for heating homes. Northern France is not a tropical region; the temperature last winter was often only a few degrees above zero. The most that can be hoped for from the six million tons to be sent from the United States is a partial restoration of these essential services plus some fuel for vital transportation.

The second urgent need for the solution of Europe's coal problem—supplying the means to produce coal from European mines—cannot possibly become effective, at best, before midwinter. The difficulty does not stem from war destruction. The mines of the Ruhr and the Saar in Germany have been only about 15 to 25 per cent damaged. The French, Belgian, and Dutch mines are in fairly good shape for the most part, although they are very much in need of mine props and mechanical equipment. Also they are in need of coal to produce coal—coal, that is, to provide power for the mine machinery.

But most of all, the coal mines of Europe are in need of miners who can do the job. Mining is tough work. It cannot be done on an empty stomach or on a stomach filled by a diet of low nutritional value. Dutch miners have been getting about 1,800 calories of food a day as compared with the 3,500 calories considered a requisite minimum for American miners; French miners have been getting only about 1,500 calories, and the Germans the same amount until their ration was recently stepped up to about 2,800.

Moreover, as our own John L. Lewis has so sententiously observed, you can't mine coal with bayonets. The mines of the Ruhr, the greatest source of coal in Western Europe, are currently producing just about 15 per cent of their normal output, the mines of the Saar only slightly better. This has been due in part, of course, to a manpower shortage. The mines were worked during the war by slave labor—mostly Poles and Czechs who wanted to go home. German prisoners of war are being released gradually to take their places in the pits, and something like the Ruhr's normal complement of about 350,000 miners are now back at work. But the output per man is scarcely one-third the normal amount.

Getting work out of these men is a difficult problem—especially in view of the fact that what they produce will be consumed by the armies of occupation or exported to the neighbors they ravaged. Perhaps it can be done, as has been suggested, by raising their rations and giving them opportunity to purchase such luxuries as soap, tobacco, and liquor with the money they earn. Perhaps it will have to be done by internationalizing the Ruhr and the Saar at once and bringing French, Belgian, and particularly Polish miners in to work under the International Coal Commission.

In a very real sense the course of history in Europe and the nature of the peace may be shaped by the production of coal in the Ruhr and its satellite, the Saar. Ten million tons of coal must be taken out of these areas for export to France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Norway before January 1. An additional 15 million tons must be exported before the end of the "coal year," April 1, 1946. If this is done and if the mines of the liberated countries can be made to resume production, industry in Western Europe, Germany excepted, can get back on a functioning basis within another year. Without this coal, the economy of Western Europe will stay stagnant, and the civilization of Western Europe may collapse. The stake is nothing less than this.

In the meantime, certain stop-gap measures must be taken to prevent disintegration when the cold weather sets in. Even at the cost of still sharper shortages at home, we must permit the liberated countries, and UNRRA as well, to buy some of our scant food supplies. If we can ship enough wheat, the one crop the world has today in abundance, to take the liberated peoples off their bread ration, we shall give them an invaluable psychological lift. But it is of the very first importance that we grant them a share of our high-calorie foods—meats, dairy products, and sugar—to raise the dangerously low nutritional level of the diet on which they have been subsisting for so long.

Food is useless without transportation to get it into the hands of the hungry. Railroads in the liberated countries have been pretty well repaired; but they lack, in addition to fuel, engines and freight cars. A British official in the July issue of *Foreign Affairs* estimates that in France "of 16,000 locomotives, only 6,000 were effective, of which a high proportion had been imported by the Allied armies. In 1939 they had 450,000 freight cars. As the war ended, all freight cars in France, Belgium, and liberated Holland were pooled; there were only some 200,000 of them and on these the military have a first claim. Before the war, there were some 500,000 motor trucks in France. Today, only some 125,000 are usable and most of them are more than ten years old."

The United States Army has agreed to turn over to the liberated countries some 16,000 American trucks. But the need is for ten times this number. We have in Europe something like 500,000 trucks and jeeps—about a third of which have never been used. Trucks can haul farm produce to market; jeeps can be turned into tractors to plow fields. They should be made available to civilians in the devastated areas in the greatest numbers possible. In addition, these people need fertilizers and farm implements so that they can begin—as soon the myriad German mines have been removed from their fields—to produce food in quantities adequate to their own requirements.

The task, to repeat, is to set a dislocated economy in working order. And this task is just as essential to our war aims as the defeat of an enemy in combat. There is no liberation in the replacement of tyranny by chaos. There is no peace where men are forced to claw at one another for mere existence and to live by jungle law.

Hunger and hopelessness are still the breeders of fascism. And it is these that must be extinguished in Europe if victory there is to be real. While they remain, it is sheer fatuity to consider the war in Europe ended. Wars are waged for the attainment of peace, and they are not won until peace has been genuinely established. The continued furnishing of fuel and food to our Allies is, therefore, not one whit less germane to the winning of the war than in the days of battle.

Men are free only when they have the means to govern their own destinies. In Europe, they must have fuel and food if they are to have freedom.

Rebuilding Our Cities

BY FRANK FISHER

[*Mr. Fisher is a New York economist who has made a special study of housing problems.*]

THE United Nations have begun to think about reconstruction. The Germans had hardly been driven from Russian soil before the rebuilding of Stalingrad and other devastated areas was undertaken. In England, at the height of the buzz-bomb blitz, Parliament found time for an extensive debate on the question of compensation for land to be taken over for reconstruction purposes. The smaller countries, too, are perfecting their plans. All the information we have indicates that they are designed to provide their inhabitants with few gadgets but all the necessities for healthful life which good planning can produce.

This country has escaped the more obvious destructive consequences of war. But the war has accentuated our longstanding housing shortage and accelerated the disintegration of many of our cities. We expect a tremendous building boom after the struggle is over. We count on it to help prevent mass unemployment when war production ends. But there is a distinct danger that our construction effort, because it is not properly controlled, will create as many new housing problems as it solves.

The problem, actually, is greater than just "housing." Our cities overflow into the adjoining countryside, and as they expand and disperse, metropolitan life becomes less and less efficient and enjoyable. Traffic control is a major headache everywhere; transportation to and from the job often costs a worker several hours a day. Most of our large cities suffer from overcrowded schools, lack of recreation space for children and adults, and insufficient hospital facilities. Even those few services which the cities have been able to provide have brought many of them to the verge of bankruptcy. There is hardly one without chronic deficits and high taxes.

And there is something more disturbing. The average inhabitant of New York, Chicago, or Wichita is indifferent to civic affairs. He knows little about the workings of his city government and cares less, although he occasionally grumbles about corrupt politicians. Apparently he is satisfied to leave his problems in the hands of a Hague or a Pendergast, who is swept out of office only when his misconduct becomes utterly scandalous. Meanwhile, living conditions deteriorate. Tension increases until frustration and resentment explode in riots, as they did in Detroit, Beaumont, Boston, and Los Angeles. Progressive mayors then appoint commissions to look into the causes of such regrettable events. Reports are filed in the proper pigeonholes, to be resurrected only when the next riot occurs.

The responsibility cannot be laid entirely with the civil officers. The problems are simply too big for them to handle. They are looking for quick, easy solutions, while the real solution requires long-term, large-scale planning. The need for it has been rather generally recognized in recent years. Many cities have set up planning commissions, some of which work very well. But, as *Fortune* pointed out in January, 1944, "hundreds of city plans have come to nothing" because they have not got at the "heart of the community's difficulties—namely, overcrowding and congestion in the interior and unguided sprawling in the outskirts."

The congestion of our cities is mainly the result of excessive land values, established by speculators and confirmed by city authorities who assessed taxes on this inflated basis. Streets built for horses and buggies are hopelessly inadequate for modern automobile traffic. Skyscrapers have made dark canyons of what were once pleasant city lanes. Although the old street layout is now plainly impracticable, the prohibitive costs of land acquisition have prevented most cities from making the necessary changes.

To escape high land costs and taxes, many factories have moved out of the cities into outskirts and suburbs. At the same time, the exodus of city dwellers is increasing. New York's factories are migrating to northern New Jersey; the people of New York City are moving to Westchester County, Connecticut, and Long Island. They are trying to escape the noise of industry, the smoke and the smells, and to find a spot where they can have sun, trees, fresh air, and a little privacy. Thus dormitory and factory suburbs develop into metropolitan districts. The new communities are built up with as little forethought as the central areas, and soon pleasant residential suburbs show the same signs of blight as the cities themselves. Invaded by factories and mushrooming slums, the suburbanites move again.

The cities are forced to pay the bill for these migrations. They must extend transportation and other municipal services to the outlying sections. Moreover, with the movement of population out of the central areas, the cities lose large amounts of taxable income. Census figures show the seriousness of this development. Between 1930 and 1940, the population in the outskirts of 140 metropolitan areas increased by 16.9 per cent, while the population of the central cities increased by only 6.1 per cent, and in some cases actually declined. In other words, suburban areas grew almost three times as rapidly as the central cities, and this applies not only to New York and Chicago but to most of the medium-size cities as well.

The first step in rebuilding our cities, then, is to control the development of the suburban areas. There are a few well-planned dormitory suburbs, such as Radburn, New Jersey, or the "greenbelt" towns, but in general the unplanned dispersion of the metropolitan regions continues unchecked. Public apathy is as much to blame as the selfishness of certain private interests. If the Westchester commuter does not object to spending two hours a day on a train, it is pretty difficult to do anything for him.

There is fairly general agreement on what the pattern of well-planned communities should be. Their nuclei should be neighborhoods comprising perhaps a thousand families. Arranged around a civic center, school, recreation area, and local shopping district, they should be self-contained units, separated from and connected with other areas by parks and parkways. Though some small industries could be located near a residential neighborhood, most of the industries should occupy separate districts, easily accessible from the residential neighborhoods. A number of units, grouped around a large community center, would form a town.

A master plan would outline general directions for a number of such towns within a metropolitan area. Such plans are not made with a ruler on a map, nor do they regulate the disposition of every square foot of land. But they should provide for an orderly development of all the communities, determining the type of business and industry to be located in each, as well as the approximate size, number, and location of dwellings. This would avoid the present hit-or-miss decentralization; it would prevent the further growth of unsightly, sprawling suburbs around Detroit or Los Angeles, or across the Hudson from New York.

Many obstacles must be overcome, of course, before such master plans can be drafted and executed. Among the major difficulties is the great number of administrative barriers that must be hurdled. Rehabilitation in the central cities presents greater difficulties. In most states, if not in all, cities can expropriate land under the right of eminent domain. Many cities, however, are poor and have debt limitations which make it impossible for them to bear the cost of purchasing land now covered by slums and blighted areas. There are two effective ways of solving this problem, and both should be used simultaneously. One is to deflate excessive land values by condemnation proceedings. Real-estate owners traditionally assume a constant increase in land prices, and even the financial disasters of the late twenties did not shake their convictions, which are also reflected in many court decisions. In order to obtain this land at realistic prices, we need legislation which will define its value not on the basis of speculative hopes but by anticipating the steady decline that is the inevitable result of continued decentralization. As this will hurt some members of a very vocal group, only intensive public pressure can get such laws passed.

Even if this is accomplished, financial help by the federal government is needed. Toward what more productive purpose can the taxpayers' money be utilized? Professor Alvin Hansen, in an article in the *Survey Graphic* of April, 1944, recommended the two following plans: the federal government can advance the money and be repaid out of the net returns which the cities will receive from leasing land to private development companies; or the cities can issue federally guaranteed bonds for this purpose, and city and federal authorities together can make additional annual grants to acquire land which is particularly expensive.

We cannot expect such projects to repay their cost within a short time. If this were required, most cities would buy only cheap land at their outskirts or would use cleared slum areas for housing projects with an undesirably high population density. Unfortunately, that is the way the matter is being handled now, on New York's crowded lower East Side, for instance. If our cities are to provide the proper environment for their inhabitants, the population density must be lower than it is now. Not all slum areas can be converted into housing projects; adequate provision must be made for parks and playgrounds. Contrary to widespread belief, the primary function of parks is not to increase the real-estate value of adjoining properties. A park is essential to the health of the city dweller. It gives him breathing space, room for his leisure activities, and opportunities for the wholesome development of his children.

We must therefore consider the cost of rebuilding our cities as a long-term investment, part of which will be repaid only indirectly by higher working efficiency, lower accident rates, less disease and delinquency. City rebuilding costs, like expenditures for public hygiene and education, are permanent investments in our human resources.

Once the land has been acquired by the municipal authorities, there are several ways of putting it to use. It can be sold to individual builders in small units. That would probably bring quick regression to planlessness. Or the land can be leased, with the community retaining ownership. That would give the planners maximum control over the use of the land, but it would incur the risk of municipal graft and favoritism. Imagine Jersey City owning great portions of its land! Then there is a third and widely favored method whereby land would be sold in large units to private enterprise. That would bring a swift return on investment, but it might also impose the will of private monopolies upon the community. Stuyvesant Town in New York City, a project of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, is a recent example. It suffers from high density of population, it has no civic center, no school, no adequate recreation facilities, and racial discrimination is practiced.

Finally, the land can be leased or sold to cooperatives, a method which Sweden has tried very successfully. This method can achieve more orderly and less expensive development of the land than the sale of small parcels to individuals. And certainly the influence of cooperatives would be far more beneficial than that of private monopolies.

Whatever method is adopted, its successful execution depends upon one condition: the active interest of every citizen in the subject of city planning and in what his municipal government is doing about it. Let experts solve the technical problems, but let each citizen know that his tax money is being spent not on preserving old-fashioned, inefficient, costly systems of streets, houses, and services, but on rebuilding a city to serve his own best interests.

Recently, Syracuse, New York, proved that after proper preparation by newspapers and civic organizations, a large number of citizens could become interested enough in city planning to pay extra taxes for it. There is no reason why such experiments cannot be tried elsewhere. Particularly encouraging is the interest that some labor unions are showing. The United Automobile Workers' union has initiated a campaign to promote membership interest in housing and city planning, and other unions may follow.

This civic interest must be supplemented by government help. Pre-war Holland achieved good results with a law which required all cities and towns above a certain size to prepare detailed but flexible plans for their further development, to be revised every ten years. We need such legislation in America. We also need a federal agency to supervise and coordinate all local planning. Only the defunct National Resources Planning Board was equipped to handle such matters; the existing agencies are concerned only with public housing or various financial and insurance functions. In a recent speech in Chicago, President R. J. Thomas of the U. A. W. suggested the creation of a federal Department of Housing and Community Development, to play a role in this field corresponding to that of the Department of Agriculture in food production and farm work. This proposal deserves full support: if it is carried out, we shall have taken the first step toward rebuilding our cities.

In the Wind

THE CHIMES, an ice-cream parlor in Seattle, leads off its menu with a 35-cent item: "Victory Sundae—Three scoops (1 Choc., 1 Van., 1 Straw.) topped with Chimes Special Mocha Syrup, banana slices, and peanuts, garnished with a maraschino cherry." Other dishes of equally appetizing composition are named The Paratrooper, Devil Dogs Delight, Tank Corps Treat, and Sailor Boy.

JOHN W. SCOVILLE, economist of the Chrysler Corporation, in a pamphlet entitled "Collective Bargaining," offers this plan for "a more abundant life and greater justice": "(1) All federal labor laws should be repealed; (2) there should be no state laws on wage rates or hours; (3) collective bargaining and all other monopolistic practices should be made illegal by state laws."

CHARLES OF THE RITZ is one of the swankiest of hair dressers, but the employees of his B. Altman branch in New York have recently joined the Barbers and Beauty Culturists Union, C. I. O.

THE GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY of New York devotes the leading article in the current issue of its monthly bulletin, the *Guaranty Survey,* to the full-employment bill. "Perhaps the most dangerous feature of the proposal," it says, "is its assumption of the government's responsibility to guarantee employment. . . . Supporters of the full-employment plan are correct in stating that private business cannot provide such a guarantee. . . . The conclusion seems inescapable that full employment cannot be guaranteed in a free society."

RAOUL E. DESVERNINE, attorney and former president of the Crucible Steel Company, put it less suavely on the radio forum program, Wake Up, America, July 22. "The term full employment," he said, "was coined as a demagogic vote-catcher, used in many beguiling senses, and it is therefore difficult to know in what sense it is being used at any given time. It cannot mean anything as un-American as the employment of everyone able and willing to work. This would be reaction at its worst and a big step backward for America."

LLOYD T. BINFORD, chairman of the Memphis Board of Censors, who banned the showing of the movie "Brewster's Millions" in his city a few months ago because it showed Negroes in dignified roles, has now banned "The Southerner" because it portrays Southerners as "ignorant, low-down white trash." Mr. Binford said, "No Negro in the Arkansas swamps ever lived in such a house as the one shown in 'The Southerner.' " An Atlanta spokesman for David Loew, the producer, replied, "Perhaps not, but Mr. Binford could find several behind the state capitol in Atlanta."

HEARSTIANA, by Jack Lait, in the New York *Daily Mirror* of August 1: "As a reward [for scooping the world on the death of John Dillinger in 1934] I was sent to Geneva to cover the League of Nations."

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Little Places

Such power in little places:
The petal weight a coil of jelly moves,
And snails have conquered beaches.
The worm, with neither horn nor bone,
Plows acres.

Prometheus down a cold crack:
Rainstreams freezing, and the granite
Splits; as smoke of sister water
Pushes the long piston; and a copper
Hair holds worlds.

The Yes all year awaited:
Thinnest word, and yet it peoples spring
With mighty houses, lived in; No,
Enormous night; as when the bud bursts
Or does not.

Such power; with plants depending,
Thunder, and small men, and now the spark
Whereby a town is merry.
The end, that neither feels nor sees,
Thanks nothing.

MARK VAN DOREN

The Flemish Masters

THE LAST FLOWERING OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By Joseph van der Elst. Doubleday, Doran. $7.50.

THE easel picture was prefigured in manuscript illustration and in the panels of the altarpiece. The cathedrals north of the Alps, with their skeletal structures and great windows, could not accommodate murals, only isolated pictures or sets of pictures in ornate frames. The magnates and clerical bureaucrats of Flanders found in the framed picture a proper means by which to celebrate themselves publicly in their character as individuals, for the framed picture spoke for itself and was not to be subordinated to its architectural surroundings in the role of mere decoration.

The presence of a tradition of book illumination developed in the courts of France and Burgundy also conditioned Flemish painting. By this, as well as by the general influence of Gothic style, the Flemish picture was determined as a matter more of detail and compression than of broad spatial design. The picture was arrived at by the exclusion rather than the organization of space, and aimed at retaining and fixing attention instead of catching it in flight as Italian painting did. The latter remained closer to the mural and accomplished the transition to the three-dimensional much more slowly—given that this transition began with Giotto. Derived so intimately from missal art—and to some extent, in my opinion, from the very naturalistic late medieval sculpture—the painting of Flanders in the fifteenth century remains late Gothic in its crowded, angular design, its profusion of anecdotal and other detail, and its ornamental emphasis, reminiscent of metal work.

Paying relatively scant heed to rhythm and unifying design, the Flemish painter distributed his accents with little modulation over the entire surface of his picture. This would have been fitting enough had the painter kept his handling somewhat flat, but having just discovered the ways of rendering depth and mass, he insisted on modeling all volumes boldly and with almost equal prominence. Thus the effect was one of turgidity. It was a mode more appropriate to the illustration of books than to pictures to be seen at a distance, and it constitutes a defect of the Flemish style which all its excellences cannot make us overlook.

This stricture does not apply, however, to the portraits executed by these same painters, which through clarity of design and coolness of handling acquire a monumentality their larger and more strident religious-anecdotal pictures generally lack. The psychological naturalism and impersonal intimacy of these portraits put them on a level that in some respects no later work has approached (except Goya's portraits). Here the Flemings were at their most modern—and only by anticipating the modern did they produce their greatest work.

Straddled between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, between the aristocratic court and the bourgeois town, Flemish naturalism underwent a premature development—chiefly at the hands of Jan van Eyck, who, the first and greatest genius of all the Flemish painters, managed best at the same time to redeem this prematurity. (Van Eyck was once credited with having invented painting in oil, but it seems that he only developed it to a new point). Van Eyck transferred to the wooden panel and expanded with amazing suddenness the naturalism that Franco-Flemish manuscript illustration had incubated, and he posed and nearly succeeded in solving problems that almost none of his successors were equal to. How order the rich variety of visual phenomena the artist was cast upon once he abandoned the prescriptions of the church? How discipline the peculiarly Flemish appetite for the texture and grain of objects? It remains one of the charms and yet one of the shortcomings of van Eyck's art that it ovrpowers by a wealth of minutiae thrown into lapidarian relief. But toward the end of his career he seems to have discovered atmosphere as a selective agent that, in the absence of iconographical prescriptions, decided what was to be emphasized and what subordinated. Van Eyck, however, was too far in advance of his times, and of his lineal successors only Hugo van der Goes retrieved anything of the uses of atmosphere. Memling, thirty years after van Eyck, faced with the still unsolved problem of organizing the anecdotal picture, made a great if sudden retreat to the principles of book illustration in designing the pictures for the famous St. Ursula shrine in Bruges.

Only when the center of Lowlands trade shifted from the comparatively provincial Bruges, Louvain, Ghent, to the world port of Antwerp did Flemish painting begin to lose its peculiarly gawky character—that blending of regional Gothic with naive naturalism and brilliant physical finish. Quentin Massys is still a Fleming but one softened by cosmopolitanism. Jerome Bosch is still Gothic, but worldly Gothic, and some of his plastic means show a modernity out of all relation to the painting then around him. Bruegel, his continuator, was even farther ahead of his times than van Eyck had been; he combined a summary and far from naive naturalism with a painterly sense of the decorative and two-dimensional in a way only to be approached again by Courbet three hundred years later. (Courbet, like Bosch and Bruegel, was a peasant by origin and, also like them, hostile to the ways of the high bourgeoisie. Never elsewhere did the petty bourgeoisie express themselves in as great and as enlightened a way as in the art of these three.)

Baron van der Elst's "The Last Flowering of the Middle Ages," attempting to evoke the milieu in which they lived, describes, explains, and evaluates the work of the principal Flemish masters of the fifteenth century, including Bosch and Bruegel. Despite the fact that it very often hovers on the edge of banality, the book provides as good an introduction to its subject as I know of in English, and it does succeed in bodying forth some of the reality of the things it treats. In addition, it is well illustrated.

As Meyer Schapiro pointed out in his review of the book in *View*, the Baron gives too idyllic a picture of the fifteenth century in Flanders. (I would recommend Jan Huizinga's "The Waning of the Middle Ages" as an indispensable corrective.) There was something over-ripe and slightly vicious about the period, of which the noble author gives little hint. And yet the art he considers provides unmistakable evidence. A certain malaise is to be detected in van der Weyden, under and above the intense emotionalism that is restrained by the lingering decorum of Gothic gesture. That marvelous painter van der Goes was a psychotic who suffered from delusions of guilt. Van Eyck, for his part, gained his insight as a portraitist from a rather profane detachment. Commissioned chiefly by cosmopolitan courts, he expressed a worldliness that the high bourgeoisie upon whose patronage his successors were dependent were not yet ready to accept. Yet they were on their way to it, and the closer they came, the more their painters had to force religious feeling. It is this forcing that tells. And the need to do so also tells. The worldliness did not come easy, and the fifteenth-century crisis in Catholic belief was also a crisis of premature skepticism—for the middle classes had not the psychological resources to come to terms with the skepticism generated in aristocratic and intellectual circles.

There is still another aspect to the historical ambiguity of Flemish painting. The painters of Flanders, like all other trades of the time, were organized in guilds whose members constituted a sort of petty bourgeoisie. The guilds were hostile to the developing capitalism, and this made their mood, in a historical sense, reactionary. At the same time the control they exercised over their members tended to discourage innovation or experiment. In so far as painting was an intellectual pursuit—which it always is in part—it went in advance of the times; but in so far as it was a guild trade, it hung back. As rapid as seems the progress of Flemish painting in the fifteenth century, one has only to compare it with what was going on in Italy at the same time to see that it actually did little more than fill in the outlines already sketched by van Eyck. Again and again during its course it suddenly faces about toward the past as it comes up against the problems of naturalism that van Eyck failed to solve. And it only leaps forward once more with Bosch and Bruegel at a time when the great commercial expansion signalized by the ascendancy of Antwerp was giving the guild system—and with it the "primitive" tradition of Flemish painting—its quietus.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Cycles of Capitalism

"THE BOGEY OF ECONOMIC MATURITY" by George Terborgh (Machinery and Allied Products Institute, $3) is the most thorough and devastating critique yet to appear of the popular belief that "economic maturity" is primarily responsible for capitalist depression and stagnation. The book will have wide repercussions. It may be soberly and profitably used by technical economists; it will certainly be roughly abused by many radicals and liberals, and gleefully misused by conservative apologists for unmolested private enterprise. Therefore in the controversy that is sure to flare up over the book it will be imperative to distinguish carefully between what the author does and does not prove.

Mr. Terborgh shows, I think, that many if not most of the formulations of the doctrine that the peace-time American economy is stagnating because it suffers from economic maturity will not stand the test of historical and statistical analysis. Ratios of national investment to national saving, consumption, and income do not seem to be significantly different in the twentieth century, when our economy is supposed to have come of age, than in the nineteenth, when it was vigorously adolescent. There is thus no *long-term* trend toward *relative* over-saving and under-investment. From this point of view, the economic collapse of 1929 was just the start of another business cycle, not fundamentally different from the many others which unregulated private capitalism has suffered and survived since the Industrial Revolution. In short, while the capitalist mechanism does work faultily, and while the nation and the economy are admittedly getting older, the latter condition is not the basic cause of the former.

What Mr. Terborgh fails to show is the incorrectness of a theory of economic maturity expressed in absolute rather than relative terms. In this context, it is not the *ratio* of investment to income that is important, but it's *absolute* quantity. Despite Terborgh's findings, it is still true that the absolute volume of private investment which a technologically developed capitalist economy is capable of producing is normally not enough to achieve and maintain high-level employment. Such an economy needs extra stimulation, regardless of the ratio of national investment to national income. The reason why that ratio remains surprisingly constant is simply that when total investment goes up or down, total income moves correspondingly.

This book should have a salutary effect on the economic and political thinking of liberals. For it is not enough merely to advocate the right action. One should also do so for the correct reason. Particularly in the immediate post-war period, business prosperity resulting from a vigorous replenishment boom may make advocates of economic maturity look a little foolish. More than ever, it will then be necessary to recognize that economic intervention and compensatory fiscal action by the government are necessary, not primarily because our economy is mature, but because, young or old, unregulated capitalism suffers from a drastic cyclical instability which no civilized state will tolerate when the means to correct it are available. LEO BARNES

Plain Talk

IN "RIOTS AND RUINS" by A. Clayton Powell, Sr. (Richard R. Smith, $2), one will find a good document on the changing attitude of the Negro toward his status in American life. Mr. Powell, formerly pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, has lived long and has had contacts with the masses of Negroes as well as with their leaders both in the North and in the South. Although he belongs among the older Negro leadership and writes somewhat in the tradition of Booker T. Washington, he does not accept "segregation with equal opportunities" as a solution of the race problem. In his homely philosophy, which reveals an acquaintance with recent literature on race relations, he criticizes Negroes for their inefficiency and thriftlessness as well as castigating whites for their inhumanity and hypocrisy. His discussion of the race problem is based upon his interpretation of the riot in Harlem in 1943 and to a lesser extent on the riot in Detroit. These outbreaks are interpreted as evidences of the resentment of Negroes against the accumulated grievances which they have suffered over the years in America. Mr. Powell utilizes many of his personal experiences to impress upon the reader the meaning of discrimination to the Negro. In the recital of these experiences, the author frankly admits his anger and hatred and does not use his sacred calling as a hypocritical camouflage for real feelings. The tone of the book is indicated in the following significant sentences: "The Negro used to be the most lovable, forgivable being in America, but the white man's prejudice, hatred, and lies have changed the Negro's psychology. He is just as full of hell, hatred, and lies as the white man."

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Lesson in History

IN "Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal" (Macmillan, $3.50) Thomas A. Bailey reworks that bit of Americana about Wilson in the isolationist toils. Although the theme is familiar, Bailey contributes a unique twist to the dramatis personae. Following the pattern of his earlier "Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace," he lengthens, without malice, his indictment of Wilson and without seeming to want to do so throws in a good word about the arch-villain, Lodge.

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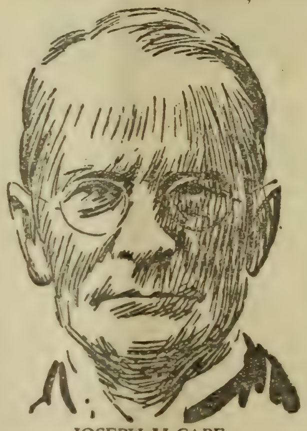

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well take exception. Perhaps Wilson has been too much admired for those traits which made his course all the more difficult—his unwillingness to compromise, especially when a moral issue was involved, and his stubborn clinging to principle in the face of a reality that demanded more moderate tactics. Bailey, however, seems to have overemphasized their role in bringing about the League's defeat.

His cogent arguments cannot be summarily dismissed, and his reputation as a student of foreign policy in relation to domestic issues will lead the scholarly journals to embark on lengthy debates. Bailey will be accused of placing too much faith in the good intentions of Lodge and of crediting him with too much independence from the Senate irreconcilables who were opposed to a League, reservations or not; of underestimating the strategic significance of reservations imposed upon the treaty as an isolationist tactic to draw Wilson in; of being too harsh with Wilson on many occasions throughout the volume. There can be no doubt that Bailey's reasoning from hindsight takes unfair advantage of Wilson. In its striving for point and its anxiety to assess blame, this is less a history than a lesson in history—lest "we have to do the ghastly job a third time." EDWARD N. SAVETH

VERSE CHRONICLE

"THE POETRY OF FREEDOM," edited by William Rose Benét and Norman Cousins (Random House, $3), is a big anthology of political and patriotic verse, a really global affair, covering the ground from ancient India to defunct Montenegro and quoting all the great spirits from Demosthenes to Robert Nathan. Never mind if the editors are a little undiscriminating as to poetic quality, or if the idea of freedom which governed their choices was so broad as to constitute a truism and you might as well be reading verse that celebrated the pleasures of breathing.

"The War Poets," edited with an introduction by Oscar Williams and containing, in addition to the verse, a number of statements on poetry and war by various poets, is a more inviting specimen of the topical anthology (John Day, $5). Instead of including the heroic war verse of past centuries, it sensibly confines itself to modern poets, for most of whom, as Mark Van Doren observes in his statement, war is simply calamitous. Growing out of the terrors of one conflict and then obliged to endure another, the present attitude has produced a poetry nearly always exasperated, sometimes indignant, seldom really resigned. Modern individuality is slow to give up its life and will shrink to a mere eye, looking hard but not expressing much of anything, rather than accept complete annihilation. From Wilfred Owen to Karl Shapiro the war poets remain craftsmen and observers, even when, as sometimes happens, they are unable to be much else. They proscribe generalities; they cultivate a technique of revelatory details and moments that tell their own story; what they write is often so personal as to be simply a versified diary. It is a species of war poetry in which the heroism and the poetry are in despite of the war.

Among English poets of a few generations back—the so-called Georgians—the influence of William Blake was very strong. It led to a great deal of pretty talking to animals—so much of it, indeed, that subsequent poets have mostly revered Blake from a distance. Richard Eberhart is one of the few contemporaries whose secular mysticism and casual style, as of children making angels in the snow, owe a great deal to Blake. Eberhart has not always succeeded in relating this influence to ourselves; but the small body of work in "Poems New and Selected" (New Directions, $1) is in part more substantial. The ambitious dialogue Triptych suffers from Eberhart's incapacity to imagine human situations, but there are several first-rate lyrics inspired by his experiences in the war. Blake's power of being at once didactic and lyrical is increasingly Eberhart's own possession; and out of war and metaphysics, visions and hard facts, he now makes a curious and very personal music.

> And long were days and tall were tremble-trees,
> The symbol of the self lost in a haze.
> And errors of sentience, O senses sweet! sour! sweet!
> That raveled out your substance quizzically . . .

Not many poets today would call a messenger boy a "blue-capped functioner of doom," as John Crowe Ransom does in one piece in his "Selected Poems" (Knopf, $2). And such a phrase may serve as an artifact in helping to assign him to a particular stage of literary culture. In Ransom's case a little archeology may really be needed, since he stopped publishing books of verse in 1927 and has in recent times become much more the critic and editor. In any case, the "blue-capped functioner of doom" clearly belongs to a stage of poetry earlier than Auden, earlier even than the dominant period of Eliot and Pound. It is characteristic, perhaps, of what Cyril Connolly has called the mandarin style—Cabell, Hergesheimer, Elinor Wylie, and Wallace Stevens being a few American examples of it. Unlike as the mandarins were in other respects, some of them good writers and others very bad, they all tried to combat the middle-class world by being superior to it. Elegance, artifice, a disposition to smile at the misplaced ardors and perverse ignorance of people who refused to live and love, in short a habit of making sophisticated irony out of modern life—all this entered into the styles and attitudes of such writers. Ransom does it all magnificently. Most of his poems are brief dramatic narratives about people: the woman whose devotion to flowers ruins her summer, the girl whose dedication to principle robs her of her lover, the crusading male who loses item after item of his anatomy in endless futile encounters with scamps and worldlings. Ransom's erotic strain is one of his great assets, since from his point of view the life of passion is particularly rich in folly. The well-known Piazza Piece, concerning the "gentleman in a dust-coat trying" and the "lady young in beauty waiting," is both a funny and a terrifying expression of the irony of hopeless passion.

> But what gray man among the vines is this
> Whose words are dry and faint as in a dream?
> Back from my trellis, Sir, before I scream!

Indeed Ransom's poetry ought to be studied entire by those who know him only through an occasional anthology piece. It is true that his mandarinism is not as complicated as that of, say, Henry James, and is apt at times to look a little fixed and glassy, particularly amid the *mea culpa* cries, the confessions of universal guilt, of contemporary writers. But he is certainly a master of the attitude, whatever its limitations. Whereas Cabell and Hergesheimer are all plush and bric-à-brac, Ransom achieves elegance by means of a few fine objects together with some cleverly placed mirrors. Hardly any other poet has so delicately exploited the humor latent in the feminine rhyme.

F. W. DUPEE

FICTION IN REVIEW

ALTHOUGH none of the novels that have appeared in recent weeks invites extended comment, here are brief notations on some of the books about which you may have developed a certain curiosity.

"Farewell My Heart" by Ferenc Molnar (Simon and Schuster, $2.50): The celebrated writer of sophisticated comedy makes obeisance to the seriousness of the times in the rather grim tale of a fifty-two-year-old man brought to his death by the love of a young girl. The lovers are refugees and Mr. Molnar sprinkles their story with topical references to dead soldiers, the Maginot line, and kindred world sorrows. None of which enriches either the emotional or social texture of Mr. Molnar's book but, instead, appears as something of an offense against taste. One can hope Mr. Molnar will soon see his way clear to resuming his charming fiddling. An excellent job of translation from the German by Elinor Rice.

"The Trojan Brothers" by Pamela Hansford Johnson (Macmillan, $2.50): Also a story of the sad outcome of unwise love, this time the scene England in the twenties; the ill-starred pair, a music-hall performer (the forequarters of a talking horse) and a gilded lady of the better classes who turns out to be his cousin. Genuinely entertaining, at least before it enters the realm of tragic consequences, Miss Johnson's novel is another example of the crisp wit and easy literacy which are so commonly at the disposal of the English light novelists.

"The Wayfarers" by Dan Wickenden (Morrow, $2.75): A modest, hard-working record of family life in a small mid-Western city in which a middle-aged newspaperman pulls himself out of the long doldrums following his wife's death to discover, first, that his four children also have lives and problems, and second, that there is now little he can do to help them. More intelligent than most homely novels, "The Wayfarers" is also a refreshment after the pretentiousness of most fiction that claims our literary interest.

"Lili Marlene" by Ruth L. Yorck (Readers' Press, $2.50): An account, in diary form, of one German woman's slow awakening to the true meaning of Nazism, a conscientious attempt to cope with the perplexing riddle of the relation of the decent German individual to the indecent social order. Credible and even suggestive up to the point where Miss Yorck's protagonist becomes an active worker in the underground; lapsing, from there out, into familiar melodrama.

"The Happy Time" by Robert Fontaine (Simon & Schuster, $2.50): The initial offering of a new publishing institution, the Venture Press, which, as its name and parents proclaim, is dedicated to the new and untried in literature. But what

The NATION
says:
"Stalinist!"

NO VOICE IS WHOLLY LOST

By *HARRY SLOCHOWER*

We feel *The Nation's* readers should also be acquainted with other, less "labelous," criticism of this important book.

New York Times (Francis Hackett) says: "Anybody who wishes to think hard should possess himself of Dr. Harry Slochower's book . . . His worst critic must admit it is brain fodder, definite in philosophy, organized in argument and, within the limits it proposes, *a weighty piece of work.*"

Thomas Mann says: "I believe it is your best work up to now, revealing *extraordinary critical sensibility and fairness.*"

Chicago Daily News says: "The artist in criticism, the creator through the critical power, with this epic work . . . Slochower has established himself as the *most truly profound critic in America.*"

Saturday Review of Literature (Joseph Freeman) says: "*Learned, solid, wide in scope, intense in analysis, often wise, always ethical,* it is the first wartime attempt—and a very stimulating one—to understand contemporary chaos and chart emerging roads to the organic, creative possibilities ahead."

Chicago Tribune (Edward Wagenknecht) says: "This is Harry Slochower's most important book . . . he has provided *an exciting survey of contemporary thought.*"

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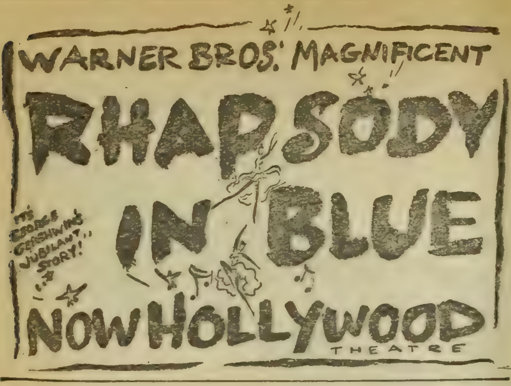

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REALLY *AIR-CONDITIONED*

is new or untried or, for that matter, literature about Mr. Fontaine's innocuous reminiscences of a Canadian boyhood, it would be hard to say. There being nothing more sure-fire these days than making gay with one's family eccentricities, the first publication of the new Simon and Schuster press scarcely insures the promised hearing for the worthy and experimental. So far, nothing venture, everything win.

"The World, the Flesh and Father Smith" by Bruce Marshall (Houghton, Mifflin, $2.50): The author of "Father Malachy's Miracle" in another educated and gracious demonstration of the charms of the Catholic religion. The way of Father Smith, in Protestant Scotland and through four decades of this century, is distinctly of a more traditional order than the way of "Father" Bing Crosby, but Mr Marshall's witty pen can quicken the appeal of even a Church of sacraments and doctrine. Can be recommended as superior entertainment even for heretics. DIANA TRILLING

CORRECTION: Because of the inadvertent omission of a line, one sentence in the essay, Our Culture and Its Critics by Eric Russell Bentley in *The Nation* of July 28, read, unfortunately, as follows:

Can one not be suspicious of a cultural critic for whom a Proust represents "the promise of America"?

It should have read as follows:

Can one not be suspicious of a cultural critic for whom a Proust represents only a false "aesthetic redemption" while a Steinbeck represents "the promise of America"?

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Films

JAMES AGEE

I SEE no reason why any of the following films should be reviewed at length. "Anchors Aweigh," a musical about two sailors, a girl, and José Iturbi, is thoroughly happy-spirited and enjoyable; but once I have paid my particular respects to Gene Kelly, who dances and acts excellently, and to Frank Sinatra, a singer, I might as well move on. The March of Time's issue about teen-age girls is worth seeing in the sense that one might examine with interest a slide of cancer tissue. These girls may be no worse than the teen-age girls of any other country, class, or generation, but I would be sorry really to believe that, and am sorrier still to imagine their children.

Another powerful horror short, "The Fleet That Came to Stay," is a record of Kamikaze, cut for thrills, but productive rather of dread, pity, and awe in any imaginative spectator. (I felt uneasy, by the way, not to say disgusted, when the narrator dismissed the Japanese fliers as "the men who want to die.") "Captain Eddie" combines some unpersuasive suffering aboard the Rickenbacker raft with extensive flashbacks to Rickenbacker's youth. These contain some pretty uses of detail and evocations of atmosphere, but the picture is at its mild best in its obsession with the comedy of pre-Pershing popular tunes, dance steps, and ground and flying machines.

Alcoholics ARE Sick People

ROBERT V. SELIGER, M.D.
Assistant Visiting Psychiatrist
JOHNS HOPKINS HOSPITAL
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The heroine of "Incendiary Blonde" bears the name of Texas Guinan, and at least once she shouts an obligatory "Hello, Sucker." From then on out the picture successfully ignores every one of the thousands of fine possibilities offered by its nominal subject, in favor of entirely conventional noise and music. Betty Hutton just about saves it, but no more, for those who like her, and I do. "Jealousy," a Republic picture, was made by Gustav Machaty, who made "Ecstasy." The story is of domestic misery, involving a disintegrated refugee, and developing into murder melodrama. It is intelligently cast, and well played by Nils Esther, the extremely attractive Karen Morley, a fine, warm-hearted actor named Hugo Haas, John Loder, and Jane Randolph. The music is by Hans Eisler. I doubt that "Jealousy" will have any great success, either critical or commercial; but it is a sympathetic film, and in spite of its over-all failure, contains enough sincerity and enough artistry to make most of the other films mentioned here look sick.

I must catch up, too, on some more of the older films I have failed to review.

"A Medal for Benny," after a rather mawkish start, turns into a broad but furious and well-filmed piece of invective against the attempt of some small-town boosters to exploit the death of a proletarian war hero. There is a first-rate performance by J. Carroll Naish. "Wonder Man" has little good in it beyond Danny Kaye—who, however, is almost continuously on screen. At his best Kaye suggests that he might be a much better comedian than he has yet become; at his loudest and blurriest he suggests that he may never become that good; but even at worst he is more than good enough. "Conflict," another domestic murder piece (Humphrey Bogart and Rose Hobart), is quite well done, but its story is so fancy that it becomes tiresome. "Those Endearing Young Charms," the story of a habitual seducer and his Waterloo, is well played by Robert Young and Laraine Day, well directed by Lewis Allen, and not quite interesting enough to be worth the time it takes. "Where Do We Go From Here?", a fantasy in which Fred MacMurray strolls through American history to music by Kurt Weill and lyrics by Ira Gershwin, is nine parts heavy facetiousness to one part very good fun. "That's the Spirit," a fantasy in which Jack Oakie, a ghost, leaves heaven to watch over his daughter Peggy Ryan, is clumsy but mildly enjoyable. I will not bother to speak of "The Singing Fool" or the latest Annette Kellerman waterwing, on the assumption that they are no longer in circulation.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

A READER who says he got interested in jazz through me has written me about the subject as he has come to see it. The term "jazz," he contends, is properly applied only to the original type of ensemble performance by the three melodic instruments "playing independently conceived variations on the theme and the rhythm rather than harmonic 'parts,'" and *not* playing as soloists. In "what appear to be interludes of solo" one intrument—while the others of the polyphonic ensemble rest—"carries on what is actually an integral part of the ensemble expression rather than a true solo. . . . When a number becomes a succession of solos with interludes of ensemble rather than continuous ensemble it is no longer jazz, and while it may or may not be good music it has taken the first step toward the complete degradation we hear in most of our popular music." For my reader claims that when the emphasis shifts from ensemble to solos the performance presently becomes a series of exhibitionistic solos by one musician after another during which "the others provide harmonic or merely 'riff' backgrounds. From there it is but a very short step to Goodman, Basie, and 'swing.'"

Thus, in my reader's opinion, even the good performances that emphasize solos rather than ensemble—those of the Louis Armstrong Hot Five and Seven, or the "Wild Man Blues" of the Johnny Dodds Blackbottom Stompers—are not really jazz. "And they are the first step toward the later Armstrong performances on Decca, and those performances whose only redeeming feature is a sensitive and imaginative solo by Buck Clayton, Teddy Wilson, or Bix. And from there it is only another short step to Glenn Miller." Things like "Shim-Me-Sha-Wabble," moreover, are merely good per-

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formances by "the jazz imitators like Beiderbecke, Teschmaker, and Spanier."

I recently objected to what my reader has done—to the defining of jazz by one type of performance that excludes any deviation from it, and that causes him to regard even the Armstrong Hot Fives or the Dodds "Wild Man Blues" as not really jazz, and the Chicago performances as only good imitations; and I don't agree that there is the difference he says there is between the solos in his real jazz and the ones in these other performances. And I disapprove of his "only-a-step" argument. If the Dodds "Wild Man Blues" or the Chicagoans' "Shim-Me-Sha-Wabble" is good, it does not become less good because something bad has followed from it: only the bad thing that followed is bad; and of course his argument also leaves out of consideration the good things that have continued to follow. My reader's letter has made me feel more strongly about the preoccupation with developments and tendencies: it is the individual work of art that is important and that is good or bad, not by its relation to developments and tendencies, but by its own particular qualities as a work of art.

As it happens, another reader, beginning with approval of my attack on the preoccupation with developments and tendencies, has written to point out that a composer's music does have a relation to other music, and to ask whether complete understanding of his music does not therefore require knowledge of that relation. This is an instance of how, beginning with truth, one may end up with error. It is true that the pictorial elements which appear on a Cézanne canvas have relations to the work of other painters, to their ideas, to general intellectual currents, to social conditions; it is not true—though the musicologists contend it is—that one must know these relations in order to understand the Cézanne painting. That understanding consists in experiencing the effect, the impact, of the pictorial elements as they are placed and related on the canvas, and of nothing else; the related things outside the canvas enter into this experience only insofar as they are "digested" in what is on the canvas—to borrow a term from Tovey, who remarks that "what the finished [work of art] cannot digest must be ignored or regarded outside it." To know the relations of the work of art to the things outside it is to understand not the work of art but certain facts in the history of art and general culture. And this distinction is abundantly illustrated by the musicologists who, as I have pointed out, reveal knowledge of everything about a piece of music, but no insight into the piece itself as an artistic communication; and on the other hand by the people who do have this insight, without any knowledge about the music. But the public's mind has been so poisoned that a reader who wrote me recently about his "pleasure and little insight into great works of genius" found it necessary to confess that he wrote as "a mere listener" who had gained this insight only "by ear." That is why I keep hammering away on the point.

Merely to listen, and in this way to gain pleasurable insight into Mozart's music—that is considered so inadequate as to require apology. For complete understanding one must read something like the review of Einstein's "Mozart" in *Kenyon Review*—a full-dress musicological demonstration that Mozart as a composer was "one of the most prominent exponents of the revolutionary second half of the eighteenth century." This is achieved by the following steps: (1) the period was that of the revolt of the middle class; (2) the object of the revolt was not only equality but even superiority; (3) "the middle class tried to accomplish this by sublimation of human nature . . . through the cultivation of the three functions of man: intellect (it was the period of Enlightenment), will (it was the period of the English autonomic moral philosophy, and of the moralization of the arts and literature), and feeling (it was the period of sentimentality)"; (4) Mozart was sentimental—by the evidence of a description in a letter of his weepy behavior under the influence of homesickness; (5) "no art, of course, is more appropriate to the expression of sentimental feelings than music"; (6) "and no composer of this period has set greater value on *Expressivität* than Mozart"—by the evidence of specified letters; (7) "Mozart's enormous expressivity was his greatest contribution to the fundamental change of the theretofore aristocratic society to a bourgeois society"; (8) therefore he was a revolutionary.

Note the method: the line of reasoning about sentimentality; the unobtrusive shift, in the sixth step, from sentimentality to expressiveness, quite as though they were the interchangeable equivalents they are not; so that, in the next step, the argument may embrace Mozart's music, which is intensely expressive but not sentimental. What I think of the method, the purpose, the complete, detailed piece of writing, I have not been able to find polite language for.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Sweatshops for Veterans?

Dear Sirs:

In your issue of July 7, Edward M. Maisel advanced the thesis that government efforts to limit and ultimately abolish industrial homework will "cripple the disabled veteran." Mr. Maisel admits that industrial homework has developed into a system of chain sweatshops in which "able-bodied as well as disabled workers are widely employed"; that "the wages and hours of the unorganized homeworkers are often far below standard and constitute a standing threat to workers employed in factories." Yet he sees no solution for the badly handicapped veteran except industrial homework. This, however, would only help to perpetuate an admittedly vicious system.

Why should men who have fought so gallantly for the economic and social institutions of our democracy be condemned to sweatshop slavery in their homes? As Mr. Maisel points out, the severely disabled may now secure special homework certificates provided they are under the supervision of a state vocational-rehabilitation agency or a sheltered workshop; and this rule is relaxed in cases of "unusual hardship." But Mr. Maisel wants complete freedom for disabled veterans to find employment in this "antiquated" system. He argues that "to insist that they remain under a government-rehabilitation agency or a sheltered workshop is to condemn them to a state of perpetual training without graduation"—"graduation" to what? To the exploitation and underpayment of industrial homework?

The disabled veteran's claim upon society, great as it is, must not be repaid by measures injurious to society as a whole and to the veteran himself. Indeed it would be a grave injustice to attempt to discharge our obligation to the disabled veteran by condemning him to a lifetime of industrial homework. Sheltered workshops would provide a more wholesome environment for the individual than confinement to his own home making artificial flowers, carding buttons, or assembling jewelry, to cite only a few of the traditional homework industries. Under these conditions he would not receive lower rates than those paid to factory workers in the same occupations.

The problem of assimilating disabled veterans into industry is not easy to solve. Private industry must be challenged to do its utmost to make the necessary adjustment. Some heartening progress is being made by conscientious employers. The sheltered workshop is not the only answer to the problem of employing disabled veterans. Much constructive thinking and planning is required to deal humanely and intelligently with the social and economic problems of the seriously disabled whether veterans of the armed services or of the civilian work force.

Increasing the army of industrial homeworkers is no solution. A recent study by the New York State Department of Labor shows that despite the department's efforts to control and curtail homework, the war years have brought an 86 per cent increase in industries where homework is not restricted by homework orders. Because workers flocked to war industries, employers producing civilian and luxury goods turned to the pool of homeworkers. The New York report shows that control of homework is almost impossible. During the first five months of 1944 there were almost as many violations as for the total year of 1942. Most of the violations involved the illegal distribution of homework. So long as homework distribution is permitted at all, violations will be widespread and largely undetected because of the inherent difficulties of enforcement and policing.

The New York report offers convincing evidence of the lower earnings of industrial homeworkers. In 1943 two-thirds of the state's homeworkers were earning under 50 cents an hour—which the War Labor Board characterized even then as "substandard." Homeworkers in the embroidery-on-dresses industry, the highest paid group of homeworkers, received an average of $18.20 for an average work week of 30 hours; an average of $41.57 per week was earned by factory workers in the dress industry during the same period.

Must disabled veterans be condemned to employment in a system so "badly exploited" and generally unrewarding? The answer is "NO."

(MRS.) ELINORE M. HERRICK
Vice President, Consumers' League
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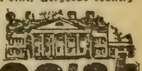

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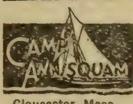

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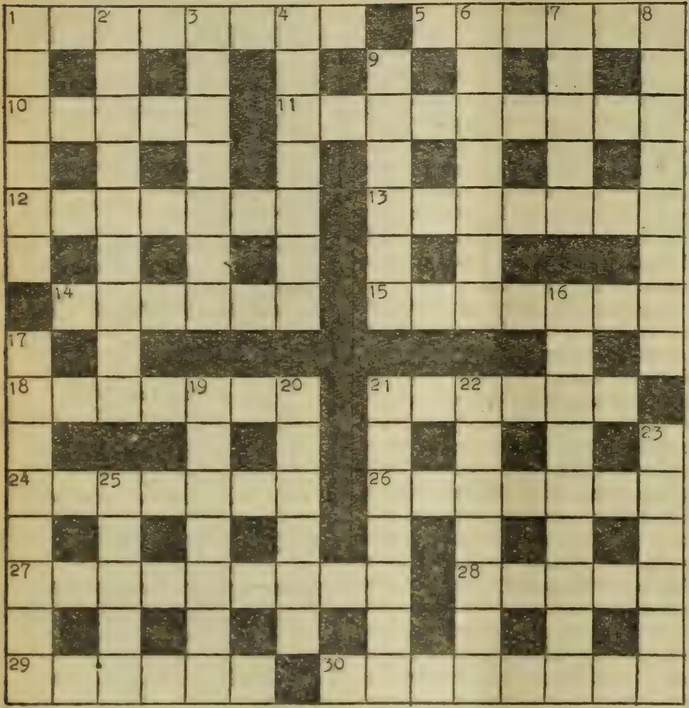
Crossword Puzzle No. 123

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 He died by request, in the song
5 Not a *hot* water bottle
10 Worthless English castle
11 Observation an astrologer might have made when you were born
12 Devil take the fellow! (two words, 4 and 3)
13 It dulls the pain a little
14 As the Scotsman remarked after counting it: "It's right, but it's only just right!"
15 The fugitive's refuge, perhaps (hyphen, 4-3)
18 Adjective that can truthfully be applied to only one New York skyscraper
21 The performers in this have to be on their toes
24 One who takes what isn't his right
26 A love story would naturally include a man
27 The one who told you the news
28 American humorist (born Clemens)
29 Its meaning is kept secret
30 What should a man do when nothing comes his way? Take to music?

DOWN

1. Mr. Hyde's alter ego
2 A major-domo
3 Character in Falconer's *Shipwreck*—a pallid Scotsman from the look of him
4 Deprive of support
6 An able-seaman starts to quit the country
7 No gay newspaper column
8 Fire, air, earth and water
9 Looks a peaceful Irish county—there's only one weapon in it!
16 This takes in everybody (three words, 3, 3, 3)
17 Might describe one who has a "middle-aged spread"
19 Purify
20 A couple of sailors are likely to prove a bit of a handful
21 The "Bounding Basque" of the tennis world
22 Most British companies are thus restricted
23 This flag seems to urge us to continue writing
25 "When do we eat?" might be the cry of those who are this

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 122

ACROSS:—1 HOVEL; 4 LIP; 6 MORAL; 9 PIT-A-PAT; 10 TURNS IN; 11 ORCHID; 13 DURATION; 15 DEBATER; 16 FINGER; 17 KISS; 19 DAISIES; 21 GOLF; 23 RAFFIA; 25 AGONIST; 27 COMPRESS; 28 EIFFEL; 31 UNUSUAL; 32 OATMEAL; 33 HAGUE; 34 EYE; 35 SINIC.

DOWN:—1 HIPPO; 2 VATICAN; 3 LOPSIDED: 4 LATE; 5 PUT-PUT; 6 MORTAR; 7 ROSSINI; 8 LENIN; 12 DERANGE; 13 DAMSONS; 14 REVERSE; 16 FOG; 18 SEA; 20 SATIATES; 22 LIMBURG; 24 FIFTEEN; 25 AROUSE; 26 OSTLER; 27 COUGH; 29 LILAC; 30 NONE.

Disney Paisanos

Dear Sirs: John Steinbeck's old California paisanos—as they are called by no one today—have become stock fictional characters. Kindly, humble, full of the sweet dignity of man untainted by high-pressure commercialism, etc., etc., they wander through several of Mr. Steinbeck's books and are immortalized in "Tortilla Flat."

Now comes "A Medal for Benny," the screen version of the old familiar song. Its characters are kindly, humble, lovable—but they are a bunch of imposters. I doubt that John Steinbeck has ever been within speaking distance of the Mexican American he chooses to call a "paisano." Certainly he seems to know nothing of their psychology.

To my knowledge, the only worthwhile character study of the type that Steinbeck unsuccessfully depicts was made by Harvey Fergusson in his "Blood of the Conquerors." Fergusson is dealing with a real human being in this book, not a lovely, kindly, homely set of Disney characters. He makes us understand that the kicking around which the average Mexican has received in this land of the free has scarcely tended to promote those human traits so fondly depicted by Mr. Steinbeck.

Steinbeck has created a myth. His paisano is pure baloney.

JOSEPH A. BABANDO

Yuma, Ariz., July 13

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The Shape of Things

WE GO TO PRESS AT A MOMENT OF TENSION and confusion while Japan's formal answer to our surrender terms is breathlessly awaited. The Japanese offer of capitulation, coming on the heels of the atomic bomb and Russia's entrance into the Far Eastern war, stirred expectations of immediate peace. These culminated in wild celebrations after a mysterious report by the United Press that Japan had finally surrendered. The report itself is under investigation by the FBI and the FCC, and is just conceivably the work of a Japanese agent in an incident as fantastic as anything in the latest whodunit. But it is more probable that events in Japan delayed an answer to the Allied peace terms. In any case peace cannot be long postponed. The swift advance of the Soviet armies in Korea, Manchuria, and North China, on top of our terrific bombings, makes prolonged resistance unlikely, though a series of suicide and surprise attacks is possible. Whether by design or not, the surrender reports already represent a psychological set-back for us, and unless peace comes within the next few days it will be difficult to keep war workers at their task and to prevent a serious let-down in the armed forces.

*

THE TERMS OF THE THREE-POWER DECLARATION to Japan before Russia's entrance into the war implied the continuance in power of the Emperor. Japan's surrender offer, while accepting the Potsdam-Cairo terms, asked an "explicit indication" that "the prerogatives of His Majesty as a sovereign ruler" would not be prejudiced. The Byrnes reply, on the behalf of the four powers, made no direct answer. The Emperor is to remain on the throne subject to the orders of the Allied military commander, but "the ultimate form" of the Japanese government is to be determined by "the freely expressed will of the Japanese people." There are advantages in using the Emperor to make peace and in leaving his future to the Japanese people. The danger is that if MacArthur is made Allied commander in Japan, with Under Secretary of State Grew and his former Counsellor of Embassy Eugene Dooman as political advisers, our military power may be used to keep the Emperor on the throne and to suppress popular movements against him. *The Nation's* recent revelations of the policies followed by MacArthur in the Philippines indicate what is to be expected from him in Japan.

*

ONE OF THE FEW POINTS IN PRESIDENT Truman's broadcast not previously covered by the Big Three's report was his disclosure of an American proposal to place Europe's waterways under international control. It seems probable that discussion of this question was inspired by Russian demands on Turkey for a revision of the Montreux Treaty so that its warships and merchant vessels will have an unobstructed passage from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean in peace or war. On American initiative this delicate issue has been broadened to cover all European water-routes in which more than one country has an interest. "Selfish control" of such routes, Mr. Truman said, "has been one of the persistent causes for war in Europe." He suggested that in future there should be free and unrestricted navigation of the Danube, the Black Sea Straits, the Rhine, the Kiel Canal, and all other waterways which border upon two or more states. Their development and regulation, he urged, should be intrusted to international agencies on which the United States, Britain, Russia and France should be represented as well as the riparian states. No definite action was taken on this proposal at Potsdam; it was referred to the new Council of Ministers, where the United States intends to press for its adoption. Certainly our representatives can find plenty of good arguments for the principle of curbing national monopolies of international traffic arteries. But would not their arguments be stronger if they recognized that the principle had universal, not merely European, validity; that it applied to the Suez and Panama canals as well as to the Dardanelles?

*

THE PRESS SCREAMED "ESPIONAGE" WHEN The Six were arrested on State Department orders for disclosing "confidential" information on the Far East. But minor stories on the inside pages carried the news that a federal grand jury in the District of Columbia had refused to indict three of them and indicted the other three not for espionage but merely for "purloining" government documents. State Department hysteria and anxiety to silence critics of its Far Eastern policies have thus succeeded in smearing without cause John Stewart Service, one of its own foreign-service officials; Kate Mitchell, co-editor of *Amerasia,* and Mark Gayn, a free-lance writer on the Far East. No indictments were returned against them. At the same time the grand jury's action indicates that the stigma of "spy" was equally unjustified when applied to Andrew Roth, former lieutenant in the navy; Philip Jaffe, editor of *Amerasia;* and Emanuel Sigurd Larsen, another State Department employee. It remains to be seen how much can be proved against these three at their trial. It becomes clearer than ever that the case of The Six was an attempt by the Grew-Dooman crowd to discredit its opponents in the department and in the press by underhanded and dishonorable means. We demand Service's reinstatement with formal public apologies and again ask that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee investigate this whole shameful affair.

*

WE HAVE HAD A THUNDEROUS REMINDER IN the past week of the lag between scientific invention and social thinking, but apparently it was not loud enough to awaken some of our Rip Van Winkles. Take, for instance, Herbert Hoover, who, six days after the first atomic bomb was dropped, made a speech about the "free American system" which would have seemed dated even when he was President. Mr. Hoover is alarmed about the spread of communism and the fact that "half a dozen once liberty-loving nations are shifting to socialism," with Britain the most recent example. To him these foreign systems are forms of collectivist tyranny presided over by bullying bureaucrats, but, for all their unattractiveness, he fears the invasion of the Western Hemisphere by their propaganda. Therefore he calls upon us to defend "economic freedom," without which "all the freedoms of the mind and spirit will perish." We know, he continues, "that discovery, invention, competition, and skills can never come from government officials." This is a curious statement to make in the face of the terrific collective enterprise that made possible the splitting of the atom. True, the results of that enterprise have appalling potentialities for evil, but they also offer to mankind tremendous opportunities. Is it conceivable that these opportunities will be realized if the development of this revolutionary source of energy is left to private enterprise?

*

AMERICAN MERCHANT SEAMEN, WHO BY THEIR courage and endurance have made so great a contribution to victory, "enjoy" a basic wage rate of only 34½ cents an hour —no more than before the war. For the men who have carried our soldiers and weapons to all parts of the world, risking their lives continuously, there has been not even the 15 per cent increase provided by the "Little Steel" formula. True, bonuses have been paid for duty in war zones which have sometimes made take-home pay at the end of a voyage double or treble the basic wage, but against this must be set such facts as the stoppage of a man's pay if his ship was sunk, as so many were. From the beginning, these additional payments have been treated by the ship operators as ample compensation for the increased cost of living. But now that European waters are no longer considered dangerous, bonuses are being reduced without reference to the price level. Today a seaman on Atlantic routes can expect to earn no more than $125 a month, including all extras. Soon after V-J Day bonuses are likely to be wiped out altogether. The National Maritime Union, therefore, has asked the War Labor Board to approve an increase in wage rates to 55 cents an hour— the minimum established for all other American workers. There should be no hesitation on the board's part in complying with this demand. The union has steadfastly kept its pledge against war-time strikes; it intends to do all it can to speed the job of bringing the troops home. But low wages are encouraging individual seamen to leave the merchant service in droves—8,000 a month on the average—and it is increasingly difficult to man the ships.

*

CIVIL WAR IS THE "ONLY SOLUTION" TO THE present situation in Argentina, according to dictator Perón himself. This extraordinary statement seems to be the regime's answer to the growing opposition of democratic forces. In an interview with Dr. Pedro Cué, director of the Cuban daily, *El Mundo,* Perón said: "I do not fear civil war because I am prepared for it. . . . I have at my disposal 300,000 soldiers and 4,000,000 workers armed with clubs." Shortly after this interview, free elections and the lifting of the state of siege were announced. But no people was ever freed by a tyrant's edict and these apparently conciliatory gestures are in truth a Perónian provocation to internal strife. Argentina's major political parties, the Socialists, Radicals, and Conservatives, representing all shades of opinion from left to right, view as an immediate threat the amended political-parties statute which became effective on August 1. For it enables government-appointed commissions to convoke and control the national assemblies of political parties which, dissolved since 1943, are now permitted to function again. According to the statute present party leaders must be dropped and new ones chosen under the aegis of committees named by federal electoral courts appointed by the present fascist government. The moderate Radical Party, Argentina's most powerful political organization, is in immediate danger of being captured and used by the Perón clique to support the dictatorship's candidate for President, who may turn out to be Perón himself. Thus the promise of free elections is coupled with the imposition of measures that make free elections impossible. Perón has presented the Argentines with the alternatives of giving his detested regime a vote of confidence or fighting in the streets. The spontaneous pro-democratic rally of 15,000 Argentines in Buenos Aires last week, which led to rioting and demonstrations against Perón when the police attempted to intervene, show what their answer is likely to be.

*

PIETY AND PURITANISM ARE OLD PARTNERS, and they are intimately linked with political reaction. In Spain the triumvirate is very busy these days. Within recent weeks Rome has sent instructions to the Spanish hierarchy to intensify its campaign against the reestablishment of the republic. And simultaneously the church is trying to turn Spain back to the dark days of the nineteenth century when friars and nuns dominated the court and dictated the laws of the country. The Archbishop of Valencia, the Most Reverend Prudencio Melo, has recently issued a pastoral letter laying down for Spanish parents severe instructions, supported by the government and heralded by the press department of the Falange. Parents are warned "not to allow their daughters to wear décolleté dress that would reveal too much of their figures, or to leave uncovered the greatest part of the legs." The letter deals firmly with the problem of picnics and parties; parents must make sure that their daughters take no part in excursions with men, "especially if the excursion is by bicycle." Archbishop Melo does not explain the clerical opposition to the bicycle, but presumably it arises from the danger that in pedaling the "greatest part of the leg" will be exposed. Unmarried men and women are not to be allowed to bathe from the same beach unless there are "separate sections for each sex." Especially strong censure is directed against the custom of "engaged couples" walking hand-in-hand in the street. Cinemas should not be frequented unless the films have been expressly approved by the ecclesiastical censorship. The Archbishop is convinced that only by such measures as these, and by the maintenance of the fascist regime, can Spain be saved from the moral ruin that threatens Europe.

*

THE NATION ENTHUSIASTICALLY INDORSES THE proposal by the National Lawyers Guild for the appointment of William H. Hastie to the judicial post left vacant by the resignation of Thurman W. Arnold from the Circuit Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia. As judge of the District Court for the Virgin Islands from 1937 to 1939, Mr. Hastie was the first Negro to sit on the federal bench and would be the first of his race on the Circuit Court of Appeals. But *The Nation* supports him for the vacant judgeship not merely out of a desire to give recognition to the Negro, but because it believes Mr. Hastie well qualified for this position by training, legal accomplishment, and social outlook. The dean of the Howard University Law School is not only a lawyer of distinguished professional attainments but a man of consistently progressive views and courageous temperament. The District of Columbia Court of Appeals is in some respects the most influential appeals court in the country and its decisions play a role second only to that of the United States Supreme Court in molding American law. It is important that the judges on this court, in the crucial post-war years, should be men of liberal philosophy and instinctive sympathy with the underprivileged. We know of no one who fills those requirements better than Dean Hastie.

*

THE NAME OF THE UNITED NATIONS WILL BE A mockery in Europe unless more help is quickly provided, Herbert Lehman said last week. He pointed out that up to the close of June UNRRA had not received many officially allocated foodstuffs urgently needed overseas. In this connection an item in *Le Figaro* of July 27 has special interest. Under the heading "American Troops Burn Material and Food They Cannot Take With Them," it tells the story of what happened at the Villaroche camp, where large quantities of more or less used linen, preserves, fats, etc., were thrown into a huge fire. "Inhabitants of nearby villages who had salvaged foodstuffs and other articles spared by the flames were surprised to have these things confiscated and burned." In another camp bundles of clothing, slightly used, were cut to pieces and then sold to a rag merchant. *Figaro* philosophically comments that if Allied military authorities 'are afraid of supplying the black market by disposing of certain items, they could, with the help of local authorities, supervise their distribution. In any case it would be highly unfortunate to continue to offer to people without anything the spectacle of such wanton waste." This puts the case much too mildly. *Any* waste by our army in Europe is scandalous at this time, and we look to the Commander-in-Chief to give stringent orders to prevent a recurrence of such incidents. The soldiers would appreciate it too; the New York *Times* reports that they carried out their orders with visible repugnance.

*

IN A REPORT TO CONGRESS ISSUED JUST BEFORE he left Washington Mr. Morgenthau made some suggestions about the federal budget which deserve careful consideration. "To me," he said, "the outstanding weakness in the management in federal fiscal business is the absence of a single, responsible officer to whom the President may look for complete and comprehensive policy direction over the entire field of borrowing, lending, spending, and insuring. . . . In actual practice the area of control and influence exercised by the Secretary of the Treasury is largely limited to one side of the ledger. He is not in a position to exert proper influence over the use and disposition of the funds he must raise and account for to the nation." At present fiscal planning is diffused both at the administrative and the legislative level. The budget is prepared by the Budget Bureau, which is directly responsible to the President, while detailed suggestions for raising the money required are submitted to Congress by the Treasury. On Capitol Hill four committees—Ways and Means and Appropriations in the House, Finance and Appropriations in the Senate—consider separately national financial policy. Thus at no point is the budget reviewed as a whole and in relation to its total effect on the national economy. Mr. Morgenthau wishes to see the Budget Bureau brought under the Treasury. He also suggests the establishment of a National Committee for Fiscal Affairs, with the Secretary of the Treasury as chairman, and representatives of eight subcommittees covering (1) industrial finance; (2) agricultural finance; (3) foreign finance; (4) maritime finance; (5) money and credit; (6) housing finance; (7) public works finance; (8) federal budget. It seems probable that this program will commend itself to Secretary Vinson. Post-war fiscal problems are going to be extraordinarily hard to handle in any circumstances. A complete overhauling of the machinery should be undertaken immediately Congress reassembles in September.

The New Asia

WITH the surrender of Japan, new and incalculable political forces have been unleashed which will affect the destiny of all nations bordering the Pacific. For more than a generation the shadow of a militaristic, power-loving Japan has hung over Asia. Ambitious young men from China, Burma, India, and other parts of the East have flocked to Japanese universities and accepted Japan's doctrine of force as Asia's answer to the West's technical superiority. Hundreds of millions of people in Korea, Manchuria, and Southeast Asia have passively bowed before Japanese power because there seemed to be no hope of liberation. Now that this malignant power has been destroyed by the United Nations, we may anticipate rapid and profound changes throughout the Pacific area.

Of greatest concern to us will be the effect of the defeat on the Japanese themselves. No one really knows today just what their reaction will be. Will they turn against the political and business leaders who led them to disaster? Or will they sullenly accept Allied dictation while plotting revenge? Much depends on the kind of peace that is imposed on Japan. The Potsdam surrender terms are too general to give us much of a clue. The Allied governments face an extraordinarily delicate task in seeking to eliminate the industrial basis of Japan's military power without destroying the source of livelihood of millions of Japanese families. Their ability to find a solution to this problem will hinge largely on who is to be permitted to control Japan's remaining industry. Will the *Zaibatsu,* whose close link with the militarists was shown in a recent article in *The Nation* by Laurence Salisbury, be allowed to retain their stranglehold over Japanese economy? Or will the United Nations encourage the creation of a popular government which will control the country's major industrial resources? Had the Japanese surrender come a week earlier, the chances are that the Grew-Dooman policy of cooperating with the *Zaibatsu* would have prevailed. But Russia's entry into the war may tip the scales the other way. Judged by its attitude in Germany, Russia can be expected to favor the development of trade unions and anti-fascist political parties in the Japanese territory it will doubtless occupy. As in Germany, the Americans will probably have to follow suit. If the Japanese people are helped to escape from the domination of their industrial and agricultural overlords, they may themselves get rid of the Emperor and the feudal heritage which the militarists used so successfully in promoting the war.

Korea will undoubtedly present many problems. The Cairo Declaration guarantees Korea's ultimate independence, but difficulties may crop up in arranging an interim government. Korea is one of the few countries in Asia in which the Communists are strong. In the absence of any other important political group, the Korean Communists might readily seize power, especially if the occupying force were Russian. Just how Washington would react to such a development is not clear. A definite five-power understanding on Korea's future is urgently needed to prevent a conflict between Russia and the United States.

With the end of the war, the future of China hinges more than ever on the outcome of the talks which have been going on in Moscow between Premier T. V. Soong and Marshal Stalin. Professional Russia-haters have been busy painting a frightening picture of Russia's intentions in the Far East. The Soviet Union is supposed to be planning to swallow the whole of Manchuria, Mongolia, and large sections of China proper. But reports so far available on the Soong-Stalin negotiations provide no basis for such allegations. It is true that Russia has important interests in Manchuria. Having occupied this region, the Russians would undoubtedly be reluctant to hand it over to an unfriendly Chinese regime. China and Russia also have conflicting interests in Outer Mongolia and Singkiang. But if the reports coming from Chungking and Moscow on the Soong-Stalin talks are to be trusted, these problems are in process of being solved. China is said to be willing to grant Russia transit rights to Vladivostok across Manchuria, as it did before the Japanese conquest, together with a warm-water naval base on the Liaotung Peninsula. China is also probably prepared to accept Russian influence in Singkiang and to recognize the independence of Outer Mongolia in return for specific Russian guaranties regarding Chinese sovereignty in Manchuria. While minor territorial adjustments may be made to protect Vladivostok, there is no hint of extensive territorial demands.

But a final political settlement between China and Russia will be impossible until the long-standing feud between Chungking and Yenan is ended. The Japanese surrender has created a new crisis which may result in a bloody conflict. Doubtless this is what Japan has been hoping for, and Chiang Kai-shek is playing into its hands by his present tactics. He forbade the Chinese Eighth Army to continue disarming Japanese soldiers and then warned the Japanese that they would be held "accountable" if they gave up their arms to the Chinese Communists. But a Chungking attack on Yenan would probably bring Russia to the aid of the left-wing Yenan regime. Should this happen, the United States would be placed in a difficult position, particularly in view of the Grew-Hurley policy of supporting Chungking. It is reported that American military equipment has already been used against the Communists by Chiang Kai-shek's forces.

Chiang's atttitude parallels that of certain circles in our own State and War departments which were opposed to Russian participation in the Far Eastern war and have been hoping for peace with Japan before the Soviet armies establish themselves too strongly in Manchuria and Korea. What is now needed is closer liaison with the Russians, swift measures to end the Chungking-Yenan tension, and new men and policies in dealing with the problem of post-war Japan.

One World or None

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE bomb that hurried Russia into the Far Eastern war a week ahead of schedule and drove Japan to surrender has accomplished the specific job for which it was created. From the point of view of military strategy, $2,000,000,000 (the cost of the bomb and the cost of nine days of war) was never better spent. The suffering, the wholesale slaughter it entailed, have been outweighed by its spectacular success; Allied leaders can rightly claim that the loss of life on both sides would have been many times greater if the atomic bomb had not been used and Japan had gone on fighting. There is no answer to this argument. The danger is that it will encourage those in power to assume that, once accepted as valid, the argument can be applied equally well in the future. If that assumption should be permitted, the chance of saving civilization—and perhaps the world itself—from destruction is a remote one.

Solemn official talk is going on in Britain and here about controlling the use of the new force. But the talk is unconvincing. The atomic bomb represents a revolution in science—the greatest revolution ever accomplished. It calls for a comparable revolution in men's thinking and in their capacity for political and social readjustment. Not a hint of that has so far emerged in high places, either here or in Britain. And so far no leader of one of the lesser states, from which the new knowledge has been withheld, has presumed to open his mouth. No one has spoken the simple truth that the exploding atom has exposed to the whole world.

President Truman announced that he would recommend to Congress "the establishment of an appropriate commission to control the production and use of atomic power within the United States." He has promised that the secret of the bomb will ke kept by the three nations that hold it until "means have been found to control the bomb so as to protect ourselves and the rest of the world from the danger of total destruction." Secretary Stimson says that "substantial patent rights" have been assured to the American, Canadian, and British governments to prevent independent exploitation of the discovery. Do these plans and promises mean anything? Or are they conventional, official, high-sounding nonsense?

First, if anything is sure about the atomic bomb it is that no physical protection against it will ever be possible. The bomb dropped on Nagasaki was far more advanced than that dropped two days earlier on Hiroshima. Both were crude beginnings. We have already been promised that their successors will be enormously improved. Soon they will be propelled by rockets—similar to Hitler's V-2s—and directed exactly to their destination by radar. When this is achieved, not only will armies and fleets and island bases and strategic frontiers all have been made obsolete, but widespread annihilation can be accomplished by any power, or even group of men, that can command atomic energy.

And that leads to the absurdity of an attempt to limit control of this force to the nations that now hold it. President Truman is whistling to keep our courage up. He knows that other nations are working on atomic explosives. Before its defeat Germany was on the edge of success. Sweden and Denmark are carrying out intensive experimentation. It is not likely that Russia—which knows how to keep a secret better than any other country—has lagged behind the rest. Are we to be asked to believe that the Anglo-Saxon peoples have alone been granted the god-like power to crack atoms? The secret was guarded long enough to enable us to smash Japan. It will not last much longer. The present "trustees" of this force had better stop thinking in terms of control by themselves and begin to figure how a world is to be run in which every nation equipped for research and modern production will soon be able to make and propel atomic bombs.

So what sense is there in setting up an American commission "to control the production of atomic power"? Perhaps a little. Already certain private interests in this country have let it be known that, while they recognize the government's present right to monopolize the manufacture of atomic bombs, they are not prepared to accept government control over future use of the new energy. And Secretary Stimson's phrase, "substantial patent rights," is at best equivocal. It suggests that certain less substantial but perhaps highly valuable patents may already be in the hands of Du Pont or General Electric. And so a commission may be of some value, at least as an interim safeguard. But it will be well for us to remind Congress that the men it appoints will be dealing with a source of power discovered through the expenditure of $2,000,000,000 of public money—taxpayers' money. That power belongs to the people if no other ever did.

Suppose the United States, Canada, and Britain attempt, as they seem prepared to do, to corner the knowledge of atomic power even for a brief period. What will be the effect of this monopoly? First, it will convert the three Anglo-Saxon nations into a monstrous threat to the rest of the world. Are other countries likely to accept with equanimity the fact that we and the British hold the secret of total destruction? Who but ourselves is going to trust us with such fantastic power? It would be healthy if Americans, just for a moment, would put themselves in the position of, let's say, the Russians or the Chinese, and try to see what this "democratic trusteeship" looks like from the vantage-point of Moscow or Chungking. No nation shut out from our closely guarded knowledge can possibly do other than speed up its own collective effort to gain the same ground. The policy announced by the President is power politics raised to a cosmic degree; if continued it will insure an era of desperate competition in destruction, which can have only one outcome.

Atomic energy should no more be controlled by a few sovereign nations than it should be by a few private companies. "Free enterprise" for nations has been wiped out by the discovery. When President Truman went to the microphone to explain the agreement reached at Potsdam, the first atomic bomb had already exploded. So he discussed the Potsdam arrangements side by side with his proposal for controlling atomic energy. The fantastic incompatibility of the two items apparently did not strike him. But it is clear as water that no collective arrangements can stand in the face of the power held by America and Britain. Even the modest, halfway security measures adopted at San Francisco and written into the United Nations Charter can hardly be expected to survive such a situation. At the very minimum, the United Nations must be made trustee of the atomic bomb. Otherwise the idea of collective agreements to keep the peace may as well be abandoned.

But this minimum is far too small to provide any serious measure of safety. For the San Francisco charter is itself a collective agreement based on power. As Edward R. Murrow said the other day, the big nations have "created an organization and made laws from which they are exempt." In other words, there is no rule of law to which all nations are equally subject. The authority of the United Nations rests in the coalition of great powers which form its core. How much value can such an organization now have even if the control of the atomic bomb should be vested in it? It cannot dominate the world, for a single nation, small or large, possessed of the facilities to make the new explosive, would have as much power to threaten peace and terrorize other nations as one or all of the Big Three—or Four—or Five. And any one of the large nations, ruled by a new Hitler, could reduce the world to slavery—or to dust. In the space of a day the World Security Organization grew from childhood to senility. Now it must be replaced.

If we are to survive our new powers we must understand their full meaning. We shall have to move fast, both internationally and within each country. No longer can we afford a world organized to prevent aggression only if all of the great powers wish it to be prevented. No longer can we afford a social system which would permit private business, in the name of freedom, to control a source of energy capable of creating comfort and security for all the world's people. This seems self-evident, and so it is. But it calls for changes so sweeping that only an immense effort of will and imagination can bring them about. A new conference of the nations must be assembled to set up a World Government, to which every state must surrender an important part of its sovereignty. In this World Government must be vested the final control over atomic energy. And within each nation the people must establish public ownership and social development of the revolutionary force war has thrust into their hands. This program will sound drastic only to people who have not yet grasped the meaning of the new discovery. It is not drastic. We face a choice between one world or none.

Negrín's Policy is Winning

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Mexico City, August 12

ON WEDNESDAY, August 8, the long-desired agreement between the Spanish Republican parties and organizations in Mexico was finally reached. Republican leaders agreed on a procedure which will make all the institutions of the Republic operative in exile. Having joined with Dr. Negrín in virtually all the discussions of the past three weeks, I know what skill and patience were required to bring the factions together; and in the two meetings held last week, Dr. Negrín surpassed his own previous record of successful conciliation.

The first meeting of the representatives of the parties took place on Tuesday. Twenty-six parties and organizations were represented, exactly the number of all the political groups in Mexico. A sensational fact was the participation of two representatives of the Prieto faction, Otero and Albar. The meeting was called on twenty-four hours' notice under the pressure of the news from Spain itself, indicating that Franco might replace himself with a new military government created in his own image. When word of the meeting leaked out to the Spanish colony, the general comment was, "Negrín has accomplished what nobody else has been able to do in six years." The same view, in almost identical language, was expressed the following day by Martinez Barrio when a formal agreement was confirmed and signed in the presence of Dr. Negrín.

Under this agreement a meeting of the Cortes is to be called to formalize the parties' choice of a provisional President of the Republic, in the person of Martinez Barrio. This will make it possible for the present government to submit its resignation and a new government to be named in accordance with the constitutional procedure.

Only two groups failed to sign the agreement. These were the Socialist fraction gathered around Prieto and a small fraction of the syndicalist organization, the C. N. T. Four sections of the latter organization did sign. The representatives of the Prieto group failed to appear at the meeting of August 8 but sent instead a letter in which they raise three points: First, they doubted that there was such urgency as Negrín claimed for reaching an agreement in twenty-four hours. Second, they challenged the right of some of the groups invited by Negrín to participate, to demand recognition as regular political organizations. Third, they opposed any solution not based on the sanction and participation of the Cortes.

The first objection is not shared by other Spaniards here or in Spain. On the contrary, everyone has been counting not the days but the moments until an agreement could be reached. The second objection has an ironical flavor, for the Prieto group, organized in Mexico at the instigation of Prieto, is only a dissident fraction of the Spanish Socialist Party which has put itself outside the control of the party executive elected in Spain. The third objection, the only substantial one, has been met by the agreement signed by the other parties: the Cortes will assemble and elect a President. It should be emphasized that at no time did Dr. Negrín favor a solution which would exclude the Cortes. What he wanted was conservation of time, with the understanding that whatever agreement was reached among the parties should be subject to final ratification by Parliament. If the Prieto group is logical, it must inevitably participate in the coming meeting of the Cortes. And it is reasonable to expect that it will do so.

The Cortes probably will meet this Thursday. The session will be limited in its functions. Its sole purpose is to formalize the installation of Martinez Barrio as President of the Cortes and, therefore, as acting President of the Spanish Republic. It will then adjourn. Immediately thereafter Dr. Negrín will hand the provisional President his own resignation and that of his Cabinet, and the President will request one of the party leaders to form a government.

Speculation is rife, of course, as to the composition of the new Cabinet. To the majority of Republicans only one person is capable of steering the Republic through the difficult days which lie ahead. The statesmanship shown here by Dr. Negrín offers further assurance that he is the man most capable of heading the government. Dr. Negrín himself has adopted the most austere attitude toward the succession. He has declined all undertakings designed to honor him on his success in reaching an agreement and has refused all engagements that could be interpreted as capitalizing on his immediate achievement and old-time popularity. He came to Mexico for a single purpose—to unite the Republicans, to give them a President, and thus to make possible a legally reorganized government as an effective instrument of action within and without Spain. His accomplishments are already historic fact.

Washington Faces Peace

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, August 10

BY THE time these lines appear in print the war will almost certainly be over. The prospect of sudden victory has created anxiety here as well as jubilation. For with the coming of peace, the classic crutch of war is kicked out from under American capitalism. The United States faces not only the same old problem but the same old problem in a more intense and exacerbated form. We emerge from the war the Midas of nations. While other countries rise from the ruins appalled by their poverty, we are baffled by our wealth. Our power to produce has increased by 50 per cent since 1940, and the task of raising living standards to match that output is of such magnitude that only government, and business men willing to cooperate with government, can accomplish it. A glimpse of what lies ahead is provided by "Post-War Markets" (Public Affairs Press, Washington), a business guide based on official information prepared by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. If post-war output should be no greater than it was in 1940 (when our economy was already stimulated by war orders) "there would be the 9,000,000 who were unemployed in 1940 plus the 2,500,000 added to the civilian labor force between 1940 and 1946 plus 8,000,000 who would be displaced by improvements in efficiency over the six years—a total of over 19,000,000 unemployed."

The figures are terrifying, but the only hope of arousing sufficient public pressure and Congressional concern is to step up such statistical bombardment. The lag between technological capacity and social organization is an old story, but the dimensions of that lag have nowhere and never before been so great as in the United States of 1945. The Mead committee, in its new report on reconversion problems, estimates that we must find 11,000,000 more jobs than in 1929, which is 6,000,000 more than our present civilian labor force. But employment in manufacturing industries last year was already 5,000,000 greater than in 1929 or 1939. "We must not only hold these productive gains," the Mead committee says, "but we must find productive work for 6,000,000 additional persons." Without strong countervailing pressure, the drift will be toward resumption of business on pre-war levels, with the government providing made-work for the jobless. The danger is made graphic by a War Production Board survey cited by the Mead committee. In seventy-two industries, the "break-even operating rate" would be reached at a point where employment would be 25 per cent less than at present. Large sections of business could operate profitably enough for the owners on considerably less than capacity production. And no doubt many would prefer that to "government interference."

In a sardonic sense, the sudden surrender of Japan may well be regarded as its reprisal for atomic bombing. We were poorly enough prepared for a slow and comfortable period in which we could devote half our energies to the war in the Pacific and half to the resumption of large-scale civilian output. We are completely unprepared for a Japanese collapse, and unless we act quickly and wisely may face an economic collapse ourselves. The President's letter last night to Chairman J. A. Krug of the War Production Board has already been overtaken by events. There is immediate need for a program which will smooth the transition from war to peace, and a longer-range, if hardly less urgent, need for a program which will insure that industry reconverts to a full-employment level. No government agency has been authorized to tackle the second job, though some headway is being made in Congress by the full-employment bill. But even the simpler and more immediate task of reconversion has yet to be mapped out adequately. Mr. Krug, an ex-TVA man with an N. A. M. mind, believes that the problem can be met by hoopla; he would remove all restrictions as rapidly as possible and let industry scramble back to civilian output pretty much on a hit-or-miss basis. The OPA, the War Labor Board, and the Office of Economic Stabilization feel that controls must be retained and used during the transitional period if it is to be negotiated successfully.

Mr. Truman, whose Senatorial experience made him conversant with the problems of industrial mobilization for war and peace, had to decide between these two points of view, and his letter is a victory for those who fear too quick a removal of restrictions. But unfortunately it leaves Krug and the WPB crowd at the controls, and they are already interpreting the President's letter to suit themselves. The WPB is as much big-business as ever and cannot be trusted to handle reconversion on a basis fair to the smaller business man and the consumer. The big fellows would like to grab off materials quickly at the expense of the smaller. There is quick profit to be made in turning swiftly to production of higher-price items. The health of business enterprise requires a fair distribution of scarce materials during the transition, and the welfare of the consumer requires the allocation and channelling of materials into badly needed low-cost goods. The nation's economic safety depends on continued price controls during the transition and planning on an unprecedented scale for a higher level of output.

All this is repugnant to the WPB crowd, and Mr. Truman should know from past experience that it will handle these problems its own sweet way, irrespective of White-House directives. New agencies, new men, new ideas, new directions are necessary—and quickly—if we are not to suffer a relapse into chronic mass unemployment now that war's blood transfusions will no longer be available to an ailing capitalism.

The Trial of Pétain

BY PERTINAX

[*Pertinax, greatest of European diplomatic correspondents, is the author of "The Gravediggers of France." He is now living in Washington.*]

THE double charge brought against Pétain is that he was in intelligence with the enemy and attacked the safety of the state, i.e., overthrew republican institutions. I have been investigating the doings of Pétain for five years and I don't doubt that those two main charges can be substantiated. But Pétain did not go to Berlin to cash a sum of money and he was not caught with a load of dynamite in the vaults of the French Parliament. The story is a complex one and there is need of an energetic hand to pick up all the threads. Moreover, the crime of high treason is perhaps more narrowly defined in French law than in English law. At any rate, in the unprecedented circumstances of 1940, high treason took a form of which no French legislator had ever dreamed. For that reason, the task which devolves upon the public prosecutor, an onerous one anyhow, calls for great legal ingenuity. The prosecutor must translate into the terms of an out-of-date penal code Pétain's numberless faults of omission and commission which, but for the resistance of England, for the mighty intervention of Russia and the United States of America, would have led to the final subjugation of France.

To succeed in that endeavor, an intimate knowledge of the political happenings in France and in Europe during the last ten years is needed. I can hardly bring myself to believe that Public Prosecutor André Mornet lays any claim to this knowledge. His selection of witnesses, his haphazard way of cross-examining them, the free rein left for so many irrelevant speeches feed a suspicion that he does not know for sure what he is seeking to prove and to disprove. He is casting his net right and left in the hope that somehow he will make a catch. "Justice is a fight," a French philosopher once wrote. Prosecutor Mornet has not properly planned his action. Mornet, as a prosecutor, shone on that level of treasonable offenses associated with the name of Mata-Hari, the Javanese dancing girl. But in a discussion which bears fundamentally on the implications of perhaps the greatest political drama of all time M. Mornet is out of his depth. And for that matter, the same remark may apply to Presiding Judge Mongibeaux.

From the start, Mornet's business was to discover the line of advance along which the prosecution could turn, with a minimum effort, the obstacles interposed by the defense. It is in relation to the fate of the French fleet in June, 1940, that the deadly responsibilities of Pétain can probably be put in the strongest possible relief. That in June, 1940, the French army could not continue to battle on metropolitan soil, nobody ever denied. That to go on with the war in North Africa was a doubtful venture may be argued not very convincingly but perhaps with a veneer of plausibility. However, for not ordering the French fleet, a considerable force, to join the British fleet, even before the request for an armistice was forwarded to Berlin via Madrid, what sort of excuse can be found? None whatever, except the terrible delusion that by imperiling England and the cause of freedom all over the world a strong bid could be made for the favor of Hitler and that Hitler's favor might redeem France out of the abyss. Today we are aware that the fate of the civilized world hung in 1940-1941 on the narrow margin of a few cruisers. Pétain created the terrible odds which British naval power had to face.

An explanation of his obstinate refusal to part with the fleet before the armistice is only to be found in the stupid belief that the French state, once an alliance with Hitler had been cemented, could be rebuilt on the foundations of the old monarchy. The officials who saw Pétain at close quarters, in the summer and the autumn of 1940, bear witness to his deep sense of contentment and gratification. This certainty was his—that he would go down to posterity as the successful reformer of the French state, as the exorcist who had driven out of French hearts the revolutionary spirit. When Paul Baudouin told him, one fine morning, that the Duc de Guise, the head of the house of Bourbon-Orleans, was dead, he exclaimed: "Then, it will fall to the Count of Paris to succeed me."

Such are the central facts in the record of Pétain. All other charges must be held additional to that count. To outward appearances, Mornet does not grasp it firmly enough.

All pleas for Pétain necessarily revolve on two main themes. In the first place, Laval was the evil genius of his regime and many objectionable steps with which Pétain is reproached must be ascribed to Laval. Then, on the whole, the policy of Pétain was dictated by the necessity to convince the Germans that he was on their side. In short, the defense of Pétain is that he played a double game, that he longed, through it all, for an American if not for a British victory. To refute that argument does not call for superhuman exertions. But, here again, no prosecutor can cut any ice unless he has solved for himself the psychological problem of Pétain. Mornet, so far, has not given any hint that he understands the terms of that problem.

In the Pétain-Laval marriage, Laval was the male and Pétain was the female. Pétain came to hate Laval as early as the summer of 1940, but, had not Laval held all government controls, Pétain's rule would never had been set up. This must be added: but for the moral indorsement he got from Pétain as early as the spring of 1934, Laval would never have had a chance to assert his power. Following on the dismissal of Laval (December 13, 1940) did the policy of collaboration with Germany show any change? Hardly. From Vichy officials who seem to have retained some independence of judgment we hear that Darlan, with the unstinted support of Pétain, proved as daring as his predecessor. As to Pétain's supposedly concealed intention to prepare for an Anglo-American victory, the following point deserves to be stressed. All the defeated generals of 1940, all the supporters of the armistice and collaborationist policy, all the officials willingly or unwillingly harnessed to the Vichy dictatorship, all the men who had to swear loyalty to the head of the state or part with their livelihood, have no choice today but to proclaim loudly that Pétain, behind the screen of his official deeds and words, behaved as an artisan of Allied victory. They must stand by that thesis or implicitly confess that they stood for a Nazified Europe and be shamed.

To rebut their interpretation of the working of Pétain's mind, many witnesses are available. To this day, Mornet has failed to bring them in. To my direct knowledge, a French ambassador in active service had an opportunity to ascertain the whole outlook of Pétain in the winter of 1940. The old fellow was convinced that Germany could not fail to win the war. Speaking of the appointment of Admiral Leahy to the American embassy in Vichy, Pétain said: "I see very well where President Roosevelt intends to lead me. He will not make me swerve an inch from my policy." When Gaston Henry-Haye, Pétain's Ambassador to the United States, arrived in New York in the autumn of 1940, his first words to Jacques Truelle, the French Chargé d'Affaires who received him at the LaGuardia airfield, were: "It is high time for the Americans to understand that France and England took the initiative in attacking Germany." Henry-Haye, a servile man, carried out, in his clumsy manner, the instructions received from Pétain two or three days before. What did such words mean if not that German victory had to be wholeheartedly accepted?

The logical process is inexorable. Pétain took the German triumph for granted. He therefore followed a course which was bound to draw upon him the reprisals of French patriots if the Allies, in the end, had the better of the fight. Consequently, at the bottom of his heart, he could not but dread a reversal of Hitler's military fortune: everything points to that cerebral itinerary of Pétain. For lack of space, I leave aside the North African episode in November, 1942. But this can be said. The military leader who was closeted with Darlan in the fateful hours and days when Darlan reached his great decision has heard of some cryptic messages sent to the Admiral by naval officers in Vichy, in which the men who wanted to join hands with the Americans could read some halting encouragement. But that military leader does not say that those cryptic messages reflected the personal attitude of Pétain. And certain strange moves made by Darlan give food for thought. Why was that confidant of Darlan left outside the trial? Mornet is baffled at every turn by the tangled skein.

The other day, Laval, banking on the ignorance of the judges and the public, boasted of having concluded a military treaty with Mussolini in 1935. Military treaty there was none, but a military protocol was indeed offered to Laval by Mussolini for the definite purpose of enlisting Laval's and Gamelin's good-will and assistance on the eve of the aggression against Ethiopia. Nothing could come of that protocol anyhow, as long as Italo-Yugoslav problems had not been solved, and Mussolini did not want those problems to be solved until Prince Regent Paul had renounced the friendship of France. Mornet had never heard of the incident. He did not rebuke Laval. This is one example among many.

Because of the helplessness of the prosecutor, the Prime Ministers of the 1936-1940 period, Léon Blum, Edouard Daladier, and Paul Reynaud figured in the proceedings more prominently than was fitting and desirable. Against Pétain they became the protagonists of the prosecution. Of Léon Blum it can only be said that he behaved as he always does—with a deep sense of his own dignity, with perfect reverence for truth. But Daladier and Reynaud had axes to grind. Reynaud, particularly, made the most of the opportunity at hand. His preoccupation was not to enlighten judges and jury about Pétain but to explain away his own grievous failings in 1940. With Reynaud on the stand the trial became a wrangle between France's gravediggers. The account given by Reynaud of his appointment to the Washington embassy in June, 1940, sets very low the degree of credence he deserves to be given.

As the result of those loosely conducted procedings, the guilt of Pétain may remain a controversial issue for an active minority. It was not to be expected that this active minority would ever disarm. But, however flimsy the ammunition to be gathered in the trial for use against the French Republic of tomorrow, even this slender advantage ought to have been denied to the disciples of Charles Maurras (who packed the court on the first day) and to the zealots of social conservation.

When H. G. Wells Split the Atom

A 1914 Preview of 1945

OF COURSE it was H. G. Wells who first perfected the atomic bomb and put it to work. And not only did he put it to work, demolishing most of the world's capital cities and destroying governments, but then he got busy and built an entirely new society. In less time than you can imagine after the last bomb fell, everybody was settling down nicely in a global socialist community under a World Republic; atomic energy, internationally controlled, was performing all the necessary jobs of production, transportation, heating, and such, and the creative energies of mankind were being applied to higher things. In 1914, when "The World Set Free" * was published and no bombs of any sort had been dropped it all sounded fantastic and even funny.

Mr. Wells's first atomic bomb dropped during the final war between the Allies and the Central European powers. Hostilities started, dramatically enough, with an air attack on the headquarters in Paris of the Allied High Command. It demolished the War Control Board, and you might have thought that would have put an end to the fighting. But not at all. What it did was to encourage the "rather brutish young aviator with the bullet head," who was in charge of the French special scientific corps, to go ahead and run the war the way he wanted to. He was pleased to have the War Control out of the way.

> He slapped his second-in-command on the shoulder. "Now," he said, "there's nothing on earth to stop us going to Berlin and giving them tit-for-tat. . . . Strategy and reasons of state—they're over. . . . Come along, my boy, and we'll just show these old women what we can do when they let us have our heads." . . . He looked at the sky and noted with satisfaction a heavy bank of clouds athwart the pallid east.
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> He was a young man of infinite shrewdness, and his material and airplanes were scattered all over the countryside, stuck away in barns, covered with hay, hidden in woods. . . . But that night he only wanted one of the machines, and it was handy and quite prepared under a tarpaulin between two ricks not a couple of miles away; he was going to Berlin with that and just one other man. . . . He had in his hands the black complement to all those other gifts science was urging upon unregenerate mankind, the gift of destruction, and he was an adventurous rather than a sympathetic type. . . .

Presently the airplane, which was a model far in advance of those recently sent over Japan for it had a noiseless atomic engine, flew across Westphalia and Saxony toward Berlin. The young aviator was at the controls. His face "had something of that firm beauty which all concentrated purpose gives, and something of the happiness of an idiot child that has at last got hold of the matches."

> His companion, a less imaginative type, sat with his legs spread wide over the long, coffin-shaped box which contained in its compartments the three atomic bombs, the new bombs that would continue to explode indefinitely and which no one so far had ever seen in action. Hitherto carolinum, their essential substance, had been tested only in almost infinitesimal quantities within steel chambers imbedded in lead.

It wasn't until he had passed Potsdam and was approaching the palace and the government buildings that he was attacked by a German plane which "slanted down like a sword swung by a lazy man" and then began to shoot. The French plane had no bomb-sight, it seems, but the pilot was flying low enough to see his objectives. The bombardier was ready.

> The gaunt face hardened to grimness, and with both hands [he] lifted the big atomic bomb from the box and steadied it against the side. It was a black sphere, two feet in diameter. Between its handles was a little celluloid stud, and to this he bent his head until his lips touched it. . . . Very quickly he bent forward, bit the stud, and hoisted the bomb over the side.
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> The bomb flashed blinding scarlet in mid-air and fell, a descending column of blaze eddying spirally in the midst of a whirlwind. Both the airplanes were tossed like shuttlecocks, hurled high and sideways; and the steersman . . . fought in great banking curves for a balance. . . . When he could look down again it was like looking down upon the crater of a small volcano. In the open garden before the Imperial castle a shuddering star of evil splendor spurted and poured up smoke and flame toward them like an accusation. . . . Suddenly the façade tottered and crumbled before the flare as sugar dissolves in water. The man stared for a moment . . . hoisted out another bomb and sent it down after its fellow. . . . Then that bomb had exploded, and steersman, thrower, and airplane were just flying rags and splinters of metal and drops of moisture in the air, and a third column of fire rushed eddying down upon the doomed buildings below. . . .

Now the mechanism of Wells's bomb may sound a little primitive, but its action was more advanced than that of the bomb that wiped out Hiroshima—for it operated on the principle of continuing explosion. We won't try to explain it to you here; it is enough to say that the radio-activity of the bombs dropped on Berlin was "never entirely exhausted," so that for years afterward "the battlefields and bomb-fields of that frantic time" were "sprinkled with radiant matter and so centers of inconvenient rays."

Perhaps it should be mentioned that Mr. Wells's book, although written in 1914, chronicled a war that took place about forty years later, in the words of a man living in the World Republic that was established after the peace. We wouldn't want our readers to get their dates mixed up. Because we now present that man's backward glance at the social and political impact of the first atomic bombs.

> Certainly it seems now that nothing could have been more obvious to the people of the early twentieth century

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* Published by E. P. Dutton and Co.

> than the rapidity with which war was becoming impossible. And as certainly they did not see it. They did not see it until the atomic bombs burst in their fumbling hands. Yet the broad facts must have glared upon any intelligent mind. All through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the amount of energy that men were able to command was continually increasing. Applied to warfare, that meant that the power to inflict a blow, the power to destroy, was continually increasing. There was no increase whatever in the ability to escape. Every sort of passive defense . . . was being outmastered by this tremendous increase on the destructive side. Destruction was becoming so facile that any little body of malcontents could use it; it was revolutionizing the problems of police and internal rule. . . . These facts were before the minds of everybody; the children in the street knew them. And yet the world still, as the Americans used to phrase it, "fooled around" with the paraphernalia and pretensions of war.
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> It is only by realizing this profound, this fantastic divorce between the scientific and intellectual movement on the one hand and the world of the lawyer-politician on the other that the men of a later time can hope to understand this preposterous state of affairs. Social organization was still in the barbaric stage. . . . The community as a whole was aimless, untrained, and unorganized to the pitch of imbecility. Collective civilization, the "modern state," was still in the womb of the future.

But even the atomic bomb did not immediately wake people up. The great war went on. One of Mr. Wells's lesser heroes was fighting in Holland when the Central Europeans dropped atomic bombs on the dikes. He describes in his diary the thunder, the flaring trail in the night sky, the tremendous pillars of fire, the roaring wind. Then the awful moment when he knew the dikes were gone and the sea was coming in. (He and his men barely escaped destruction in their landing barges.) The catastrophe wiped out most of the population and most of the invading armies. His barge made a "strange overland voyage among trees and houses and churches by Zaandam and between Haarlem and Amsterdam to Leiden."

> "I do not think any of us felt we belonged to a defeated army, nor had we any strong sense of the war as the dominating fact about us. Our mental setting had far more of the effect of a huge natural catastrophe. The atomic bomb had dwarfed the international issues to complete insignificance. When our minds wandered from the preoccupations of our immediate needs, we speculated upon the possibility of stopping the use of these frightful explosives before the world was utterly destroyed. For to us it seemed quite plain that these bombs and the still greater power of destruction of which they were the precursors might quite easily shatter every relationship and institution of mankind."

Just as men are thinking and saying today. But then the bombs kept falling and war went on interminably, it seemed, until eventually, on a mountainside overlooking Lake Maggiore, "away from burning cities and starving multitudes," there gathered "the conference of rulers that was to arrest, if possible, before it was too late, the debacle of civilization."

They did it too, though not without dispute, and conflicts of interest, and the final, climactic danger that they might all be blown to eternity, along with their plans, by the cunning King of the Balkans, known as the Slavic Fox, who had a few atomic bombs secreted near the meeting place. They did it because they dared not do otherwise. Some of them wanted a limited form of international control, a sort of United Nations Charter. But this, of course, was nonsense, as young King Egbert pointed out. "There's got to be one single government for the whole world," said the King over his shoulder to his adviser, Firmin, who had taught politics at the London School of Sociology, Economics, and Political Science. Firmin protested.

> "Yesterday," said the King by way of explanation, "the Japanese very nearly got San Francisco."
>
> "I hadn't heard, sir."
>
> "The Americans ran the Japanese airplane down into the sea, and there the bomb got busted."
>
> "Under the sea, sir?"
>
> "Yes. Submarine volcano. The steam is in sight of the California coast. It was as near as that. And with things like this happening, you want me to go up this hill and haggle. . . ."

Enthusiasm gripped the conference as the meetings went on. King Egbert's youthful optimism spread among the older statesmen (there was no Big Three). They set up a World Government, which, for the moment, was themselves; they took over all the plants and materials for the production of atomic explosives (nobody even suggested separate control when the obvious price was cosmic disaster); and then they set to work to plan the administration of the world. There was little disposition to argue; too much needed to be done too fast. Mr. Wells describes "the condition of mankind at the close of the period of warring states, in the year of crisis that followed the release of atomic power." The huge, overcrowded cities which, "under the shock of the atomic bombs," had been emptied largely of their population so that masses of people were "dispossessed and scattered disastrously over the surrounding areas." The countryside "disordered by a multitude of wandering and lawless strangers." Hunger. Disease. Large areas of China "a prey to brigand bands." And huge danger zones, in which fires burned and explosions continued.

Obviously the new government had to "act greatly." "From the first they had to see the round globe as one problem"—one world. Nothing could be done on a small scale or country by country.

Of course all this meant socialism, although the Council had been predisposed to reconstitute the system that prevailed before the coming of atomic energy. They soon realized that capitalism had been rendered obsolete by the character of the disaster as well as by the onset of limitless energy. A new society and a whole new concept of man's place in the world became inevitable.

> Once the world was released from the hardening insecurities of a needless struggle for life that was collectively planless and individually absorbing, it became apparent that there was in the vast mass of people a long-smothered passion to make things. . . . The majority of our population consists of artists and the bulk of activity in the world lies no longer with necessities but with their elaboration, decoration, and refinement. . . . Property was never more

than a means to an end, nor avarice more than a perversion.

Karenin, the dying Russian sage, described very well the period through which the world had passed and the role the atomic bomb had played in setting it free.

> "Our age," he said, "has been so far an age of scene-shifting. We have been preparing a stage, clearing away the setting of a drama that was played out and growing tiresome. . . . If I could but sit out the first few scenes of the new spectacle. . . .
>
> "How encumbered the world had become! It was ailing with a growth of unmeaning things. It was entangled, feverish, confused. It was in sore need of release, and I suppose that nothing less than the violence of those bombs could have released it and made it a healthy world again. I suppose they were necessary. . . . We've had unity and collectivism blasted into our brains. . . .
>
> "You know, I've got a fancy—it is hard to prove such things—that civilization was very near disaster when the atomic bombs came banging into it, that if there had been no Holsten and no induced radio-activity, the world would have—smashed—much as it did. Only instead of its being a smash that opened a way to better things, it might have been a smash without a recovery."

F. K.

Progress in Yugoslavia

BY HAL LEHRMAN

[*Mr. Lehrman,* The Nation's *correspondent in the Mediterranean area, has worked for the Associated Press, Havas, and the OWI.*]

Belgrade, August 9 (*By cable*)

THE men who created Partisan Yugoslavia are engaged on their most constructive work since the liberation of Belgrade. Up to the time of this writing, Marshal Tito has delivered two major addresses which have locked the door on the royal house of Karageorgevich and reorientated Yugoslav foreign policy in the direction of speedy national rehabilitation with aid from the Allies and from reparations. A wide amnesty and reprieve for all those who were led by compulsion or confusion to work for the enemy during the occupation has already opened many jails—six hundred prisoners were released yesterday from the Kragujevats internment camp alone—and relieved many thousands more from the threat of arrest by the OZNA, the secret police agency which quaintly decodes itself into "Department for the Protection of People." The abolition of censorship of outgoing dispatches has given startling proof of the regime's growing self-confidence and makes Yugoslavia—which claims never to have rejected a single application for entry—the one country in Central and Eastern Europe where foreign correspondents are restrained only by discretion and professional integrity.

The separate National Liberation fronts in the six federal states have been welded into a united People's Front modeled on the central Belgrade government's federative relationship to the autonomous governments of Yugoslavia's distinct nationalities. The new over-all party adopted a charter of principles infused with a spirit of unity among the Yugoslav peoples, and with a program of Balkan peace, democratic republicanism, and far-reaching social welfare.

AVNOJ—the Anti-Fascist Emergency Parliament—which developed out of the resistance committee in the early days of the occupation, has made room for new deputies from groups outside the People's Front in line with the Yalta agreement providing for full democracy. The AVNOJ is now sitting to consider bills for agrarian reform, suffrage, freedom of the courts, of the press, and of public meeting, and the mechanism for the October election of a Constituent Assembly which will write AVNOJ out of existence by devising a constitutional government.

Some of the AVNOJ projects are still in the form of preliminary drafts and have not yet been approved by the Cabinet, let alone Parliament. No authoritative data on the bills concerning the courts and public meetings is available, for example. Enough has been divulged by cautious officials, however, to permit the following preview of the most important impending and epochal legislation:

Suffrage. Both sexes, eighteen years of age and over, will have the right to vote as well as soldiers and ex-guerrillas under eighteen. (There is a sub-lieutenant, aged thirteen, walking around Belgrade with a revolver and gold stripes; he used to crawl through the German lines carrying dispatches.) Members of the reactionary cabinets between the 1929 Zivkovich and the 1939 Cvetkovich governments will not vote, with the exception of those who fought against the occupation. Barred also are collaborators with the Germans or Chetniks, and political or criminal fascists and their families unless the latter can prove anti-fascist activity. The extent to which this week's amnesty will affect the political rights of the reprieved in borderline cases has not yet been clarified.

Electoral procedure. The parties inside or outside the dominant People's Front will be able to put up lists of candidates in any department if they obtain merely 150 petitions from half of the constituencies within it. Departments range in population up to 400,000, with a parliamentary seat for each 40,000. Secrecy of elections is assured: ballot tokens are concealed by hand and dropped into one of a series of ballot boxes. This technique, invented for a largely illiterate peasantry, was scrapped by the dictatorship during the controlled elections of 1931, 1935, and 1939, when balloting was open. The methods of voting and of legalizing candidacy lists were the most crucial points in the recent Cabinet discussions. Persistent but unconfirmed reports said that the moderate members even considered resigning rather than yield to the Communist pressure for a less secret voting system and for a requirement that parties must secure petitions on a nation-wide basis, which would have shut out numerous strictly regional parties.

Agrarian reform. The large estates will be expropriated without compensation, also church and monastery lands. The latter will be left five hectares each except in the case of monasteries of historic value, which will retain twenty hectares. (A hectare is a little less than two and a half acres.) The maximum limit of landholdings per person is unspecified, but it is known that the so-called middle peasant with medium properties above the maximum will be compensated for the section expropriated.

The most momentous single development of the week is the unequivocal position taken by Tito and the all-powerful People's Front coalition against the return of the monarchy. Marshal Tito's denunciation of Peter for complicity with the Chetniks has finished the Subasich truce which suspended discussion of the regime until a plebiscite could be held. Speaker after speaker in the later sessions of the Front congress and AVNOJ hammered more nails into the royal coffin. The press campaign is wide open. The leading Communist organ, *Borba,* even linked Peter's name with the current trial of twenty-five Mihailovich followers here which has aroused the entire country with the details of large-scale massacres by the Chetniks and their chief's betrayal of Yugoslavia to the Axis.

It is now disclosed that there will be no separate plebiscite on the issue of monarchy versus republic. The voters will indicate their choice by the selection of deputies to the Constituent Assembly. The verdict is easy to predict—and Peter's cashiering of the regency shows that he, too, can read the handwriting on the wall.

The major emphasis of this historic week has been on internal reconstruction, but Yugoslavia's determination to reconstruct beyond its frontiers as well has not been hidden. The newspapers continue to be filled with complaints about the treatment of Yugoslavs and anti-fascists in Trieste, Carinthia, and other irredenta under Allied occupation. Vice-Premier Edvard Kardselj told the Front's congress, amid ecstatic cheering, "We do not want anything belonging to others but we will not renounce what belongs to us." The Macedonian leader, Dmitar Vlahov, charged the Greek government with a deliberate drive to exterminate his compatriots in "Aegean" Macedonia and demanded "adequate measures to stop these criminal acts once and for all." The President of the AVNOJ, Ivan Ribar, spoke of the nation's hope that "in the new democratic federative Yugoslavia, all our territories will be united with us and the possibility of enslavement will be ended for those regions we rightfully desire."

Tito himself, after paying tribute for the first time to the "Anglo-American fliers who, in greatest danger, supplied our fighters with materials and food," expressed confidence that "the suffering and sacrifices and contribution of the Yugoslav peoples to the Allied cause are so incontestable that our legitimate claims will not be disputed at the peace conference."

The Marshal, however, gave a significant turn to this policy by linking losses and aspirations in a new formula. Taking sixty-one billion dinars as the measure of Yugoslavia's war damage, he revealed his intention of presenting a bill for extensive reparations for the consideration of the Allies. His demands include transportation from Germany of "entire factories necessary for the rehabilitation of our country." As for the Italians, the Marshal thundered, they, like the Germans, have not yet paid a dinar of compensation; nevertheless "reactionary elements in Italy today are transforming themselves from accused into accusers and slanderers of our peoples. The tens of thousands of our slaughtered can never be compensated for, but the burned villages, the destroyed towns, and everything which has been stolen must be compensated for at the expense of these reactionaries. It is a matter for the Italian people to decide."

In the Wind

GET TOGETHER, BOYS: Charles W. Kellogg, president of the Edison Electric Institute, told the New York *Times* on August 8 that atomic energy would have little effect on the electric light and power industry, since its fuel costs were relatively small anyhow, and intimated that prices would not be materially reduced. In the same story an unidentified "representative of the electric companies" was quoted as asking, "What's the use of the government embarking on further expensive hydro-electric projects when the future of power production is about to be revolutionized?"

P. T. WONG, an American of Chinese descent and a veteran of World War II, recently tried to buy a laundry at 3325 Geary Boulevard, San Francisco. He met the requirements of the City Health Department for operating a laundry, and Dr. J. C. Geiger, Health Officer, granted him a permit. But the purchase was never made, because the Geary Boulevard Merchants Association and the Park-Presidio Improvement Club protested. The secretary of the Club said it had "tried to keep this a nice district," and added, "What's Geiger trying to do, anyway?" The secretary's name is C. E. Rankin.

A WASHINGTON FIRM of speech-writers sends us a catalogue of its wares. It features two "Special Political Addresses: 1550—Anti-New Deal—A sizzling appraisal of the New Deal; facts, humor, sarcasm. Over 3,000 words. $3. 1551—Pro-New Deal—The other side of the question. Answer to the critics. Campaign thunder and lightning that really strikes. $3. Both addresses for $5."

"READERS OF the Chicago *Tribune* are best informed about events in Washington and thruout the world," says the Chicago *Tribune,* "because they read the dispatches of seasoned correspondents who know how to get at the real facts of the news and who write from the American viewpoint."

THIS IS FROM the June issue of the *Improvement Era,* an official publication of the Mormon Church: "When our leaders speak, the thing has been done. When they propose a plan—it is God's plan. When they point the way, there is no other which is safe. When they give direction, it should mark the end of controversy. God works in no other way."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

AS *THE NATION* POINTED OUT two weeks ago, in discussing the trial of Pétain, the civil war which has been going on in France for the past decade or more is still in progress and is moving into its decisive phase. One of its most vivid manifestations is the debate about the purge—a debate which began with liberation and has been refueled by the Pétain trial. Everyone agrees that proved traitors should be executed. The important question is whether those whose behavior, before and during the occupation, contributed to the fall of France should be held to strict account or forgiven in the name of unity and reconciliation. François Mauriac, who writes in *Figaro,* has been a leading exponent of the thesis that "we are all guilty" and that the divisions within France, between men and parties, should be dissolved in the crucible of Christian charity. His comment on the Pétain trial, reported at length in the New York *Times,* was merely a restatement of his position.

Christian charity, reconciliation, unity are beautiful concepts and they make good copy. The appeal to these abstract sentiments, however, is also a well-known device for confusing issues and warding off unwelcome decisions. Mauriac is a spokesman for the Catholic Church, which maintained a "charitable" attitude toward fascism until it became a menace to the church itself but is now busily proving that it always abhorred fascism. That being so, one has the right to wonder if his eloquent appeal is not, in part at least, an attempt to counter and confuse the popular demand for a clear decision against the old order in France of which the church was both stay and beneficiary.

A correspondent who thinks it is just that has been kind enough to send me a copy of an article by Mauriac, The Year of Reconciliation, which presents his thesis, along with a copy of a reply to that thesis by Albert Camus which appeared in *Combat,* one of the resistance papers. The two articles appeared last January but they are still relevant, for the great debate is still going on and the future health of France depends upon the way in which it is resolved. A few excerpts from Mauriac's article are sufficient to give its point, for it is not only eloquent but vague and long-winded.

> I do not wish to write a single word here [he says] which might add to the heat of passion.... But let us realize this: never did the words of the Gospel, "He that is without sin among you, let him cast the first stone"—never did they seem more timely than today.... Have you never at any moment, at least in a certain measure, committed the fault with which you reproach your adversaries? Has ideological passion never spoken more strongly in you than the interest of France, has the defense of the nation never been subordinated to your political partisanship?... Each of us can find in his past enough errors to be able to understand a graver error on the part of others, and to forgive them when the time comes.... May this year of victorious peace carry another name in history and remain forever in the memory of our sons the blessed year of reconciliation.

Camus is not tempted by this elegant invitation to hit the sawdust trail. I quote his reply at length, for several reasons: it seems to me excellent and right; his view, as my correspondent says, is "far more representative of the young, poised, and exacting France of the resistance"; and this view has had very little press in this country.

Camus asserts that he would not have replied to Mauriac if he had not felt that "this discussion, of which the subject is our very life," was beginning to turn into confusion. Then he continues:

> Each time, apropos of the purge, I have spoken of justice, M. Mauriac has spoken of charity.... We are of those who reject both the cries of hatred reaching us from one side and the tearful entreaties rising from the other. We seek that just voice which will give us truth without shame. ... For this we do not need to be clear about everything; we need only to *want* clarity with that fervor of heart and intellect without which neither M. Mauriac nor ourselves can accomplish any good.
>
> That is why I can say that charity has no relevance here. ... M. Mauriac does not wish to add to the store of hatred, and I willingly follow him in that. For my part I do not wish any increase of error, and on this point I await *his* approval. In sum, I wait for him to say openly that there is today a necessary justice.... I see two roads to death for our country (and there are manners of survival that are no better than death). These two roads are those of hatred and pardon.... I shall openly grant pardon when the family of Velin, when the wife of Leynaud have told me that I may do so. But not before, never before....
>
> As a man, I might admire M. Mauriac for knowing how to love traitors, but as a citizen I should deplore him because this very love would bring upon us a nation of traitors and mediocrities and a society we no longer want.
>
> I believe I have a just conception of the grandeur of Christianity, but some of us in this persecuted world have the feeling that if Christ died for certain people, he did not die for us. And moreover, we refuse to despair of man. Without having any exaggerated ambition to save him, we hold at least to the idea of serving him.... On this point I may say to M. Mauriac that we shall not be discouraged and that to the last we shall reject a divine charity that would deprive men of the justice which is their due.

"While no mention of the Catholic Church is made either in Mauriac's article or in Camus's spirited reply," writes my correspondent, "it is, I venture to say, the attitude of the church which is at the burning heart of the question.... It will be interesting to see if the 'moral aspects of the purge' do not in the end reduce the *épuration* to a conflict between the Catholic and the non-Catholic elements in France, or even in Europe—and I am not forgetting De Gaulle as I write this. In fact I am waiting—with some trepidation—

for him to prove that political justice is not a question for the church to decide upon."

It may well be that the exchange between Mauriac and Camus should be subtitled The Trial of the Vatican, but the secular vaticans, economic and political, also have a stake in the moderation Mauriac pleads for. It will be interesting to see what verdict is contained in the French elections.

Albert Camus, by the way, is one of the two outstanding playwrights who have recently come to the fore in France, the other being Jean-Paul Sartre. *Horizon* for May contains a long and extremely interesting essay on these two writers whose plays "are the proof that in France the fourth wall of the theater is still, as it has always been, a triumphal arch of the mind."

OVERHEARD on one of New England's "best" beaches: "But my dear, couldn't the King just appoint Churchill again?"

Poets of Republican Spain

CONTEMPORARY SPANISH POETRY: SELECTIONS FROM TEN POETS. Translated by Eleanor L. Turnbull, with Spanish Originals; and Personal Reminiscences of the Poets, by Pedro Salinas. The Johns Hopkins Press. $3.50.

THE Spanish Republic had other poets besides García Lorca, and Miss Turnbull has performed a useful service in making selections of their work available to the English-reading public. Of the nine who have survived Lorca, only two, Gerardo Diego and Vicente Aleixandre, are today living—who knows on what terms?—in the land of their birth. Pedro Salinas and Jorge Guillén are teaching in the United States, the former at present on leave from Johns Hopkins at the University of Puerto Rico; José Moreno Villa, Emilio Prados, and Manuel Altolaguirre are in Mexico; Rafael Alberti is in Buenos Aires; Luis Cernuda is in England, teaching at Cambridge.

Each poet is represented by ten to twenty poems, in the original and in translation; each is given from twenty-five to fifty pages. Miss Turnbull's translations do not err on the side of ambition: she has eschewed rhyme, almost entirely; done little with assonance; followed the text closely, though sometimes transposing lines; in general, she has been content to convey the statement of the original, with not too much concern for the effects. The language in which the poems come out does not sound too translationish; one would recognize the originals for poetry, or sometimes rhetoric, rather than for prose.

The Lorca items momentarily excepted, the most interesting work in this anthology seems to be that of José Moreno Villa and Luis Cernuda. The space allowed Jorge Guillén, I think, might have been reduced; nor would I object to having Gerardo Diego eliminated altogether in favor, say, of Miguel Hernandez or José Herrera Petere. Miss Turnbull says that her choice of items has been conditioned largely by the ease with which poems lent themselves to English translation: has she not, perhaps, leaned rather heavily on Gerardo Diego's anthology as her primary source of material? It does not seem quite right that with so many of these poets living in exile, so few of the poems written during the Spanish war should be included. Luis Cernuda's beautiful Impression of Exile is about the only poem here that refers even to the aftermath of that anguish; yet most of the other poets contributed abundantly to the "Romancero General de la Guerra de España," published in Madrid and Valencia in 1937; and Alberti, Altolaguirre, Cernuda, Villa, and Prados are all found in "Poetas en La España Leal," published, likewise, in Madrid and Valencia in the same year. To represent Alberti without the Hymn to the International Brigades, or Madrid, Capital of Glory; to represent Villa without Madrid, Frente de Lucha or El Hombre del Momento; to omit all of Prados's balladry of the war—these seem like acts of injustice and distortion.

As for Lorca, Miss Turnbull, knowing that Lorca has been translated by a number of English and American poets, has deliberately refrained from reading any of those translations, "not wanting to be influenced by them in any way." This, I think, was a mistake; for of the eighteen Lorca items presented, only half a dozen short lyrics have not been previously published in English. However inadequate former translations may have been, there is still so much of Lorca untranslated that it seems a pity to repeat so many more or less familiar items, especially as some of them are not in themselves very important, and have attracted translators in the same way that Miss Turnbull has been attracted, by their ease of rendition. Of the Lament for the Death of Ignacio Sanchez Mejías Miss Turnbull presents only the first two sections.

The personal reminiscences of the poets, written by Pedro Salinas, are characterized by intimacy, affection, and sprightliness. The biographical notes include some summing up of poetical works by each author. ROLFE HUMPHRIES

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Old Lady Shows Her Medals

THE Bank of England is unique in many ways. No other financial institution combines its age, authority, resources, and influence. None has been more revered as a temple of the financial virtues; none more reviled for alleged economic machiavellianism. As the subject of a book, therefore, the Old Lady of Threadneedle Street has glamorous possibilities, but Sir John Clapham has written "The Bank of England—A History" (two volumes, Macmillan, $7.50) chiefly for his fellow economic historians. Having enjoyed access to the archives and account books of the Bank, he has produced a mine of information in which many other writers will quarry profitably. The general reader, however, will probably find the book hard going and its pages overladen with figures.

Nevertheless, this work is particularly welcome today when the Bank of England seems about to suffer a sea-change as a result of the rising tide of socialism in Britain. Indeed, one wonders whether the directors, when they asked Sir John to undertake this history in celebration of the Old Lady's two hundred and fiftieth birthday, were not moved by a desire to improve their public relations in anticipation of some such dangerous development. I do not wish to suggest, however, that there is any taint of propaganda about the book; the author is far too scrupulous a scholar for that. But he is also conservative in outlook and inevitably emphasizes the way in which the Bank, "broadening from precedent to precedent," has evolved from a somewhat speculative money-making venture into a semi-public institution, untrammelled by sordid motives.

It has, he says in his epilogue, finally moved into the position "of an organization functioning in close contact with those in political authority but not controlled by them continuously or in detail. . . . After two centuries and a half it was a non-competitive public institution with world-wide connections and influence, not eager for profit but anxious—in the adapted words of . . . the Declaration made by all its directors—'faithfully and honestly to demean itself according to the best of its skill and understanding' and to be 'indifferent and equal to all manner of persons.' "

In urging nationalization of the Bank, the Labor Party is unlikely to argue that its directors have been false to these ideals. The issue is not their integrity but the danger of concentration of financial power in the hands of a small body of men not representing the total interests of the community or directly responsible to it. Now that Britain can no longer afford an unplanned economy, its government must, of necessity, take over an organization which has the power to thwart its plans. KEITH HUTCHISON

The Fight for the Forests

CONSERVATION OF FORESTS and soil resources in America is no longer an academic matter. The TVA, our many soil conservation districts throughout the nation, and the work of the United States Forest Service have brought into actual operation the dynamic principle of river and forest restoration for multiple use, with human welfare as the ultimate object.

In "Behold Our Green Mansions" (Chapel Hill, $4) Richard Boerker has written an authoritative and up-to-date book on the state of our forests throughout the country, and he has also outlined the fascinating story of the growth of forest conservation from its early beginnings. The author has served with the United States Forest Service for many years, has written extensively, and is a teacher. His book is the result of a long and valuable experience. It is beautifully made, thoroughly documented, and filled with fine photographs.

Unfortunately, "Behold Our Green Mansions" is not written in a style which will have great popular appeal, and this is a pity. Moreover, the last chapter, which should have brought together the author's really valuable information and sound arguments and arrived at some conclusions, tends to leave the reader confused. At one point, for instance, he makes an excellent case for government ownership for at least 60 per cent of commercial forest land, and implies that private ownership in this sphere has failed, and is likely to continue to fail, to meet national requirements for timber products. A little farther on he comes out strongly for public regulation of private forest management, which seems to imply that he believes that there is a large place for private forest ownership. And the last section indicates that the privately-owned forest industries are doing an excellent job and can be depended upon to take care of the whole situation, and that all the the government need do is provide a little fire protection. If this means that he has here swallowed, hook, line, and sinker, the propaganda of the forest products industries which is directed against public ownership and regulation, it is out of keeping with the general character of the book. "Behold Our Green Mansions" is, on the whole, a reliable and valuable addition to our literature on American forestry and its importance to American citizens. If it is at times undecisive on a matter of public policy, it is definitely convincing as to the need for public understanding of this important problem. P. ALSTON WARING

Moronic Revelations

FILIPPO BOJANO, author of "In the Wake of the Goosestep" (Ziff-Davis, $2.50), is an Italian journalist who worked for Mussolini's *Popolo d'Italia* and the Agencia Stefani from 1926 to the bitter end. His book promises "to reveal the inside story of the most infamous partnership the world has ever known." Signor Bojano was close to the leading figures of this partnership. As correspondent in Berlin he was honored by the mission to write special reports for the Duce himself; he travelled with Hitler and Ciano on official journeys. Nevertheless, he reports nothing new in his so-called revelations. The little incidents in his personal career, the loss of his job in Berlin, seem to have been Signor Bojano's most exciting experiences in those tremendous years. "In the Wake of the Goosestep," at best, "reveals" the inferiority of those writers who, like Signor Bojano, were used by the Fascist leaders for important duties. JOSEPH BORNSTEIN

Russia: An Optimist's View

IT IS GOOD to see Edgar Snow's calm opinions about Soviet Russia attaining wide circulation, especially after snap-judgments such as W. L. White's. "The Pattern of Soviet Power" (Random House, $2.75) is based on a series of articles written for the *Saturday Evening Post*. Mr. Snow is explaining Russia to Americans in a simple and convincing way, rather than attempting any profound new analysis of what makes the U. S. S. R. click.

Admittedly, Mr. Snow is an optimist about Russia on nearly every count; he is not, however, a supine flatterer, being a conscientious newspaperman of long experience in Russia and the Orient. He believes that Russia wants stability, not revolution, in neighboring countries. The presence of the Red Army has set free the Communist forces in Rumania, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Yugoslavia; but in his opinion the Communists have "behaved cautiously" and "contented themselves with fewer positions of power than the real relation of forces might justify." This particular optimism may seem a bit strong in view of the way Russia has sealed off eastern European states from world observation.

In ten or fifteen years, Mr. Snow thinks, Russia may attain the world's highest mass living standard outside the United States. Although still suspicious of capitalistic Europe, Russia has, he believes, no militaristic or aggressive designs. And when the Soviet Union becomes prosperous and feels wholly secure from outside peril, "it may become possible for the

Russian people to enjoy the freedoms of political democracy . . . side by side with the Soviet system of economy."

MARCUS DUFFIELD

Four-Dimensional Planning

ONE OF THE BEST BALANCED STUDIES I know on the protean subject of city planning is Henry S. Churchill's new book, "The City Is the People" (Reynal and Hitchcock, $3.) The volume takes up Antecedents, Precedents (a distinction with a difference), Approach, Problems, Efforts, and Trends, a program which ought to satisfy the most exacting. The author is not an Ayn Rand Superman, but a practical architect with culture and no crotchet.

It would be easy enough to pick flaws in the historical part. Churchill takes the conventional view of Napoleon III: "a despot and a fool." But the reconstruction of Paris—a grand achievement, in spite of all flaws—was the Emperor's idea; the plan was drawn by him. He picked out Haussmann as a very efficient instrument.

Churchill is no angry prophet of social righteouness. But he believes firmly that society as a whole is responsible for the chaos of our cities, and that society should bear the cost of clearing up the mess. What with the extreme division of property and inflated land values, it is exceedingly difficult for private initiative to correct the crying evils. Even large-scale operations like Stuyvesant Town, if subjected to the necessity of definite returns, will fall far short of the goal: a grand opportunity missed, and a deplorable example. Churchill would have the cities clear up the blighted core, and keep control of the land: not "communism," but inevitable "collectivism" where rugged individualism has signally failed. Our first concern should be for men, not for property: "The City is the People." The illustrations are extremely varied, from El Greco's Toledo to Churchill's own plan for Acquackanonk Village. I wish I could discuss at length Churchill's conception of four-dimensional planning. There is a fifth dimension, Money, and it should be kept in proper perspective.

ALBERT GUERARD

Northwest Recaptured

JAMES GRAY, literary editor of the St. Paul *Dispatch* and author of "Pine, Stream, and Prairie: Wisconsin and Minnesota in Profile" (Knopf, $3.50), is not a tiresome regionalist. He does not insist too much on a locality, as do the professional Southerners, nor does he subject us to the blasts of a Hamlin Garland or a Sinclair Lewis. And yet he never provides fodder for a business man's banquet. Instead, he thoughtfully summarizes a one-hundred-year record, seldom scanting either failures or accomplishments, and thus convinces the reader that he has seen his community whole while preserving his attachment to it.

But the balance of his approach is fortified by his literary competence. While devoting at least nine of his twenty-four chapters to resources and population waves and the habitat of "Sky-blue Water," and five more to such topics as vacationing, the local arts, and colleges, he never does so in the road-map style of the usual tourist book. He is the capable newspaperman with an assignment, and he fulfils it. But Mr. Gray surpasses this level in his ablest chapters—notably on such agrarian leaders as Ignatius Donnelly, the first and honorable Charles A. Lindbergh, and that magnificent lion from Wisconsin, Robert M. La Follette, Sr.—and again in his treatment of such thinkers as the late Thorstein Veblen and Frederick J. Turner, and the architect Frank Lloyd Wright. And he certainly etches the profiles of the major cities. He might have discussed Superior, Wisconsin, that blighted ore port at the head of the Lakes. He could well have included such figures as Thomas Boyd, Angna Enters, and Georgia O'Keeffe, all natives of the region he describes. Yet the general picture stands—this undoubtedly because its truth and shapeliness are supported by the long-standing pledge of this modest writer to his community.

JEROME MELLQUIST

"Chin Music"

AMONG THEIR OWN KIND cowboys are seldom "hogtied when it comes to makin' chin music." Ramon F. Adams, a business man who has made the study of the folklore and history of the cattle country a lifelong hobby, has written an unusual and delightful book—"Western Words: A Dictionary of the Range, Cow Camp, and Trail" (University of Oklahoma Press, $3). Writers, semanticists, and scholars will find this book invaluable. The general reader will find it fascinating. Mr. Adams gives the meaning—and often the derivation and pronunciation—of thousands of words and phrases ranging from "ace in the hole" to "zorrillas." The author demonstrates scholarship, wide familiarity with the men of whom he writes, and a sense of humor.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

FRANCK'S Prelude, Chorale, and Fugue for piano is one of his best works, though not without certain of the characteristics that one dislikes in other works. The Prelude and Chorale are very beautiful; it is the Fugue that begins with arid formula and pushes on to bombast. Victor has issued a performance by Artur Rubinstein (Set 1004; $2.50), which is satisfactory only in some parts of the work, for others are played in Rubinstein's mannered style that is more appropriate to Albéniz than to Franck, and there are erratic changes of pace in the Fugue. The performance is recorded with clarity and fidelity to timbre; but the sound has the characteristics of the Debussy recordings I described a few weeks ago: the treble is weak, and the climaxes don't achieve their correct volume of sound. The surfaces of my copy sputter and crackle.

"Tod und Verklärung" is one of Strauss's early works, with some imaginative and beautiful passages, but one which needs a plastic sense like Toscanini's to mould its episodes into a continuous, unified progression. What we have on records instead is Stokowski's hectic, spasmodic, and lurid performance —this time with the New York City Symphony (Set 1006; $3.50). This is not a great orchestra; but it is disciplined and plays well. As for the recorded sound, which is spacious and natural, there are sides like the second on which it is hard but clear and well-balanced, and there are sides like the third on which it is somewhat confused, as though by reverberation, and the violins have an exaggerated, piercing intensity.

On a single disc (11-8848; $1) is Iturbi's performance of Chopin's A flat Polonaise—full of vulgar affectations, and its recorded sound not only poor but with a lot of hash mixed in on the first side. And on another single disc (10-1173; $.75) are Brahms's popular "Wiegenlied" and Reger's "Marienwiegenlied," beautifully sung by Blanche Thebom—but why in English, and why with string orchestra instead of piano, only Victor knows.

The muddy confusion in the sound of certain Columbia orchestral recordings that I discussed a couple of weeks ago is to be heard in the recording of a performance of Saint-Saëns's Piano Concerto No. 4 in C minor by Casadesus with the New York Philharmonic under Rodzinski (Set 566; $3.50). I have the impression that if the performance could be heard clearly it would turn out to be good; but it would still be unnecessary.

I am reminded of Shaw's comment on a performance of "Samson et Dalila" in 1893. "Who wants to hear 'Samson et Dalila'? I respectfully suggest, Nobody. In Paris that is not a reason for not producing it, because Saint-Saëns is an illustrious French composer, and the opera a national institution; consequently Saint-Saëns must occasionally compose an opera, and the director produce it. . . . In the same way, we produce specially composed oratorios at our English festivals. We cannot sit them out without wishing we had never been born; but we do sit them out for all that. . . . Now I am strongly of the opinion that each nation should bear its own burden in this department of life. We do not ask the Parisians to share the weight of 'Job' with us; then let them not foist on to us the load of 'Samson.'" I respectfully suggest that this wisdom be applied to the case of Roy Harris and Shostakovitch: we would still have to listen to Roy Harris, but not to both Harris and Shostakovitch.

This is by no means the only passage in Shaw's criticism of fifty years ago, which I reread recently, that remains enlightening and profitable today. During the intermission of a piano recital, for example, I read a paragraph about Giulia Ravogli's singing of an excerpt from Vaccai's "Giuletta e Romeo," which ended with the observation that the music was "for an age, but most emphatically not for all time." And this turned out to be the correct comment on Copland's Piano Variations, which was performed after the intermission.

And some time ago, writing about a bad recording, I quoted these remarks of a shrewd editor I know: "A record company thinks it's smart to sell a recording like that if people are willing to buy it; but it's stupid. Thousands of people are led to buy the recording because it's Beethoven—the 'Moonlight' Sonata—Serkin—Columbia, which means that it's good music; they hear something that sounds terrible and that they don't enjoy; and so thousands of people now have the idea that good music sounds terrible and is not for them, and enormous damage has been done to the cause of good music and to the record business." This was the very point made by Shaw in a review of a shoddy East End production of a West End opera: "When the [orchestra's] feeble and mistuned scraping got very bad . . . doubtless the packed pittites said reverently, 'This is classical music. This is above our heads, this is.'"

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Letters to the Editors

To the People of Mississippi

Dear Sirs: A recent issue of the *Stars & Stripes* has brought to our attention the statement of Senator Eastland that the Negro soldier in this war has been "an utter and abysmal failure." This statement was made by a man in high government office who is supposed to help carry the torch of liberty. Many of us are alarmed and saddened to know that the people of the state of Mississippi have entrusted to this man the honor and responsibility of representing them in the government of the United States.

By this statement, and the attitude behind it, Senator Eastland demonstrates that he neither comprehends nor believes in the principles behind this war. Otherwise he would realize that service toward the cause of human liberty can be, and is, performed just as ably by a black man as it is by a white man.

Senator Eastland has betrayed us. He has not represented the cause for which we sent him to Washington. He is not interested in human liberties and promoting human freedom. He is not interested in understanding and helping to eradicate the causes of war. What does he care about the young men of America who have died in Europe, and Africa, and the Pacific, in the past few years? What does he care about the cause of liberty and freedom for which they fought and died, for which men and women of all races and colors gave their lives? Their victories and their heritage are for everyone—for men and women of all races and colors.

We fought the Nazis and Fascists because they represented a threat to our freedom and to the freedom of all people. We fought them because they tried to put one group of people above all others. They were interested in freedom not for all peoples, but for the "Nordic" few. In America we have people like that, too. They also preach a doctrine of racial superiority—the superiority of the white man over the black man—and seek to curb the freedom of the man who does not belong in their little world of hatred and prejudice. These men are fighting America and what she stands for just as much as any Nazi who ever uttered "Heil Hitler" or turned an "88" on American soldiers. These men are just as much enemies of human freedom as were the Hitlers, the Goebbels, and the rest. Some of these men even manage to get into high government positions. Perhaps Senator Eastland is one of them—the people of Mississippi will be able to tell. Other Americans, and the millions of soldiers overseas, have faith in what the people of Mississippi will do to help the cause of free men everywhere.

SERVICEMAN FROM MISSOURI
Somewhere in Germany, July 12

Military Caste and Civilian Jobs

Dear Sirs: Douglas Smith, Scripps-Howard Washington correspondent, has uncovered a War Manpower Commission directive to give "the greatest assistance to young officer veterans" in their survey of available executive positions in business, industry, and government. The Commission has published a booklet, conspicuously labeled "Enlisted Men," listing all the types of army and navy duties and the corresponding civilian jobs for which these duties fitted the men. As Smith notes, WMC "apparently is trying to help carry the military caste system into civilian life by giving officers the first crack at the best jobs."

Since when has a government agency earned the prerogative to destroy a democratic principle that millions of Americans have left their homes to defend?—namely, the right of every man to qualify for a job on his individual merits, regardless of rank, creed, or color.

WMC's argument is that "many of these officers have married since they were called into service. They and their families are accustomed to living on an officer's income and they understandably do not want to alter their standard of living." This is true. But what consideration is being given to the far greater number of enlisted men and women who have accepted their lesser lot while fighting the concept of a Super Race? They do not begrudge their military officers an equal chance in competing for worthwhile civilian positions. As American citizens, they in turn do not expect to be denied that chance.

CORPORAL
San Francisco, Calif., July 29

A Test for FSA

Dear Sirs: The Farm Security Administration is on trial. On August 24 it will decide whether the Delmo Labor Homes are to be sold to the large planters or to the present occupants and other low-income farm families in southeast Missouri.

The sale of the Delmo Labor Homes to the people was made possible after hearings in Washington before the House Committee on Agriculture on the Hook bill, H. R. 3071. As an alternative to the attempt to get legislation through Congress, the committee, composed of Chairman W. R. Poage of Texas, Orville Zimmerman of Missouri, and Jerry Voorhis of California, proposed that the residents pool their money and with the support of a group of St. Louis financiers purchase all ten of the Delmo housing projects. Farm Security Administration agreed to postpone the sale date until August 23. In the meantime, the residents and other prospective buyers have been gathering their money, each family raising $100 as a down payment. A non-profit corporation is about to be formed by Bishop William Scarlett and several business men in St. Louis.

Whether or not the tenants through the non-profit corporation will become home owners, depends on the officials of the Farm Security Administration. Will they decide to satisfy the powerful planter interests? Or will they consider the human value of the plan whereby the residents and others like them may purchase their homes and pay for them in five years?

You can aid by writing a letter to Mr. Frank Hancock, Administrator of Farm Security Administration, Washington, D. C., stating your desire to have the Delmo residents become home owners. The time is short, the opposition powerful and sometimes ruthless. Strike a blow for freedom now.

DAVID S. BURGESS
Independent Tenants Committee
Memphis, Tenn., July 31

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

THE DEMOBILIZATION PLANS OF THE ARMED services sound impressive until they are subjected to close analysis. It has been announced that from 6,500,000 to 7,500,000 servicemen are to be released in the next twelve to eighteen months. In view of the requirements for the occupation armies and the logistic problems involved in getting millions of men home from the four corners of the globe, many persons have taken this to be a wholly satisfactory program. But is it? Demobilization of 7,000,000 men would leave nearly 4,000,000 in the services. President Truman has indicated that 50,000 additional young men will be drafted each month. Thus, under the army and navy program we shall have approximately 4,500,000 men under arms a year from V-J Day. What useful purpose will be served by such a force? The size of the occupation army for Germany has been set at 400,000 men. The maximum figure mentioned for the Japanese occupation force is 1,000,000. Half that number would be more reasonable for a year from now. What of the remaining 3,000,000 to 3,500,000? Do the army and navy authorities honestly believe that they can keep millions of war veterans in American camps and outposts for more than a year after the termination of hostilities? If they try it they will be faced with the greatest disciplinary problem in history—to say nothing of tremendous political pressure from the home folks.

*

HONGKONG IS ONE OF THE MANY AREAS IN the Far East which have been left in an anomalous position by the sudden Japanese surrender. The Chinese have indicated that they intend to occupy the island; the British, although disclaiming "a race" to get there first, say they mean to return. While the Chinese have no legal claim to the colony, they point out that British control is equivalent to foreign domination of Manhattan. In reply the British assert, with some justice, that Hongkong was little more than barren rock before the British transformed it into one of the busiest ports of the world. China itself unquestionably benefited from British protection of this great harbor during the long years of civil strife. While Churchill remained as Prime Minister, the retention of Hongkong was largely bound up with matters of imperial prestige. It is to be hoped that the Labor government will take a more practical view and agree to negotiate with China. Britain's legitimate interests in the port could be safeguarded under Chinese sovereignty if China would agree to the establishment of a free port and recognize existing British property rights in the colony. A quick settlement is desirable so that the port may be opened to relieve the appalling conditions of destitution which exist throughout South China.

MARSHAL PETAIN, SENTENCED TO DIE, HAS BEEN reprieved by General de Gaulle, who accepted the Court's recommendation of clemency. We believe that the death penalty was justified and that its commutation is wise. As Pertinax pointed out in last week's *Nation*, the trial was conducted in an unsatisfactory manner by a prosecutor who did not fully understand the political background of the Marshal's crime. M. Pottecher, in a cable from Paris on page 179 of this issue, confirms this point and stresses "the air of ambiguity" which hung over the whole proceedings. The fact is that Pétain's crime could not be neatly fitted into any legal category. There may be a doubt about whether he committed treason in a technical sense; certainly he managed in his senile way to rationalize his actions and to persuade himself that he was acting in French interests. His real crime was defeatism, the use of his prestige to drag his country down, his attempt—happily unsuccessful—to degrade the spirit of France. For one guilty of so grievous a wrong to his compatriots there may be clemency; there can never be forgiveness.

*

FRENCH SOCIALISTS HAVE EMPHATICALLY rejected proposals for "organic unity" with the Communists. Unity of action on specific measures remains possible, but, said Jules Moch, well known to *Nation* readers, who presented a motion on the subject to the party's National Congress, "organic unity" depends on the fulfillment of three conditions. First, he said, there must be frank statements of policy, unmasked by opportunism; second, respect for true democracy and individual liberty and insistence on equal rights for nations both large and small; third, exclusive devotion to the cause of labor, no ties with any foreign government, and full liberty of criticism and judgment. Clearly, the Communists cannot meet such terms so long as they retain their monolithic party structure and accept their cues, even if they don't receive actual orders, from Moscow. Continued division of the left, therefore, appears inevitable, but in a country with the democratic traditions of France that may be preferable to a situation in which the citizen is forced to choose between a Communist-dominated United Front and sheer reaction. Anglo-American attempts to preserve the status quo in Western Europe gave the Communists their best arguments. If the only alternative to Churchill was to be Stalin, left-wingers were likely to plump for Stalin. Labor's triumph in Britain, however, has revived the spirits of the many Europeans who hope to combine socialism with political freedom.

THE SPIRIT OF PETAINISM

The old Marshal has been legally pronounced a traitor by the High Court in France. But Pétainism was not a crime of one man. It infected a whole generation of reactionary politicians who, bit by bit, before the war and after the French capitulation, bartered away their nation's integrity to serve the interests of their class and even their own private interests. Wherever they held power they worked to defeat democracy and destroy its defenders. One of their last open stands was made in North Africa when the Americans landed. The plots and counter-plots that made possible the landings, the role of Darlan and Giraud, of our democratic friends in Algiers, of young royalist patriots, of Robert Murphy and his flock of consuls, of other Americans with other ideas . . . all this makes an adventure story in which the real villain is the spirit of Pétainism.

That story has been written by Renée Gosset and published by The Nation *under the title "Conspiracy in Algiers." It is sold without profit and we recommend it warmly to our readers as an unequalled source of information on the events and men that crowd its pages and as an indispensable key to the political struggle in Europe today. You will find an order blank on page 187.*

*

COMPETENT FRENCH POLITICAL OBSERVERS ARE of the opinion that before long France will break with Franco Spain. The National Assembly has, on several occasions, declared itself in that sense and recent events have done much to crystallize opinion. It may be true, as Mr. Churchill has declared, that the Potsdam condemnation of the Franco regime was decided upon by the Big Three before the British election results were publicly known. But there can be no doubt that the Labor victory, despite Mr. Attlee's failure to mention Spain in his first speech in the new Parliament, will have done much to convince French democrats that the Potsdam declaration can now be supplemented. The French Socialist Party Congress put itself unmistakably on record. In his opening speech the chairman went so far as to express his conviction that Spanish Republicans "would be back home in a few months, if not weeks." And the entire sense of the Congress must have been encouraging to the Spanish Republic in exile. Probably, however, two events will precede a French decision in this matter. If the elections, to be held on October 21, confirm the common belief that the left is destined to be the major influence in French affairs, then a rupture with Franco is almost a certainty. And, if the Spanish Republicans succeed in setting up a broad coalition government in exile, it will probably be given hospitality and early recognition by France.

*

A UNITED SPANISH REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT now seems certain. With the warm support of the Mexican authorities an extraordinary session of the Cortes was held last Friday in Mexico's City Hall and Martinez Barrio was unanimously chosen provisional President of the Republic. For the occasion the City Hall and the surrounding streets were officially declared Spanish soil, under the principle of extra-territoriality, and Mexican troops guarded the area. Full Presidential honors were accorded Señor Martinez Barrio by the Mexican government and the Cortes session was attended with all possible ceremony. Diplomatic representatives of many countries were present, including those of France and Russia. The British and the Americans were noticeably absent. Immediately after the Cortes adjourned Dr. Negrín and his Cabinet submitted their resignations to the provisional President but, as we go to press, no decision has been reached as to the composition of the new government. Only one thing is certain. The laborious efforts of Dr. Negrín to reunite the Spanish Republican parties and organizations have been completely successful. Readers of *The Nation* who have followed the accounts of his negotiations by his colleague, J. Alvarez del Vayo, know with what patience and good will he has gone about the essential task of bringing divergent groups together behind the simple program of agreeing upon a President who should reconstitute the government through consultation with all the party leaders. The Cortes meeting was a dramatic tribute to his statesmanship.

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IN AN ILLUMINATING DISPATCH ON PAGE 174 Aylmer Vallance singles out the Labor government's proposal to repeal the 1927 Trades Disputes Act as one point in its program likely to provoke particularly bitter opposition from the Tories. One New York paper, we notice, featured this proposal as a plan "to legalize general strikes"—a good example of editorializing in the headlines. The Trades Disputes Act, in fact, was a punitive measure which followed the General Strike of 1926. It did outlaw general strikes, and sympathetic strikes as well. In addition, it circumscribed severely the right to picket, introduced the injunction as a weapon against trade unionism, compelled unions of civil servants to disaffiliate from the Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party, and sought to hamstring the political activities of unions by making it as difficult as possible for them to collect contributions from members for their "political funds." Ever since this act was passed its repeal has been a primary objective of the British trade-union movement. There was angry disappointment when Ramsay MacDonald failed to take action during his administration in 1929, pleading his lack of a majority in the Commons. Now that Labor is really in power, the continuance of this crass piece of class legislation on the statute books is unthinkable.

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THE BLANKET OF SILENCE WHICH MAYOR EARL Riley imposed on the discussion of racial problems in Portland, Oregon, has finally been lifted with the release of a comprehensive report on "The Negro in Portland" by the Portland City Club. During the war the city's Negro population increased from 1,900 to approximately 20,000 and, the report declares, a large proportion intends to remain. Dangerous racial tensions have resulted, which the Mayor has attempted to ignore. The City Club confirms what everyone else has long known about the problems Negroes face in Portland and adds some piquant details. It calls attention to Article 24 of the Code of Ethics of the Realty Board of Portland: "A realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood . . . members of any race or nationality . . . whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood." It would be difficult to imagine a more elastic use of the word "ethics." The case for the adoption of a Civil Rights Act in Oregon—one was defeated at the last session of the legislature—is abundantly established by a finding that a majority of restaurant owners in Portland refuse to serve Negroes. Special significance should be attached to another finding—that insurance agencies are generally unwilling to insure Negro lives and that, in the writing of casualty insurance, considerable discrimination exists. The City Club recommends appointment by the Governor of a state-wide committee on racial matters, to be integrated with a similar local committee which Mayor Riley is urged to appoint in Portland, adoption of a non-discriminatory policy, and support of a permanent FEPC.

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A STRONG SMELL OF OIL WAS APPARENT IN THE opposition marshalled by the State and War departments last year to passage of a resolution by Congress in favor of a Jewish national home in Palestine. We are happy that President Truman has reversed past policy in this respect and has let it be known that at Potsdam he urged establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine and the immigration of as many Jews as it could support. The President's statement and the British Labor Party's past opposition to the White Paper raise our hopes that, with the coming of peace, justice will at last be done to Jewish aspirations in Palestine. To open the gates of Zion to all those Jews who do not wish to return to countries whence they were driven by Nazi policies is the least the victorious Allies can do for those who suffered most from Axis oppression.

Churchill Bearing Gifts

THE British Labor government will, we imagine, beware of Winston Churchill when he comes bearing gifts. In his first appearance as Leader of the Opposition, the former Prime Minister made no attacks on the proposals his successor had announced through the medium of the King's Speech. Instead, he devoted most of his speech to reviewing the affairs of Europe in a manner carefully calculated to embarrass the new ministers, to whom ostensibly he offered support. It was an utterly irresponsible performance, which, having regard to the nature of some of Mr. Churchill's remarks, we are forced to describe as fooling with a cyclotron in the presence of Uranium 235.

When he turned to the domestic scene, Mr. Churchill's tones were friendly, if more than a trifle condescending. Adopting the role of the complete democrat, responsive to the people's will, he promised cooperation in forwarding the program laid by the government before the House. He did not quarrel with Labor's proposals to nationalize the coal industry and the Bank of England, declaring he would approach such schemes "in a sympathetic spirit." Speaking of other items in the King's Speech he said: "Here and there may be differences in emphasis and view, but in the main no Parliament ever assembled with such mass-agreed legislation as lies before us."

Mr. Churchill, who is unexcelled as a parliamentary tactician, was undoubtedly wise not to revive the savage attacks on the government's socialist policies in which he had indulged so freely on the hustings. The clear mandate from the electors to carry out those policies was reflected in the King's Speech, which, for all its stilted phraseology, set forth a radical and ambitious program for the new session. In view of the government's majority a frontal assault on this program would be doomed from the start. The Tories must therefore reserve their strength until legislation reaches a stage where guerrilla warfare with amendments and points of order becomes practicable.

No one will deny that, within the limitations of his class, Mr. Churchill is a good democrat—at home. But, in the past, he has been inclined to deprecate the export of democracy to lands lacking "the British genius." Now, putting behind him former encomiums for Mussolini and Franco, he has adopted a Lincolnian pose. He stands, he declares, for government of, by, and for the people everywhere or at least everywhere within the Russian sphere of influence.

In his Commons speech last week, Mr. Churchill admitted that in the war-torn countries there is need for a time of "authoritative government" as an alternative to anarchy. What distressed him was that in Eastern Europe such governments were dominated by Communists. He went on to charge that in many countries—he named Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia—secret police have instituted a reign of terror. It was the duty of the British government, he hinted, to take a strong line against such outrages.

That the four freedoms are a long way from being attained in Eastern Europe—and in some other places too—cannot be gainsaid. Secretary of State Byrnes has just protested vigorously against the way elections are being conducted in Bulgaria, and with reason. For the procedures being followed appear to give voters little more than the privilege of indorsing a Parliament pre-selected by the government now in office. But Bulgaria is not the only offender. In Greece the opposition has been subjected to terrorism and discrimination ever since the British Army intervened last December. A handful of foreign observers will not, as Mr. Churchill claims, insure there a "free, honest expression of the popular will."

For ourselves, we are opposed to terror and gerrymandered elections whether they occur in British or Russian spheres of influence, and we are sorry that Prime Minister Attlee, in following Mr. Churchill, passed over the subject with a reference to "limitations on the amount of interference we can make in other states." The Tory opposition evidently intends to needle the Labor government on the subject of Communist dictatorships. The most effective retort would be to adopt a firmer line against all dictatorships, and challenge Churchill and his followers to support it. When the British government (and our own) breaks diplomatic relations with Franco, it will be in a stronger position to withhold recognition of the Bulgarian regime; when it insists on an end to the terror in Greece, it can protest more effectively against its continuance in Poland.

We are sorry too that Mr. Attlee did not immediately repudiate his predecessor's remarks about the atomic bomb—the most mischievous part of a mischievous speech. Disclaiming any wish for "arbitrary power," Mr. Churchill applauded President Truman's proposals to keep the bomb as an Anglo-American secret. Before other nations catch up with us, he said, "we must remold the relationships of all men of all nations in such a way that these men do not wish or dare to fall upon each other for the sake of vulgar, outdated ambition, or for passionate differences in ideologies."

This is very fine rhetoric, but what exactly does it mean if not the use of the bomb as a diplomatic "persuader"? We agree with the New York *Herald Tribune* that the juxtaposition of Mr. Churchill's references to the bomb and his inferential criticisms of Russian policy was "hardly accidental." We agree, also, that atomic force "is far too explosive a weapon . . . to be hastily applied to the international scene." Mr. Churchill is light-heartedly playing with cosmic forces. We hope the Labor ministers will trounce his irresponsibility and dissociate themselves emphatically from his views.

Occupying Japan

AMIDST the general rejoicing over the surrender of Japan there has been an undercurrent of uneasiness in all the Allied countries. Although Domei dispatches report that great crowds gathered outside the Imperial Palace weeping unrestrainedly when the news of the surrender was disclosed, Japan's actions have not been those of a nation which has accepted defeat. The Japanese government has consistently delayed the carrying out of MacArthur's orders; Japanese planes repeatedly attacked Allied ships and bases after the Imperial cease-fire order; Japanese propagandists have been telling the people that they have had to bow to the material force of the Allies but that they did not lose the war "spiritually." In his rescript to the Japanese people, the Emperor boasted that the "structure of the Imperial state" had been saved and would be maintained. And in line with this boast, he appointed an arch-militarist, Higashi-Kuni, a prince of the royal line, to take over as Premier in place of the moderate Suzuki. None of the news from Japan tells of indignation against the leaders whose lust for power brought disaster to the country. Instead, the people are alleged to have given their approval to the view, expressed in various ways, that Japan would do better next time.

While a legitimate cause for uneasiness, the Japanese reaction should come as a surprise to no one. Japan did not suffer the overwhelming military defeat that Germany did. When the end finally came in Europe, the Nazis had lost all capacity for organized resistance. Japan, on the other hand, had not been invaded and the bulk of its army had never even come in contact with our forces. True, the navy had been destroyed, the air force rendered impotent, and vast industrial areas reduced to rubble. But conceivably Japan could have maintained resistance for many more months. Thus, it was inevitable that we should find the Japanese spirit relatively unbroken.

What the Japanese war lords may say in the first hours of defeat is not nearly as important as what kind of Japan we shall have one year or ten years from now. That will be determined largely by the wisdom and firmness of our occupation policies. In many respects the responsibilities of the occupying force are far heavier and its problems far more complicated than those faced by the Four Powers in Germany. Because Japan has not been physically vanquished in the sense that Germany has, it will be the duty of the occupying force to bring home the reality of defeat without resort to inhumanity. The task of taking possession of the Japanese islands and setting up an effective governing force will be arduous and delicate. And, as all the fuss over the Emperor indicates, we are woefully ignorant about Japanese psychology and the realities of Japan's social and political structure.

Neither the terms of the Potsdam Declaration nor the note sent to Japan in response to its inquiry about the status of the Emperor provide any guaranty that Japan will be handled with proper firmness. According to these statements the occupying forces have the full authority to do whatever is necessary to destroy Japanese militarism, even if it involves the ultimate abolition of the monarchy and the trial of Hirohito and Higashi-Kuni as war criminals. They will have sufficient power to abolish Japan's feudal industrial and agricultural system and provide channels whereby the Japanese people can set up modern social and political institutions. But we have no assurance that any of these things will be done. The Japanese leaders apparently do not expect any drastic interference with the institutions upon which their rule has been based. They expect to be able to take up where they left off as soon as, or possibly before, the occupation ends.

There is little in General MacArthur's background that suggests that he has either the intelligence or the understanding that is necessary to attack the roots of Japanese militarism. His record in the Philippines is one of subservience to powerful economic interests similar to those that constitute an ever-present menace in Japan. It is possible, however, that MacArthur possesses the firmness needed to deal with the Japanese leaders, provided he is given the assistance of competent political advisers who understand Japan.

It will not be easy to find men with Japanese experience capable of providing MacArthur with the insight necessary for his great task. Most of the State Department men who have served in Japan have become involved with the very groups that need to be destroyed. The missionaries who have lived in Japan are, for the most part, sentimental toward the Japanese people. There are, however, a few experts on Japan available. An outstanding one is Herbert Norman of the Department of External Affairs of Canada. We should not hesitate to use him because he happens to be a Canadian. Even if the occupation is under American direction, it is in theory a joint operation and we should draw freely on our allies for personnel. In this country we have men like Owen Lattimore of Johns Hopkins and Laurence Salisbury of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Choice of any of these men would indicate that we were on the right track.

If, however, former Under-Secretary Joseph Grew or his associate Dooman is chosen, as has been rumored, we will know that the Japanese war lords have indeed won a soft peace. For both men have made it very clear in repeated statements that they favor restoring power to the big business leaders, landlords, and princes who profited by the top-heavy social structure that is fundamentally responsible for the war. They have taken this position, partly because they have many friends and associates among Japanese of this type, but primarily because they fear that disorder and chaos would develop if the restraining power of the *Zaibatsu* and monarchy were destroyed.

We do not deny that the elimination of Japanese economic as well as political war criminals might result in a considerable amount of confusion. There might be strikes and disorders; possibly the Japanese state would collapse into anarchy. But the very fear of disorder is recognition of the possibility that the Japanese are fed up with militarism and dictatorship. Without guidance this discontent may easily deteriorate into aimless anarchy. But it is also a power that could be directed into highly constructive channels, if our occupation authorities were ready with a program of political and economic democracy. One thing is certain: we must not allow the fear of social change to trick us into setting the stage for a new, and more terrible, Pearl Harbor in 1961.

Speed the Murray Bill!

THE NATION applauds President Truman for making the Full-Employment Bill the first "must" legislation of the post-war period. The Murray-Wagner-Kilgore-Pepper-Patman measure offers the only current plan for avoiding a post-war slump, a recurrence of chronic unemployment, a return to pre-war conditions under which the United States dragged along half prosperous, half depressed. The press conference at which the President announced his support of the Full-Employment Bill marks the third step taken by the new Administration to back this historic measure. On June 30 last it was given unqualified indorsement by Fred M. Vinson, now Secretary of the Treasury, in his final report as Director of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. Less than two weeks ago the Full-Employment Bill was placed on the emergency legislation list by Senate Leader Barkley after a conference at the White House. The President's statement makes it a key Administration measure for the early post-war period.

Given full support by progressive and labor forces, we believe that the bill can be enacted into law. From a political point of view, it is very hard to vote against full employment. From an economic point of view, no other measure promises to be at all adequate in coping with the basic problem of expanding output and employment to match our expanded productive capacity and manpower. The opposition to the bill, led by Taft of Ohio, falls back on as astounding an argument as was ever advanced by conservative opinion in a changing world. It is that full employment is impossible under capitalism, an extraordinarily subversive and defeatist "line" for conservatives to take. They may be correct—Karl Marx agreed with them—but the experiment is worth trying, and they are completely deluded in the conclusion to which they think their argument leads. To tell the masses that full employment is impossible under capitalism is to invite them to give up capitalism, not full employment. Taft forgets that he is addressing ordinary folk, not a bankers' convention.

If the Full-Employment Bill is to get a fair chance, it should be passed as rapidly as possible. For the day-to-day decisions being made in the course of reconversion are rapidly adding to the difficulty of attaining the objective of the bill. The President is for full employment but too many of the men at the reconversion helm are willing to let business find its own course and set its own speed. It is significant that the President's statement in support of the Full-Employment Bill was elicited by a question about the "From War to Peace" report made public the day before by John

W. Snyder, Vinson's successor in the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. Snyder's report, unlike Vinson's, indorses neither the Full-Employment Bill nor the view that primary responsibility for full employment must necessarily fall upon government. The key to his thinking lies in the statement that "our peace-time goal of maximum production can be best attained by relaxing controls as early as the supply situation permits." This is no more than a dangerous half-truth. Relaxation of war-time controls, without new planning and directives for full output, can only lead us back to mass unemployment.

Snyder, like Chairman Krug of the War Production Board, is guided by a mystic faith in "pent-up demand" as a solvent of reconversion problems. Krug's press conference on August 15 indicated that he was still depending on high-power sales talks to see us through. The contrast between the carefully-prepared WPB report on reconversion, which had to clear through higher agencies, and the loose over-optimism indulged in by Krug in his oral statements is revealing. The controls of reconversion are in the hands of men unsympathetic to planning for full employment. Much ground may be lost, many costly errors of policy made, before the Full-Employment Bill passes, unless the President tightens up existing reconversion machinery and shakes up its operating personnel.

Notes on the War's End

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

The Emperor's Rescript

I HOPE the Japanese people have learned to decode the intricate double-talk of their rulers. Otherwise they can have no way of knowing that their country has been conquered and their leaders are headed for the scrap-pile—if they are. The Emperor's broadcast to his subjects on V-J Day was one of the trickiest bits of imaginative writing that ever came out of Tokyo. Indeed, the ordinary Japanese, if he had no other facts to go by, must have decided after switching off his radio that his Emperor had, quite voluntarily and for the good of all mankind, agreed to end the war in order to pave the way for a "grand peace for all the generations to come." The Emperor never once uses the word surrender; instead he says he is effecting "a settlement of the present situation by resorting to an extraordinary measure." That measure is an order to the government to accept the "provisions of the joint declaration" of the Allied powers. But nowhere does he explain what those provisions provide. Instead he solemnly recalls his Imperial obligation "to strive for the common prosperity and happiness of all nations" including his own, and only remarks in passing that "the war situation has developed not necessarily to Japan's advantage." This, I think, is one of the nicest phrases an Emperor ever turned. He admits that the emancipation of East Asia didn't pan out just as he had hoped and goes so far as to allude to "the dictates of time and fate" and the atomic bomb. He even warns that the "grand peace" toward which the country is heading will involve "suffering what is unsufferable," but what it is that is "unsufferable" he forbears to tell the people who must suffer it. And he goes directly on to reassure them by pointing out that he had been "able to save . . . and maintain the structure of the Imperial state."

I cite in detail this example of Imperial trickery not because it is funny, after the Japanese fashion, but because it sums up and exposes in a few sentences the political problems awaiting us in Japan. For the Emperor's rescript is a bland defiance of his victorious enemies and an attempt to establish before the occupation forces arrive the innocence and virtue of Japan's war aims, a basis for future claims that Japan never met defeat, and the continued authority of the Imperial throne and the nation's military leaders.

This statement must not be allowed to go uncorrected. The truth should be put before the Japanese people immediately. General MacArthur should insist that the Emperor himself expose his own deceptions. Hirohito should be ordered to tell the people that the imperialist aims of his regime were responsible for the disastrous war now ending; that Japan has been totally defeated, shorn of its conquests, and driven to unconditional surrender; that the Imperial Throne itself and all other former sources of authority in Japan are henceforth subject to the orders of the Allied occupation. MacArthur should order that the terms of surrender be printed in full and distributed throughout Japan. If we mean business when we talk about abolishing everything "that contributed to the militarist tradition in Japan," this is the least we can do. And the sooner we do it, the better.

More About the Atom

People are talking easily, too easily, about the momentous economic and political consequences which must follow the release of atomic energy. By assuming in broad terms the inevitability of revolutionary change, one somehow absolves oneself of the need of doing anything about it. If we were honest most of us would admit, I think, an inner resistance to tackling the implications of the new discovery. We really don't like it: it is too big, too monstrous in its demands upon our intelligence and courage, too hard to understand.

Some writers have brushed off the need for concrete thinking by assuring the world—and themselves—that a generation may well elapse before atomic energy can be harnessed to industrial tasks. Others have opened vistas of wealth and effortless comfort without bothering to consider what alterations in our society these rewards imply. But the fact is clear, behind all this talk, that soon, too soon for our fuddled social thinking, we shall have available a source of power which must ultimately be cheap if only because it is inexhaustible. What difference does it make whether this power is to be harnessed to planes and factories and heating plants ten years from now or twenty-five? The time in either case will be insufficient to prepare adequately for the impact of the split atom.

And before it arrives we shall already be faced with a fight. For if one thing is sure, it is that the application of atomic energy is going to involve a major social and political struggle. Don't let's fool ourselves that because the government today holds the basic patents for the production of atomic bombs, private business will peaceably permit public exploitation of atomic energy for industrial purposes. In the control of that energy lies a source of infinite, incalculable wealth. If business does not try to corner it, or at least chisel off a substantial share of it, then the profit motive has lost more of its push than I believe it has. Certain business interests will also have the most intimate reasons to try to delay the production and limit the use of atomic power. Over night vast capital investments in water power, in coal, in transportation may be wiped out; and before that happens those interests will fight. If the energy should first be developed for industrial use in other countries, we shall see a hopeless but bitter attempt to shut out the cheap products that will result from cheap power; then a determined effort either to outstrip foreign competitors or come to terms with them through cartel arrangements.

To meet the sure and organized efforts of business to turn atoms into profits, progressive groups should begin to do some hard thinking about the economic world that will result from this revolution. Studies should be undertaken immediately to discover in advance ways of utilizing the new power so that the people will reap the whole benefit of its discovery. Possible methods of control should be carefully considered: mixed versus straight-out socialist economy, for example. The international aspects of a world linked by atomic energy should be examined. (Is there any longer an excuse for American excursions in oil imperialism in the Middle East?) And such acute specific problems as the fate of great regional power developments like the TVA and of whole industries like coal and oil should be studied separately and as part of the over-all economic picture.

I believe our American labor organizations should promptly put money and attention into an analysis of these problems. I believe the C. I. O. and the Citizens Political Action Committees should set up a joint research group to study them in broad national terms. I believe smaller progressive associations should reconsider their functions in the light of the new knowledge; the Union for Democratic Action, for example, might give up its *ad hoc* political efforts and constitute itself as a deliberative and research body working along the lines of the Fabian Society.

Atomic energy is more than a remote and disconcerting threat; it is an imminent fact to be dealt with bravely and realistically—and without delay

Shake-up in the State Department

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, August 17

IT WOULD be pleasant to believe that the resignation of Joseph C. Grew as Under-Secretary of State indicated that President Truman and Secretary of State James F. Byrnes had begun to understand what a mistake they made in following Grew's advice on the Japanese Emperor. It is possible to state with assurance only that Grew's successor, Dean Acheson, sharply disagreed with our former Ambassador to Tokyo on the question of how far we could rely on Hirohito. In intra-departmental conferences, the new Under-Secretary was signally un-crushed by Grew's favorite retort, "Have you ever lived in Japan?" To be succeeded by Acheson must be a bitter pill for Grew, as for the whole inside clique in the State Department.

For Acheson has been in the minority on issues other than that of the Japanese Emperor. He has been pro-De Gaulle, anti-Franco, strongly opposed to the admission of Argentina to the United Nations, and friendly to the Soviet Union. He is not at all likely to be frightened by a Labor government in England, even if it carries out its socialist program. Of all the men now in the department, Acheson was by far the best choice for Under-Secretary, and it is no small advantage to pick a man who already knows a good deal about the inner machinery.

By all superficial marks, Acheson would appear to be a natural member of the snobbish clique which generally runs the department. He is a man of wealth and social standing, a Grotonian, a successful corporation lawyer. But his intellectual horizons and human sympathies transcend this background. He was once private secretary to Brandeis. He took time off from his corporate law practice to argue the constitutionality of minimum-wage legislation in the United States Supreme Court. He is not at all stuffy, and at fifty-two still has plenty of ginger in him.

There are differences of opinion in Washington as to how "strong" a man he is. He is strong enough to do a good job in the department if he is sufficiently supported by Secretary Byrnes and the White House. The job of Under-Secretary is as important as its holder and his chief choose to make it. He can be the actual administrative head of the department, or, as Sumner Welles was, he can be by-passed and rendered ineffective by the inside clique.

One of Acheson's assets lies in his relations with Congress. He deserves a generous share of the credit for the passage of the Bretton Woods legislation, and he played no inconsiderable part in the Senate's approval of the Charter. His ability to make friends and influence people in Congress is the kind of quality that impresses practical politicians like Truman and Byrnes. Within the department, Acheson's closest alliance has been with MacLeish and, among the new men brought in by Byrnes, with Benjamin V. Cohen. Cohen and Acheson laid the groundwork for the destroyers-for-bases deal with England, and have long been close friends.

Acheson disliked the "new team" put in charge of the department last year by President Roosevelt and submitted his resignation in January. He was persuaded to stay on to help put Bretton Woods through Congress and then to aid the Charter fight in the Senate. The strangest thing about Acheson's appointment is that it was obviously a surprise to him, and came three days after the New York *Times* reported that Byrnes had accepted his resignation as Assistant Secretary

One of these days it is likely that the various agencies of government dealing with foreign economic and propaganda matters will either be merged into the State Department or brought closely under its control. This policy has much to recommend it from the standpoint of neat administrative arrangements, though not from a realistic point of view—so long as the department remains what it is. Under such circumstances it would be most useful to have as Under-Secretary a man with Acheson's knowledge and experience in handling foreign economic problems.

It would be well, however, not to expect too much. A real overhauling of the department has been long overdue but it is unlikely to be obtained from a Secretary of State as conservative as Byrnes. The resignations of Archibald MacLeish and Julius Holmes can hardly be fitted into any consistent pattern. The progressive MacLeish has worked hard under difficult circumstances to improve the Department's public relations and did an excellent educational job on the San Francisco Charter. The departure of Holmes is welcome news, for he is a combination of brass hat and cookie pusher, and as Assistant Secretary in charge of personnel was likely to multiply the snobs in the Department and the Foreign Service. I hope that Chase National Bank boy scout, Nelson Rockefeller, will follow him into retirement.

One of the discouraging factors in the situation is that Byrnes assigned the Budget Bureau to make a study of the State Department. The Budget Bureau is at best formalistic and academic, and at worst a nest of reactionary wire-pullers and intriguers. The task of finding out what is wrong with the Department should not have been intrusted to pundits who specialize in neat little blueprints.

The ideal way to prepare for a reorganization would be with a thorough series of hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Congress and the country ought to hear from the men in other divisions of the government who have had to do business with the State Department, from the men who have left it in disgust, and if possible from some of the younger men within it. Only a full airing of policies and personalities could provide enough knowledge and arouse enough interest to establish the basis for a real housecleaning.

China's New Danger

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

[*Mr. Stewart, an associate editor of* The Nation, *lived in China for six years. He is author of "War-Time China."*]

A SITUATION of utmost gravity has arisen in China as a result of Chiang Kai-shek's determination that the Communists shall not share in the victory over Japan. After ordering the Eighteenth Group Army (the Communist forces) not to disarm the Japanese in their sector, Chiang arranged to use American transport planes to rush his troops to areas where the Communists were prepared to take over. At the time this article is being written it is impossible to foretell the outcome. But local clashes between the Kuomintang and Communist troops have already been reported. General Chu Teh, commander-in-chief of the Eighteenth Group Army, has rejected Chiang's order on the ground that it contradicts a simultaneous order to all Chinese armies to summon the Japanese to surrender and because it "runs contrary to the national interest of China." Since the Communists dominate virtually the whole of North China and important areas in Central China, it seems certain that they will be able to force the surrender of enough Japanese to obtain control of large supplies of arms.

Local skirmishes between Kuomintang and Communist forces need not necessarily lead to a general civil war in China. It is possible that after a certain amount of sparring and testing of strength the opposing forces will settle down into a sort of armed truce. If so, we shall have, in effect, two Chinas nearly equal in size and strength. The undesirability of such a development need hardly be stressed. If China is to assume the great responsibilities and opportunities the peace has brought, it must, above all, achieve internal unity.

But there is grave danger that the local clashes will precipitate an immediate general civil war. The arms and ammunition which both sides are obtaining from the surrendering Japanese make such a conflict possible despite China's exhausted condition after eight years of war. For years Chungking has been preparing for a final liquidation of the Communists at the end of the war with Japan. Hu Tsung-nan's armies, which have been used to blockade the Communists for the past five years, are among the best trained and best equipped in China. If Chungking is to be restrained from seeking an immediate showdown, the restraining force will have to come from outside. Russia's entry into the war and the more recent Soong-Stalin agreement in Moscow provide the chief hope of averting a conflict. For in gaining possession of Manchuria, Russia is in a position, for the first time, to give direct material or military assistance to the Chinese Communists and will have in its possession vast quantities of first-class military equipment taken from the Japanese Kwantung armies. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the Soong-Stalin agreement contains a formula for the settlement of the Kuomintang-Communist controversy. The urgent invitation which Chiang Kai-shek has sent to Mao Tse-tung, leader of the Communists, requesting a conference, may be a direct outcome of this agreement. But even if internal affairs are not covered in the formal agreement, Chungking must know that if it attacks Yenan it risks a conflict with the powerful Red Banner forces now established in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia.

This would seem to be a sufficient guaranty against civil war. But it will be largely nullified if Chungking feels that it can count on American aid to offset possible Russian assistance to the Communists. While the idea of American intervention in a new war in China, even before the smoke of the last war has cleared away, will be repugnant to the average American, the rising militancy in Chungking's attitude toward Yenan suggests that it is banking on support from Washington. Recent arrivals in this country from Chungking confirm this judgment. The effort to play off the United States against Russia is a direct and inevitable outcome of the policies which Ambassador Hurley has followed since his arrival in China last fall. Although sent to China by President Roosevelt for the specific task of obtaining a Kuomintang-Communist settlement, Hurley has favored Chungking from the beginning. He abandoned the Stilwell policy of making military considerations the sole criterion in apportioning war supplies and has turned all lend-lease shipments over to Chiang Kai-shek on the ground that his was the only "legal" government in China. No conditions were imposed regarding the use of American-supplied arms, and some equipment is reported to have been used recently against the Communists. Finally, as a logical culmination of this policy, Hurley has put American planes at the disposal of Chiang Kai-shek in his race to keep the Communists from obtaining Japanese arms.

In making this dangerous foray into power politics, Hurley has completely reversed the Gauss-Stillwell policies which came so close to achieving unity in China last fall. Stilwell maintained that America's only concern was in obtaining the maximum Chinese contribution to the war. He knew there were elements in Chungking that were content to sit back and let the United States assume the burden of defeating Japan. He felt that Chiang Kai-shek ought to be willing to root them out as a condition for American material assistance. And he maintained constant pressure on both Chungking and Yenan to end the wasteful internal conflict. In the latter part of 1944 American pressure, combined with the effects of the Japanese advance into Kweichow, nearly resulted in the establishment of an all-party national government. But this opportunity was lost when Hurley replaced Gauss and quickly allowed himself to be taken into the Chiang Kai-shek camp. The Chinese are accustomed to the give-and-take of bargaining. They are masters of the art of compromise. And when it became evident that Hurley was prepared to give Chungking the help it required without exacting substantial concessions in return, all hope of a settlement went aglimmering. Hurley further weakened his position by dismissing from responsible posts on his embassy staff all the men with long China experience. General Wedemeyer, who replaced Stilwell as head of the American military forces, has frequently been at odds with Hurley, but he has not sufficient background in China to play an important role in shaping policy. And there is no one with extensive experience in the State Department at a high enough level to restrain Hurley.

Perhaps the most tragic aspect of the present policy lies in the fact that it has served to strengthen the most reactionary and irreconcilable clique in Chungking at the expense of groups that have been trying to bring about democratic reforms within Kuomintang China. These latter groups have never been politically strong either in the army or in key party posts. But they undoubtedly speak for the vast majority of the Chinese people in demanding a reconciliation of all factions and an end to the restraints of dictatorship. A few weeks ago, before Chiang and Hurley had combined in an attempt to thwart the disarming of the Japanese by the Communists, the middle groups in the Kuomintang seemed to be gaining. The People's Political Council, which contains some non-Kuomintang representatives, voted unanimously to ask the government to postpone the scheduled National Assembly so that a settlement might be reached with the Communists. The decision to send Premier Soong to Moscow implied a willingness to reconsider the country's internal as well as external policies. But the sudden ending of the war upset all previously laid plans. War lords, political groups, and other interests are participating in a mad scramble to gain control of as much of the occupied sections of the country as possible in order to enhance their power. In placing American planes at the disposal of the central government,. Ambassador Hurley may have tipped the scales decisively against the democratic forces which were emerging in Kuomintang China.

Chiang Kai-shek

China's future as a world power depends upon its ability to evolve a strong national government, truly representative of the people and sufficiently progressive to adopt modern forms of social, political, and economic organization. Short of revolution, this can be achieved only if the present ruling group consents to a broader representation in the government. The United States could hasten this process by offering substantial economic assistance once a democratic government is formed. But it will never be achieved as long as American influence is invariably on the side of the ruling clique. Liberal Chinese insist that there can be no settlement of the problem as long as Ambassador Hurley remains. They charge that he is guilty not only of bias and lack of understanding of the Chinese situation but of bad faith in dealing with minority groups. The Communists declare that he has repeatedly shared confidential information, which they furnished to American representatives in Yenan, with high Chungking officials. These charges may or may not be true. But regardless of their accuracy, it is obvious that Ambassador Hurley has failed in his mission. The rival Chinese factions are farther apart today than when he arrived. No Ambassador, regardless of his ability, can succeed if he is distrusted by substantial groups within the country to which he is accredited. For the sake of America's good name and the welfare of countless millions of Chinese, let us bring Hurley home at the earliest possible moment.

British Labor Goes to Work

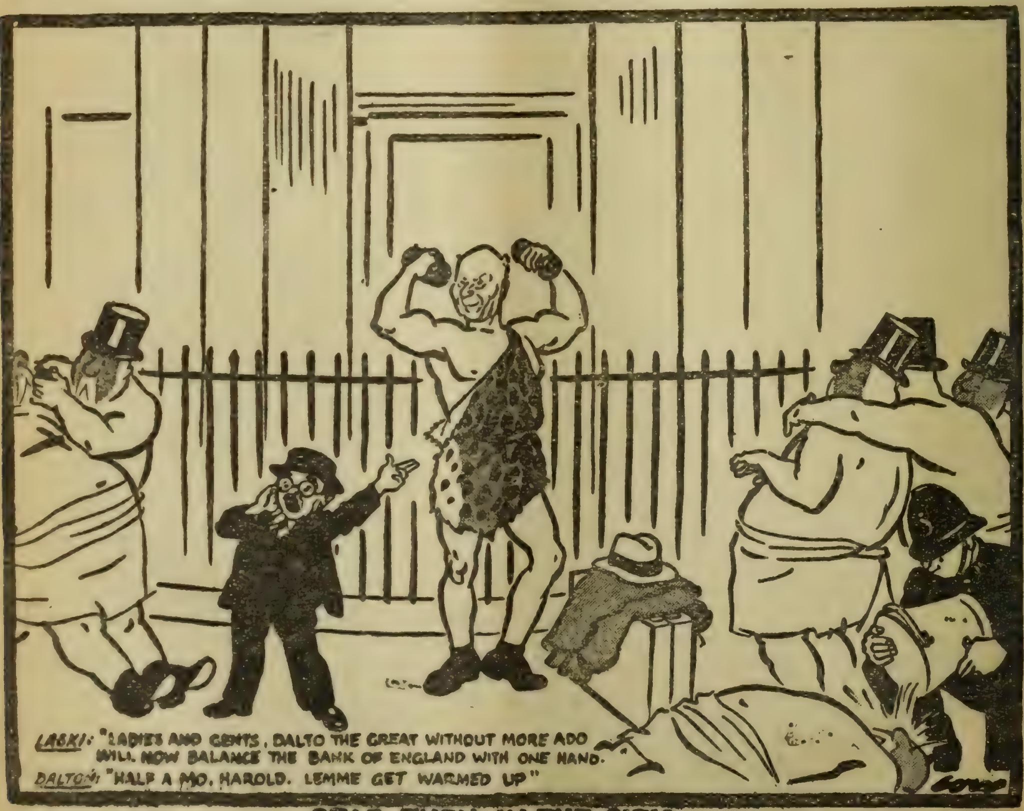
BY AYLMER VALLANCE

[*Mr. Vallance, formerly editor of the London* News-Chronicle, *is now on the staff of the* New Statesman and Nation. *In 1939 he was a frequent contributor to* The Nation. *During the war he was Director of Psychological Warfare for the British War Office.*]

London, August 16 (By cable)

THE King drove to Parliament yesterday through a London whose population, under a thin veneer of rejoicing on the part of exuberant, youthful crowds, faces soberly the grim problems that have broken out with peace. The session opened with the usual quaint pomp, suggesting that Labor was deliberately emphasizing the continuity of tradition in a parliamentary democracy. Delivered from the time-honored gilded throne in the Peers' chamber, the speech contained few surprises and little stimulating phraseology. Its program, outlined with the same shrewd caution that characterized Prime Minister Attlee's choice of ministers, represents not an inspiring five-year plan but simply the Cabinet's estimate of the maximum legislation possible within a single year's session. In this connection it is important to appreciate the fact that, deducting the time absorbed by essential debates on the budget and routine business, barely ninety parliamentary days are available in a year for discussion of new legislation. Even for the relatively modest beginning which this session proposes to make on the full election program, it will be necessary to expedite parliamentary procedure. The government, I predict, will remit bills increasingly to separate committees sitting simultaneously.

The outstanding feature of the domestic program is the priority given to measures to consolidate the control of finance. Considering the high degree of control the Treasury already exercises over the Bank of England, nationalization of the Bank is less important than the promised "machinery for effective planning of investment." This foreshadows a national investment board with the function of canalizing sav-


LASKI: "LADIES AND GENTS, DALTO THE GREAT WITHOUT MORE ADO WILL NOW BALANCE THE BANK OF ENGLAND WITH ONE HAND."
DALTON: "HALF A MO. HAROLD. LEMME GET WARMED UP"

STAR TURN IN THE CITY

ings into socially desirable projects, including both housing and selective industrial reconversion and reequipment. Informed circles in the financial district expect a policy of reducing the interest on money, with perhaps a rate of 1 per cent by the Bank of England, thereby facilitating the flotation of a big 2 per cent housing loan. However that may be, the government evidently considers the direction of capital essential as the basis for the implementation of reconstruction, including both the nationalized industries and trades like cotton which, while remaining in private hands, have been promised government assistance by Sir Stafford Cripps, provided the costly machine replacements, making possible higher wages, are undertaken.

The remainder of the domestic program, announcing the expected nationalization of coal and a unified social-security system based on the Beveridge plan, includes one item, namely the outright repeal of the 1927 Trades Disputes Act, which will challenge bitter opposition by the Tories. They will argue that the government's readiness to tolerate "labor indiscipline" contrasts flagrantly, from the Tory standpoint, with its intention to discipline the freedom of capital investment.

There are several noticeable omissions in the domestic field. First, there is no hint of the establishment of an over-all Ministry of Housing. Without any indication of what scope is to be alloted to private enterprise, effective mobilization of building resources is promised but handicapped by the continuance of three overlapping departments, those of Health, Town Planning, and Public Works, sharing responsibility under the vague direction of Arthur Greenwood. Second, there is no promise to improve the current rates of old-age pensions to conform with increased living costs, a promise to which many Labor members are individually committed. This, however, may be included in the social-insurance bill. Third (this is presumably to be explained by a consideration of this session's congested parliamentary time-table), there is no specific reference to the intention to nationalize the railways, electricity, and steel. Air transport will be vaguely "reorganized," the power industry "coordinated," and measures taken to facilitate the acquisition of land needed for social purposes. This may create an impression of a studiously moderate, almost pedestrian, program, but the Labor Party will approve the policy of advancing slowly but surely. Provided the administrative use of existing statutes and powers is really energetic, the new legislation, coupled with the announced determination to retain needful price and supply controls, to organize national resources and expand exports, suffices to give promise of an orderly, practical, and nonrevolutionary approach to socialism.

If disappointment with any part of the King's speech is justifiable, it is in the matter of external affairs. It is conceded that the good points in this field are the explicit promise of early and full self-government for India, and the reference to the absolute need to abolish war in an atom-ridden world by firm cooperation with peace-loving peoples desirous of freedom and social justice. Possibly more specific proposals will be elicited in the early debate on ratification of the United Nations Charter, but many here hoped that the speech would contain a more forthright and dramatic declaration of Labor's willingness to abandon national armaments in favor of a really effective international security council monopolizing the control of the atomic bomb. The inference is that Cabinet policy on this overmastering issue is still undecided and warily watchful of developments in the political strategy of Russia. The slow formulation of the Cabinet's foreign policy is likely to disappoint left and resistance movements in Europe, which will listen vainly for the voice of comradeship. Significantly, Bevin is emphasizing with some astringency that Laski speaks only for himself in foreign affairs. On the Bretton Woods agreements and Britain's economic relations with the United States, the silence is discreetly unbroken.

The Last War Front

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

[*Mr. Bolté,* The Nation's *military critic, joined the British army before Pearl Harbor and fought as a lieutenant in North Africa. He is now president of the American Veterans' Committee.*]

THE first global war in history has ended, abruptly and before we had any right to expect it to end, with total victory over our enemies. It was an unprecedented war: in the number of nations involved, in the number of fighting men who contested with one another, in the extent to which civilian populations were drawn into it, in the degree to which it was mechanized and made technological, in the number and degree of new weapons and tactical innovations, in its cost, in its brutality, in the refinements of its tortures, in the agony and suffering it caused, in the extent to which it dislocated the previous arrangements of civilization, and in the enormity of the problems of reconstruction and settlement of still unresolved conflicts it has left as legacy.

Now, after the flush of our first exultation in the magnitude of our victory, our thoughts turn naturally to the manifold problems of peace. Yet it may be useful to consider the manner of our victory. Much may depend on how well we study the lessons set forth by, or concealed within, the progress of the war.

To begin with, it must be said that Japan was not in any long-term sense a first-class power, and that in the long-term sense there was no real prospect that it could win the war. It lacked the industrial complex on which to base offensive blows powerful enough to defeat the United States alone, much less the combined might of the Anglo-American alliance, and still less the overwhelming combination of that alliance with the great strength of the Soviet Union. Yet, because of a very special set of circumstances unusually favorable to it, Japan in less than a year after Pearl Harbor was able to win its war. Winning its war meant for Japan the establishment of control over the great sweep of islands through the central and southwest Pacific to the East Indies, over the domain of Southeast Asia, and over the key industrial, agricultural, and commercial areas of northern and coastal China. Thus it achieved the empire which gave it the things it so sorely lacked in the home islands: space, raw materials for war, and a massive population which might be used in furthering its imperial aims.

But the winning of these things, grandiose and awe-inspiring as the accomplishment seemed at the time, represented merely the successful waging of a war of limited objective. That kind of war, in which the intention is to wrest some particular advantage or advantages from an enemy state or combination of enemy states, could be fought and won in the old days. In the middle of the twentieth century it is an impossibility in fact and a contradiction in terms. Total war involving the total resources of the nation, natural, human, and spiritual, can end only in total victory or total defeat. It was possible for Japan to win its war; it was not possible and never could have been possible for Japan to consolidate its victory. This may be set forth as a rule arising from the experience of this war: that wars of limited objective are no longer possible, and that the gaining of any ends through warfare can be accomplished only by totally defeating the enemy.

Japan was enabled to win even its limited objectives because of its enemies' preoccupation on the other side of the world. There were lesser contributing facts: Allied unpreparedness, the remoteness of the battlefield from the sources of Allied strength, the failure of white imperialism in the Far East (the one objective which the Japanese may have achieved permanently is a social, political, and economic rather than a military one: the expulsion of the white man from his position of overlord to brown and yellow men). These, except for the last, were temporary advantages. Germany was the more immediate threat, had more nearly won its war, and might yet have denied us our chance of getting onto the Continent; so the great military and political decision was made to concentrate on Germany first. Nevertheless, American resources and technological skill proved so abundant that the Japanese were halted and then started on the backward road even before the peak of our European effort was reached. It is probable that victory in Europe would have been won more quickly and cheaply if General Eisenhower had had at his disposal the landing craft, airplanes, and troops which were flowing in an ever-increasing stream to the Pacific; but it also seemed at the time, before the atomic bomb was a reality, that to follow this course of European concentration would have left the Japanese so much freedom to consolidate their gains that the eventual Pacific victory would have been long delayed. The event has proved the wisdom of the policy of concentrating on Germany while simultaneously pushing Japan's outposts back; it has also proved the unwisdom of Japan's hazard that its enemies would be too long occupied in Europe to interfere with its plans.

The flexibility of a well-integrated and diversified technological system, plus the resourcefulness of free men in a democratic society, quickly corrected the situation of Allied unpreparedness in the Far East. One of the greatest Japanese miscalculations, as it was one of the greatest German miscalculations, was the estimate of the democracies as being soft and decadent. Pearl Harbor put iron in the American fiber as Dunkirk put it in the British fiber: in both cases the psychological jolt set the wheels of production in motion, and turned non-militaristic peoples into most valiant fighting men.

Linked with production of matériel and activation of good fighting units, was transportation. Distance was the greatest enemy in the Pacific, and those who knew something of the problems of logistics felt very gloomy in the early years of the war when they looked at maps revealing the mileage between Detroit and Tokyo. A colossal effort in the field of civilian and military transportation, rail, sea, and air, and a revolution in the field of naval logistics, surmounted the barrier of mere miles. The radical innovation was the fleet train: the convoy of oilers, supply ships, and repair ships which followed the fleets into action, kept them in fighting form, and allowed them to stay in action thousands of miles from their bases for weeks at a time.

Thus Japan's initial advantages were overcome. As the war progressed, fatal flaws in its over-all war machine became apparent. Its troops, despite extraordinary devotion and a widespread belief that they went to some Japanese heaven quickest by dying for their Emperor, were almost invariably over-matched in battle with more inventive, better trained, and better equipped American troops who wished above all else to remain alive. Its aircraft, once they had lost the initial advantage of being more maneuverable, were easily destroyed, and had eventually to inflict their most serious damage by being piloted directly into their targets, in that strange and anti-human phenomenon we came to call kamikaze. The enemy's ships, for a time almost unchallenged on the Pacific, were out-maneuvered, out-fought, and finally almost eradicated by the sea-air forces of the United States Navy which, as the war drew to a close, was incomparably the most powerful navy the world has ever seen or will ever see again.

Despite the gains made in the middle years of the war, gains made possible by the great productive and transport power of the United States, and by the almost routine and universal bravery and skill of Allied fighting men engaged in the Pacific, Japan presented a formidable appearance as the European war ended. It had, considering the size and strength of the forces being marshalled against it, the appearance essentially of a power which needed to be mopped up, because it was severely weakened in important respects and possessed no military resources which would stave off defeat; yet its remaining resources—of which geography was still one of the most important—were such that the mopping up gave promise of being arduous and protracted. Its holdings were so far-flung that three relatively uncoordinated campaigns—the spearhead at Okinawa; the consolidation of our earlier gains in the southwest Pacific which had left many thousands of enemy troops by-passed; and the sprawling campaign in the Southeast Asia Command—were being waged against Japan. On the mainland of Asia the Japanese were just being pushed out of the most advantageous position they had ever held, with a land corridor from Korea to Singapore. Chinese forces were slowly staging a comeback, thanks to American training and the impetus of American supplies flowing in over the arduous hump route; but China, weakened by aggression and by savage internal discord, gave no promise of a major contribution for a long time. The best and most numerous Japanese troops were concentrated in the unweakened Kwantung Army in Manchuria and north China. The home islands, lashed by ever-larger fleets of B-29's, bombarded and strafed at close range by the guns and aircraft of the unchallenged Pacific Fleet, interdicted from communication with the southern empire and the mainland by an increasingly stringent air and sea blockade, were still relatively untouched by war: their difficult terrain and strong military forces forecast a savage and bloody battle against the imminent invasion from the American sea.

This was the situation when the Potsdam ultimatum was issued. The Allied leaders cannot seriously have thought that it would be accepted. Defeat was inevitable for Japan; it was inevitably bloody and costly for the Allies to achieve that defeat. When the ultimatum was spurned, the order went forth to drop the atomic bomb. With its use, every military consideration of ages past was made subject to drastic review, the political organization of the world was made obsolete, the social orientation of mankind was radically altered, and the moral imperatives we have accepted were put to their gravest test. The least effect of the use of atomic energy was the immediate Japanese surrender. The entry of the Soviet Union into the war, pledged at Potsdam and likely hastened by the affair at Hiroshima, was only the capstone on the event. No nation has yet shown itself prepared to accept self-immolation, even though some less final solution involves a diminution of national honor.

So the war ended: but it ended so soon and with so little material cost to us only because we accepted the consequences implicit in setting in train the vastest and most unpredictable revolution of our troubled planet.

The Story of the PC 1264

BY ERIC PURDON

FIFTEEN months ago a lean new submarine chaser lay moored to Pier 42 in New York City. A little less than 180 feet long, she awaited the dedication that would make her the newest unit of Uncle Sam's fleet. The ship's company of sixty-six men stood rigid at salute, and with their friends and families on the dock watched the bright new ensign raised smartly to the flagstaff. The United States Ship PC 1264 was commissioned: the first minor warship to be manned by a predominantly Negro crew.

It is natural that this ship was destined to be watched with interest as a lesson in race relationships, not only by the navy, to whom it can mean a new source of manpower, but by all who want democracy to work. For here was a chance to see whether the familiar generalizations about the Negro are true. Basically the question early in 1944 was: "Can Negroes make good seamen?"

The "good" is important, for seagoing Negroes are not new in the history of the world. One made the first transatlantic crossing with Columbus; others fought in the embryo Continental navy—but how good they were as seamen I don't know. As commanding officer of the U. S. S. PC 1264, however, I know what a representative group has done in almost a year and a half of operations in all sorts of weather, in all sorts of sea, performing the duties of ships of our class: patrolling the sea lanes to search for and attack submarines, riding herd on the fat, slow, heavy-laden merchantmen plying the convoy routes.

When I assumed command on April 25 last year our complement consisted of five white commissioned officers, eight white leading petty officers, and fifty-three colored ratings and seamen. Geographically we were a typical American crew: there were men from the plains of the Middle West, the forests of the North, the cotton fields of the South, the ranches of the Far West; farm boys, garage mechanics, fishermen, mail clerks, stevedores, warehousemen—the oldest forty-four, the youngest seventeen.

The eight white petty officers were ordered to the ship primarily as instructors, for the strength of any fighting organization is in its non-coms. At that time Negroes hadn't held general rates long enough to have seagoing experience, irrespective of the lack of ships for them to serve in. For after the last war, when the armed forces were cut to peacetime strength, the only branch of the navy in which Negroes could enlist was the stewards'. General rates, such as boatswain, gunner's mate, and machinist, were closed to them until 1942. It was realized that experienced white men would be needed at the start; later, if Negroes were found to qualify as leading petty officers, the white personnel could be transferred and Negroes promoted to replace them. Within six months I was able to recommend that this change be effected. Today all petty officers and one commissioned officer are colored.

Of course, a few months' sea duty doesn't make a rounded seaman. There is always a lot to be learned, not only by the enlisted men but by the officers. The expansion of the service necessitated rapid learning, and I consider that the greatest secret weapon our country produced in this war was the development of intensive teaching methods that enabled us within a short time not only to man ships as they should be manned but to operate the many new scientific devices of modern warfare. Education is the secret of the PC 1264's success. Generalizations such as "Negroes haven't the capacity to learn" are nonsense. Give them the opportunity and they'll learn. In all the services the men who have caused disciplinary problems are largely those from poor communities where educational facilities—particularly for Negroes—

are few or non-existent. When they have the opportunity and the incentive to learn, discipline takes care of itself.

When I was ordered to the ship, the racial problem was something with which I had not concerned myself. Enjoying the quiet life of an editor in a Northern publishing house before being called to active duty early in 1941, I had had practically no contact with Negroes. I knew there was a problem, just as I knew there was an Arab-Jew problem in Palestine and a Serb-Croat problem in the Balkans. All were beyond my personal orbit. I was perhaps typical of many white Americans. My duty aboard this vessel has convinced me that it is just this lack of knowledge that is the root of misunderstanding between the two peoples. When they are engaged in a common purpose misunderstanding disappears, and a new, usually surprising, realization takes its place—a realization summed up in the words of a Southern officer full of arguments for "white supremacy," who was a passenger for a short while: "Halfway through the trip I forgot they were black."

On the PC 1264 we learned to judge each other only as individuals. I remember a youngster I restricted to the ship for returning late from liberty. The following day he requested a transfer, because, he claimed, the crew was picking on him. I discovered that the crew had laughed at him for believing that he had been restricted because of his color. Soon he was laughing himself.

At one time we had delivered a convoy and were in a port awaiting the formation of a returning convoy. In a bar, some white sailors from a ship in our task group overheard some local civilian drunks discussing plans for an attack on "that nigger ship down at the dock." Quietly leaving, the sailors returned to their vessel, gathering shipmates en route and alerting the duty section aboard. Without a word to us, they made arrangements for what undoubtedly would have been an annihilation of any attacking force. Fortunately, nothing materialized, but the signficance is there, especially when you consider that no one on our ship even heard of the incident until six months later.

We have had a few unpleasant experiences, all but one caused by civilians, and all, strangely enough, during our first few months of duty. In each case it has turned out that the cause of the trouble did not lie with my men. A typical incident occurred when we were fueling from an oil dock: the manager disliked being advised of the positions of the intake valves by a thoroughly competent Negro engineer. All the incidents were similarly petty but none the less outrageous in terms of human feeling. I confess that they infuriated me far more than they appeared on the surface to hurt my men.

But respect for the U. S. S. PC 1264 has grown. We have done our duty well. We have great pride in our ship, the pride every sailor feels in a smart ship that can respond to the banshee wail of the general alarm and have every gun firing in a matter of seconds. Our pride was enhanced a few weeks ago by the tough inspection made by our frontier commander. In one short day, the inspection board flung problems at us; individual inspectors queried different men about their jobs; simulated battle situations were presented one after another. How the men reacted can best be illustrated by the answer a signalman made to the question: "What do you do when the ship is so badly iced up that the signal lights cannot be operated?" Without a moment's hesitation the signalman replied, "On this ship, sir, we never allow our lights to get in that condition."

The terse summation of the report was the answer to the question whether Negroes can make good seamen: "The response of the crew to Battle Stations and all Emergency Drills was outstanding. . . . The PC 1264 is reported to be in an effective state of readiness." Speaking for myself, I know of no other crew I'd rather have in combat.

In the Wind

REPRIEVE: The August 11 bulletin of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States had this to say about the splitting of the atom: "With the knowledge that this energy cannot at once be used for purposes other than destruction, immediate jeopardy to our economy is not in sight."

PUBLIC RELATIONS: *Tide*, an advertising trade publication, reported in its issue of August 6 that the National Association of Manufacturers, "which abandoned its last advertising campaign after a very short run, is considering a new series on a different subject." The old subject was Private Enterprise. It was dropped in February of this year, after a storm of protests from the public.

VISION: George Coppock of Detroit made this suggestion in a letter to the Windsor, Ontario, *Star* on August 8: "With proper organization and timing, from the bones of the Conservative Party and the futility of the Labor Party the British Fascist Party can come to power. 'Britons, myriad voices call thee, come be wedded each and all into one imperial whole!' There is a slogan for an imperial Fascist Party, a force which can save us from the night of communism. Conservatism is willing but ineffectual. Hail to an imperial Fascist Party! The stalwarts of the empire salute you!"

DRAMA: Harriet Van Horne of the New York *World-Telegram*, doing a post-mortem August 13 on Clare Luce's appearance in "Candida," reported that many rehearsals were held at Mrs. Luce's home. "Now and then, despite good intentions all around, a political note would creep in. Some of the actors were said to have suffered slight indigestion when the hostess—so goes the story—expressed concern over the fate of her old friend, M. Pierre Laval. But generally, everybody, including Candida herself, put up a gallant, nonpartisan front."

DETAIL: The Prague radio reports that at his preliminary questioning Karl Hermann Frank, former Gauleiter of Bohemia and Moravia, said Lidice was exterminated without his knowledge or consent. "Another question was, 'What do you know of the second act of extermination at Lezaky?' He replied that he remembered 'only vaguely.' 'After all,' he said, 'that was only a very small community.' "

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay $1 for each item accepted.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

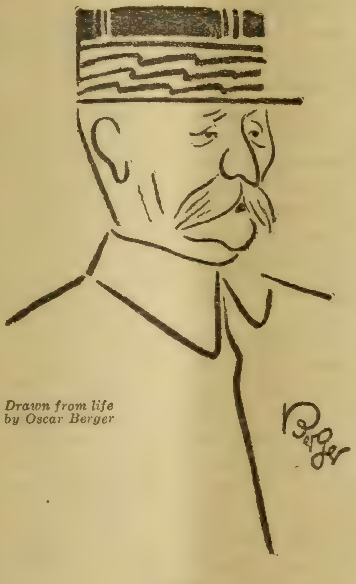
Exit the Marshal

BY FREDERIC POTTECHER

[*M. Pottecher, before the war a member of the staff of* Paris-Soir, *was a prisoner in Germany in 1940; later, after escaping, he became editor of a clandestine newspaper in Corsica. He is at present in charge of shortwave broadcasts beamed from Paris to the Middle East.*]

Paris, August 16 (By cable)

SO HE stands condemned, this man of fine demeanor. But we had heard too much about his blue eyes—blue like France's sky—his military bearing, his shrewd good sense. We heard too much when he reigned in Vichy of his habits of order, his method, his simplicity. We saw it was true during the long sessions of his trial. When he came into the packed chamber of the High Court with his quick step and impeccable marshal's uniform, he lived up to his legend. He took his place in the armchair reserved for him, placed his gloves, his gold-embroidered kepi, and his watch, ten minutes fast, on the little table, and waited. He listened closely, but dozed when the lawyers, witnesses, jurymen, and judges quarreled over a word or a minor point of procedure. So it was during each day of the trial.



Drawn from life by Oscar Berger

Pétain

His physical appearance, so unequivocal, made his presence the more tragic, for the Pétain trial was a trial of treason veiled with ambiguity. The witnesses for the prosecution were the most important. Reynaud, Daladier, Lebrun, Jeanneney, Herriot, all accused Pétain but had themselves to explain certain of their acts. When they stepped down all was not clear. The affair of the 1940 National Assembly? The coup d'état? The crime against the Republic? The arrest of Mandel? Yes, these facts are known, but agreement on the circumstances is impossible. Ambiguity had its place in the trial from the beginning.

Only Blum destroyed momentarily the Verdun legend. For a moment we felt delivered from the remains of the Pétain myth and hated this man whose blue eyes hid so well his black soul. We looked him in the face again, a face without lines as though cast in a mold of wax, a face that almost resembled the mask of a man already dead. He was listening, still cupping his ear. He had repeatedly denied hearing what was said, but one had the feeling that he heard what he wanted to, although sometimes he seemed to fall asleep. No one could be certain; there was ambiguity even there.

When the witnesses for the defense were called to the stand the second act of the drama began. Generals, admirals, former ministers, even Prince François Xavier de Bourbon-Parme, came to proclaim their varying degrees of attachment to "the Marshal." But between the first and second acts an apparition had appeared: Pierre Laval. A frightful spectacle was offered by the two men who then confronted one another: one was for many present the very image of the old and glorious French army—Pétain wore the Médaille Militaire, highest decoration conferred by the Third Republic on general officers—the other the very image of a suspect parliamentarian of the old regime. Laval was indeed the symbol of former parliamentary trash, ugly, flabby, unclean; his singsong voice the more unpleasant for its strong and vulgar regional accent. Laval pleaded neither for nor against Pétain but solely on his own behalf. "I am a good republican," he cried; and again, "I thought the best way to serve my country was to negotiate with the conqueror." He kept harping on his "negotiations." Apparently he believes sincerely that one can negotiate for anything. Honor and national pride are concepts of which Laval is unaware. His testimony was to have been sensational, but it was not.

The Court, awakened by the novelty of his appearance, turned glumly to the witnesses for the defense.

All these military men, and former Vichy ministers, except perhaps De Brinon, are still haunted by the Pétain myth. Certain of them displayed great sincerity. They asserted that the Marshal saved not only France but Russia, America, and the world. The fanatic General Lacaille in particular tried to convince the Court that the Marshal's double game saved North Africa from German occupation which would have prevented Allied landings in Algiers. Lacaille maintained that the Marshal was, therefore, the great artisan of victory. The speciousness of this reasoning is evident. Lacaille, who until recently commanded a division in the army of General de Lattre de Tassigny, was clearly incapable of understanding the meaning of the resistance movement: he could conceive only the supposed "tacit" resistance of Pétain. Thus the question came up of the "official secret army" of which Lacaille and other generals of the armistice army were the principal leaders. Questioned closely by the resistance jurors, Lacaille claimed he had cached enough arms to equip twenty-four divisions—"36 milliards' worth," he said. "For what or for whom did these arms serve?" His replies were unsatisfactory. One-third were captured by the Germans, one third may have been used by the Maquis, the rest are still hidden. In any case this general, like so many of his colleagues, clings to the belief that it was an official army with uniforms, cadres, and gold braid which saved France. He said nothing about the real resistance movement, the underground and the men who fought in it. Nor did he admit that the Vichy army did nothing or almost nothing to boot the Germans out of France. But Lacaille, like Prince François de Bourbon-Parme, who was interned in Dachau, like Monsieur Pinelli, former Deputy and municipal councillor of Paris, believes in good faith what he said.

Laval

Again the old ambiguity. Did Pétain really encourage this secret army? It is to be noted in any case that all witnesses for the defense defended chiefly the reactionary caste to which they belong, for it is certain that all the adulators of Pétain, whose patriotism cannot be denied, cling desperately to the Right. France's salvation affects them deeply; democracy's not at all. This is why they refuse to believe Pétain could have betrayed his country.

The prosecuting attorney general's indictment brought us out of these fictions back to realm of truth. He asked for the death penalty knowing what he risked by so doing, for like the resistance jurors he had received letters threatening him with death if Pétain should be condemned, letters signed "Franc-Garde du Maréchal." The indictment was precise, dignified, well thought out. So was the first speech for the defense delivered by M. Payen. There was a conspiracy against the Republic, said Attorney General Mornet. There was no conspiracy, retorted M. Payen. Again it is slightly ambiguous. M. Lemaire, third attorney for the defense, used another method; with wide gestures and in a loud voice he tried to play upon the emotions of the jurors. Unfortunately for him the jurors were former Maquisards, former F. F. I. section-leaders—not very sentimental. Next day M. Payen delivered his second speech, this time defending Vichy's foreign policy. His colleague, M. Isorni, second attorney for the the defense, endeavored to justify Pétain's internal policies. It was a clever job but still unconvincing. The president of the High Court, M. Mongibeaux, magnificent in red robes and ermine cape, smiled. His sentiments were easy to guess. As for Pétain, although remaining impassive he started once when he thought the defense had given up trying but quickly fell back to his enigmatic silence. At nine o'clock last Tuesday evening the defense rested its case. Defendant, judges, jurors, everyone was thoroughly tired. The jury's deliberations were about to begin. All eyes were fixed on Pétain. Will he speak? Pétain, who was thought to be at the end of his strength, rose and spoke. Once again he declared that his conscience was clear and that he believed he had served France well.

After seven hours of deliberation the jurors returned with the verdict. Pétain listened to their judgment but did not hear the words, "is condemned to the penalty of death, to national unworthiness, and to the confiscation of his worldly goods." He was led out and in the early hours of Wednesday morning one of the world's great trials was over. Today he occupies a cell, once Georges Mandel's, in the Fortress of Portalet in the Pyrenees. Since the jury recommended leniency Pétain will probably not be executed, but he has disappeared for good. Do those who were his followers realize now the wrong he did to France? It is not at all sure they do, for the Pétain legend even now has not been entirely extirpated.

German Unions Under Military Government

[Reprinted from The Tribune, *London, July 27, 1945.]*

EVIDENCE is accumulating on the extent to which German trade-union committees and Socialist and Communist groups survived the Hitler regime and the war. And the survival is on a far larger scale than official handouts and newspaper correspondents have led us to believe. Such groups have been found in literally all cities and industrial centers within the Anglo-American zone of occupation, and in many cases they have proved to be surprisingly coherent and well organized.

The trade-union committees consist generally of local pre-Hitler trade-union officials and shop stewards. Most of the latter were blacklisted and lost their jobs when the Nazis came to power; many of them spent long periods in jails and concentration camps. Those who remained free managed to eke out a precarious existence in new occupations— as soap or tobacco vendors, as gardeners, street cleaners, and the like. But throughout the years of the Hitler regime and the war they succeeded not only in maintaining local contacts with one another but in many cases even in maintaining national contacts.

In Frankfurt, for instance, thirty-five former trade-union officials were found to have survived and to have made full preparations for the reorganization of the unions. Of their former colleagues, 139 were killed either by the Nazis or by our bombs. A number of the survivors maintained secret contacts with the Berlin underground center of the Metal Workers' Union until as late as last September. Many of them had been closely associated with Leuschner in the preparation for the abortive attempt on Hitler's life a year ago.

Most of these men were former members of the free trade unions, but some of them come from the Catholic unions or the (democratic non-socialist) Hirsch-Duncker unions. They had already decided, at a secret conference held two years ago, that in the future post-Hitler Germany there should be a single non-political and non-denominational trade organization with membership open to all workers, employees, and civil servants.

Extensive and detailed plans have been worked out for the reorganization of the new united trade-union organizations and for the re-acquisition of the large funds, properties, and subsidiary organizations (such as workers' savings banks, building societies, etc.) which the Nazis stole from the unions. Whether or not any of these plans can be carried into practice depends, however, almost exclusively on the decisions of Allied Military Government.

In the absence of an agreed and sane Allied policy for Germany, a great deal is left to the discretion of the Military Government officers on the spot; and almost everything depends on the hazards of their individual ability, understanding, and political inclination. The result is their encouragement of trade-union reorganization in some areas and the gravest discouragement, if not actual suppression, in others.

In one case it happened that the pre-Nazi chairman of the shop-steward organization of one big factory—who throughout the last twelve years had maintained contact with the workers there although he was fired in 1933—approached the managing director of that firm on V-E Day plus one with the request that all Nazis in his firm should be immediately dismissed. He handed the managing director, who was not a Nazi, a list of 700 people—workers and clerks as well as managers—who were all active Party members. The managing director immediately complied and reinstated the old shop-steward leader. Military Government officers were unaware of what had happened until many weeks later.

In other cases, by contrast, Nazi managers and owners of factories, now working for the Military Government at reduced capacity, exploit this position systematically to dismiss leading anti-Nazi workers who have come into the open. And they suffer no interference from Military Government officers. The blackest spots in this respect are Bavaria, in the American zone, where a totally reactionary Catholic regime has been installed and all progressive anti-Nazi movements suppressed; and Westphalia, in the British zone.

The situation in Westphalia is particularly serious because of its importance as a coal-mining area. The chance of survival in the coming winter of probably millions of men and women all over Europe will depend, to a large extent, on our capacity to revive German coal production. Yet the rich Ruhr mines in Westphalia are producing very little coal, although they are technically more or less intact.

There are two chief reasons for this. One is the physical weakness of the miners, who are too hungry to be able to do much work. The other reason is their unwillingness to continue work under the hated Nazi owners and managers. There have been several miners' strikes since May, not against the occupation authorities, but against the Nazi bosses who continue to function as colliery managers under British protection. Chiefly responsible for this state of affairs is Lieutenant Colonel Thompson—known among his colleagues as Colonel "Blimp" Thompson—who has been put in charge of labor administration in Westphalia. His qualicatifion as administrator of miners and mining problems probably derives from his pre-war speculations in gold-mining shares.

The vast majority of the Ruhr miners have remained staunchly anti-Nazi. Many of them were known to the Nazi authorities as anti-Nazis, but they remained at liberty because they were indispensable to the German war effort. Many of them had their labor books stamped by the Nazis with the word *Wehrunwürdig*. That meant they were too dangerous politically to be allowed or forced to join the army. So strictly were they supervised that they were not allowed even to visit a friend or relative without previous permission from the police or without a Nazi escort. Yet now, after the Nazi defeat, they are supposed to work under the same bosses who were responsible for and organized their oppression.

It is certainly wrong that the job of dealing with such problems is left to various military Blimps who know nothing whatever about labor problems. The Americans have at least some trade unionists among their Military Government officials who deal with these questions, whereas, to our knowledge, there is not a single British trade unionist attached to the Military Government in the British zone. It is true that officers on the spot can deal only with local problems and have no influence on Allied over-all policy; but they could at least prevent such absurd and dangerous decisions as that originally made by the aforementioned Lieutenant Colonel Thompson, who wanted to ban all but the Catholic trade unions because, in his opinion, these were the only "non-political" ones.

There are even more serious issues at stake. Allied military authorities are at present considering plans to reinstate the big Ruhr industrialists as owners and responsible managers of their properties—men like Krupp, Stinnes, Thyssen, and others whose names have become symbols all over the world of German war-mongering and imperialism, of treachery and ruthless exploitation. If we want to smear the good name of Britain beyond repair this is exactly what we should do. If we want to make sure of a coal crisis in Germany—with all its consequences to Europe this winter—we could indeed not do better than to reinstate Thyssen and Krupp and Stinnes.

COMING IN *THE NATION*

THE NEW FRONTIERS OF SCIENCE
By J. D. Bernal, F.R.S

One of Britain's most distinguished scientists discusses the scientific and social implications of the atomic revolution.

CALIFORNIA LOOKS TO 1946
By Carey McWilliams

***The Nation's* West Coast correspondent reports on the end of "the Hiram Johnson era" and reviews the interesting collection of candidates mentioned for the Senate election next year, including Orson Welles and Colonel Evans Carlson of "Carlson's Raiders."**

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

F. SCOTT FITZGERALD

BY LIONEL TRILLING

"So be it! I die content and my destiny is fulfilled," said Racine's Orestes; and there is more in his speech than the insanely bitter irony that appears on the surface. Racine, fully conscious of this tragic grandeur, permits Orestes to taste for a moment before going mad with grief, the supreme joy of a hero: to assume his *exemplary* role.

THIS heroic self-awareness—André Gide speaks of it in his essay on Goethe—was granted to Scott Fitzgerald for what grim joy he might find in it. And perhaps it is a seal set upon his heroic status that he could utter his vision of his own fate, publicly and aloud and in *Esquire,* not only with no lessening but even with an enhancement of his dignity. Edmund Wilson has gathered together the several essays in which Fitzgerald examined his life in crisis and has published them, together with Fitzgerald's notebooks and some letters, as well as certain tributes and memorabilia, in a volume called, after one of the essays, "The Crack-Up."* It is a book filled with the grief of the lost and the might-have-been, with physical illness and torture of mind. Yet the heroic quality is so much here that it occurs to us to say, and not merely as something we would like to feel, but as the true expression of what we actually do feel:

Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
Or knock the breast, no weakness, no contempt,
Dispraise, or blame, nothing but well and fair,
And what may quiet us in a death so noble.

It is not what we may fittingly say on all tragic occasions, but the original occasion for these words is strikingly apt to Fitzgerald. Like Milton's Samson, he had the consciousness of having misused a gift of strength—"I had been only a mediocre caretaker . . . of my talent." And the parallel carries further, to the sojourn among the Philistines and even to the maimed hero exhibited and mocked for the amusement of the crowd—readers of the New York *Evening Post* of September 25, 1936, will remember a front-page feature story in which the sick and incoherent Fitzgerald was "interviewed" in a Southern nursing home, and they will find a special pleasure in the recovered poise and fortitude which marked Fitzgerald's words in the few but vindicated years that were left to him.

The root of Fitzgerald's heroism is to be found, as it often is in tragic heroes, in his power of love. Fitzgerald wrote much about love, he was preoccupied with it, but it is not merely where he is being explicit about it that his power appears. It is to be seen where eventually all a writer's qualities have their true existence, in his style. Even in Fitzgerald's early, cruder books, or even in his commercial stories, and even when the style is careless, there is a tône and pitch to the sentences which suggest his warmth and tenderness and, what is rare nowadays, his mildness without softness. In the equipment of the moralist and therefore in the equipment of the novelist, aggression plays an important part, and although it is of course sanctioned by the writer's moral intention and whatever truth of moral view he may have, it is often none the less fierce and even cruel. Fitzgerald was a moralist to the core—his desire to "preach at people in some acceptable form" is the reason he gives for not going the way of Cole Porter and Rogers and Hart: let us always remember how many real choices he was free and forced to make—and he was gifted with the satiric eye, yet we feel of him that he is more drawn to the celebration of the good than to the destruction of the bad. The satire is there, the attack is made. But Fitzgerald, we feel, did not attach himself to the good because that attachment would sanction his fierceness toward the bad; his first impulse was to love the good—and we feel this the more surely because we must be aware that he loved the good not only with his mind but also with his quick senses and his youthful pride.

He had but small impulse to blame. "Forbearance, good word," is one of the jottings in his notebook. When it came to blame, he preferred, it seems, to blame himself. He even did not much want to blame the world. Fitzgerald knew where "the world" was at fault. He knew that it was the condition, the field, of tragedy. He is always conscious of "what preyed on Gatsby, what foul dust floated in the wake of his dreams." But he never made out that the world imposes tragedy, either upon the heroes of his novels, whom he called his "brothers," or upon himself. When he speaks of his own fate, he does indeed connect it with the nature of the social world in which he had his early flowering, but he never finally lays it upon that world, even though at the time that he was most aware of his destiny it was fashionable with minds more pretentious than his to lay all personal difficulty whatever at the door of the "social order." It is *his* fate—and as much as to anything else in Fitzgerald, we respond to the delicate tension he maintained between the sense of personal free will and the sense of circumstance: we respond to that moral energy. ". . . The test of a first-rate intelligence," he said, "is the ability to hold two opposed ideas in the mind, at the same time, and still retain the ability to function."

The power of love in Fitzgerald, then, went hand in hand with a sense of personal responsibility and perhaps created it. But it often happens that the tragic hero can conceive and realize a love that is beyond his own prudence or beyond his power of dominance, so that he is destroyed by the very thing that gives him status and stature. From Proust we know about a love that is destructive by its corrosive nature. But from Fitzgerald's two mature novels, "The Great Gatsby" and "Tender Is the Night," we learn of a love—perhaps, in its ideal, peculiarly American—that is destructive by its tenderness. It begins in romance, sentiment, even "glamor"—no one, I think, has remarked how innocent of mere "sex," how charged with sentiment is Fitzgerald's description of love in the jazz age—and it takes upon itself reality and permanence and duty discharged with an almost masochistic scrupulousness of honor. In bright dreams begins the responsibility which needs so much prudence and dominance to sustain; and Fitzgerald would seem not to have been a prudent man and he tells us that at a certain point in his college career "some old desire for personal dominance was broken and gone." He connects that loss of dominance with his ability to write and he set down in his notebook the belief that "to record one must be unwary."

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* The Crack-Up. By F. Scott Fitzgerald. With other Uncollected Pieces, Note-Books and Unpublished Letters, Together with Letters to Fitzgerald from Gertrude Stein, Edith Wharton, T. S. Eliot, Thomas Wolfe, and John Dos Passos, and Essays and Poems by Paul Rosenfeld, Glenway Wescott, John Dos Passos, John Peale Bishop, and Edmund Wilson. Edited by Edmund Wilson. New Directions. $3.50.

The phrase from Yeats, the connection of the "dreams" with the "responsibility," reminds us that we must guard against dismissing, with easy words about its immaturity, Fitzgerald's preoccupation with the bright charm of his youth; for Yeats himself, a wiser man and wholly fulfilled, kept to the last of his old age his connection with his vanity of youth. A writer's days must be "bound each to each" by his sense of his life, and Fitzgerald the undergraduate was father of the best in the man and the novelist.

His sojourn among the Philistines is always much in the mind of everyone who thinks about Fitzgerald and indeed it was always much in his own mind. Everyone knows the famous exchange between Fitzgerald and Ernest Hemingway (Hemingway refers to it in his story, The Snows of Kilimanjaro, and Fitzgerald records it in his notebook) in which, to Fitzgerald's remark, "The very rich are different from us," Hemingway replied, "Yes, they have more money." It is usually supposed that Hemingway had the better of the exchange and quite settled the matter. But we ought not to be too sure. The novelist of a certain kind, if he is to write about social life, must always risk a certain ambiguity in his social attitudes. The novel took its rise from a sense of a disrupted society and from the interpenetration of classes, and the novelist must still live by his sense of class differences and must be absorbed by them, as Fitzgerald was, even though he despise them, as Fitzgerald did.

But the "very rich" were more for Fitzgerald than a field of social observation. They were all the aristocracy that America could offer him and we cannot be too simple about what a critic has recently noted, the artist's frequent "taste for aristocracy, his need—often quite open—of a superior social class with which he can make some fraction of common cause—enough, at any rate, to account for his own distinction." And despite the immunity to all worldly considerations which is of course the free privilege of every reader, must we not admit that there is a special charm in the writers who snatched at social establishment, in those risen gentlemen, Shakespeare and Dickens, in those fabricators of the honorific "de," Voltaire and Balzac? Their snobbery—let us call it that—is of a large and generous kind and we cannot be entirely wrong in connecting their peculiar energies of mind in creation with whatever it was they wanted from gentility or aristocracy. Yeats, to mention him again, spoke of the falseness of the belief that the "inherited glory of the rich" really holds richness of life—"Mere dreams! mere dreams!" he said:

> Yet Homer had not sung
> Had he not found it certain beyond dreams
> That out of life's own self-delight had sprung
> The abounding glittering jet. . . .

And Henry James, at the threshhold of his career, allegorized in his story, Benvolio, the interplay that is necessary for some artists between their creative asceticism and the bright, free, gay world, noting at the same time the desire of the bright world to destroy the asceticism.

With a man like Goethe the balance between the world and his asceticism is maintained, and so we forgive him his often absurd feelings (but perhaps absurd only in the light of our present opinion of his assured genius) about aristocracy. Fitzgerald could not always keep the balance true; he was not, as I have said, a prudent man. And no doubt he deceived himself a good deal in his youth, but certainly his self-deception was not in the interests of vulgarity, for aristocracy meant to him a kind of distinction of personal existence which, presumably, he was so humble as not to expect from his art. That this was so we can learn from the hero of one of his *Saturday Evening Post* stories for whom "it was not so bad—except that when the infantry came limping back from the trenches he wanted to be one of them. The sweat and mud they wore seemed only one of those ineffable symbols of aristocracy that were forever eluding him."

I am aware that I have involved Fitzgerald with a great many great names and that it might be felt by some that this can do Fitzgerald no service, the disproportion being so large. But I think the disproportion will seem large only to those who think of Fitzgerald chiefly through his early, public legend of heedlessness; those who have a clear recollection of the mature work or who have read "The Crack-Up" will at least not think of the disproportion as one of kind. Fitzgerald himself did not, and it is by a man's estimate of himself that we must begin to estimate him. For all the engaging self-deprecation which was part of his peculiarly American charm, he put himself, in all modesty, in the line of greatness, he judged himself in a large way. When he writes of his depression, of his "dark night of the soul" where "it is always three o'clock in the morning," he adduces Wordsworth, Keats, and Shelley. A novel with Ernest Hemingway as the model of its hero suggests to him Stendhal portraying the Byronic man, and he defends "The Great Gatsby" from some stricture of Edmund Wilson's by comparing it with "The Brothers Karamazov." Or again, here is the stuff of his intellectual pride at the very moment that he speaks of giving it up as he had given up the undergraduate dreams of valor: "The old dream of being an entire man in the Goethe-Byron-Shaw tradition . . . has been relegated to the junk heap of the shoulder pads worn for one day on the Princeton freshman football field and the overseas cap never worn overseas." And it was by no means, in its magnitude, an unjustified dream. To take but one great name, the one that on first appearance seems the least likely —between Goethe at twenty-four with "Werther" and Fitzgerald at twenty-four with "This Side of Paradise" there is really not so entire a difference as piety and textbooks might make us think, both young men so handsome and ridiculously successful, both rather more interested in life than in art, each the spokesman and symbol of his restless young generation.

It is now twenty years since T. S. Eliot said of "The Great Gatsby" that it was "the first step that American fiction has taken since Henry James"; and although "Tender Is The Night" is not in every way a success, it is another step and it embodies the great conception of the novel to a degree that few American books can match. To read the notebooks that Fitzgerald kept—indexing them in the manner he had learned from Samuel Butler's—and to perceive how closely they make us apply our mind to our life, or to read his letters to his daughter (they are among the best and most affecting letters I know) and hear his tone as he writes about literature, the tone of a master among equals, is to be happily sure of his quality.

He lacked prudence, as his heroes did, lacked that blind instinct of self-protection which the self-fulfilling writer needs and which the American writer seems to need in a double measure. But that is all that he lacked—and it is the generous fault, even the heroic fault. He said of his Gatsby:

> If personality is an unbroken series of successful gestures, then there was something gorgeous about him, some heightened sensitivity to the promises of life, as if he were related to one of those intricate machines that register earthquakes ten thousand miles away. This responsiveness had nothing to do with that flabby impressionability which is dignified under the name of "the creative temperament"—it was an extraordinary gift for hope, a romantic readiness such as I have never found in any other person and which it is not likely I shall ever find again. No—Gatsby turned out all right at the end; it is what preyed on Gatsby, what foul dust floated in the wake of his dreams. . . .

And it is so that we are drawn to see Fitzgerald as he stands in his "exemplary role."

BRIEFER COMMENT

Where Realists Meet

THERE IS ONLY ONE THING WRONG about David J. Dallin's very readable book, "The Big Three" (Yale University Press, $2.75). It is the first paragraph: "There shall not, there must not, be a Third World War. The piled-up corpses already reach the sky," etc. After this outburst of wishful thinking and tear-drenched sentimentality, Dallin reverts to sound realism of the Homer Lea, Halford Mackinder kind: there is nothing in this world but power, and power leads inevitably to armed conflict. The book simply lists a large number of sore spots, each likely to infect the whole body.

Dallin has no remedy to offer. He came to us after a long and tragic experience abroad. He met, I surmise, a number of tough journalists, and maybe a few Yale or Columbia professors, tougher still. They confirmed him in his "muscular" thinking. He does not know us well enough to realize that in due course the people will have the last word, and that the American people want peace and justice, not empire.

The limitations being granted—the book is elementary in thought and information—the presentation of the facts is both fair and clear. Every state is presented in the sharp and morose light of *Realpolitik*, and Russia is no worse than ourselves. *In cauda venenum*: in the conclusion, there is more than a hint that the disturbing element is the U. S. S. R.; and that it is high time for England and America to take up the work of Hitler and Franco, so unfortunately interrupted. But this is a strong hint, not a thesis.

At any rate, it is not the logical conclusion of the book. The final paragraph should be a complete reversal of the first: "There shall be, there must be, a Third World War, and so *ad infinitum*." But the book is thoroughly honest in its narrow way; the style is pleasing, half-way between the journalistic and the historical. As I enjoyed "The Big Three," I should like to close this dubious appraisal with two points which I whole-heartedly indorse (realists of various schools do meet in the end): "Europe needs German industry; without the economy of her most industrialized nation, Europe will be the poorer." "The predominance of the Big Three cannot be durable. A wartime combination, it will end soon after the war."

ALBERT GUERARD

Latin-American Writing

AT LEAST SINCE the moment when cultural relations with South American countries became of official interest to the American government, it has been considered a sign of intellectual immaturity to talk of the Southern continent as a whole. The recognized mark of wisdom in these matters has become an insistence upon differentiation between the various nations. Not only do the knowing refrain from mentioning Mexico and Argentina in the same breath, they even distinguish between types of folk songs, for instance, in such neighboring microcosms as Honduras and Costa Rica, or between the development of prose styles in Colombia and Ecuador.

Now comes the distinguished scholar Pedro Henríquez-Ureña and reverses the process in his "synthetic" history, "Literary Currents in Hispanic America" (Harvard, $3.50) which his publisher sub-titles "A cultural survey of Latin America from the time of the Conquistadores to the present." Perhaps because Señor Henríquez-Ureña was born offshore, in the small island republic of Santo Domingo, he prefers to look at the Latin-American portion of the hemisphere whole. Even the fact of its two languages, Spanish and Portuguese, fails to shake his calm consideration of its literary currents in terms of "our America," "our literature," "our development." Separate countries he treats as chance geographic units whose borders are matters of historical accident. The important thing to him is their common Hispanic background and the currents related to a common "search for expression."

The result of this heresy is an urbane, scholarly, and seasoned work of a quality hitherto unknown in English writings on this subject. The author treats of Latin-American literature as though it was as much a part of the stream of world literature as anything written in England, France, or Russia. He presents Hispanic-American writers not as clever children or sublime geniuses—two classifications hitherto favorites among critics—but as talented men seeking the forms of expression suited to their needs. His history has form, substance, wit, authority. It gives literature its proper status as a generic part of the development of civilization in the southern hemisphere.

The book is made up of eight lectures delivered at Harvard during the winter of 1940-41, given at the invitation of the university as the Charles Eliot Norton lectures. The author then spent two and a half years rewriting them, enlarging their scope, adding valuable notes which form more than a quarter of the book. The fact that the chapters were first written to be read before a specific audience of intelligent and literate listeners may be responsible for a certain directness, vigor, and simplicity of address which are too seldom found in books on this subject.

Perhaps, considering all that Don Pedro has given us here, it is ungrateful to ask for more. Yet this book, with its sound background, broad vision, and brilliant understanding, merely whets one's appetite. MILDRED ADAMS

The Conditions of Peace

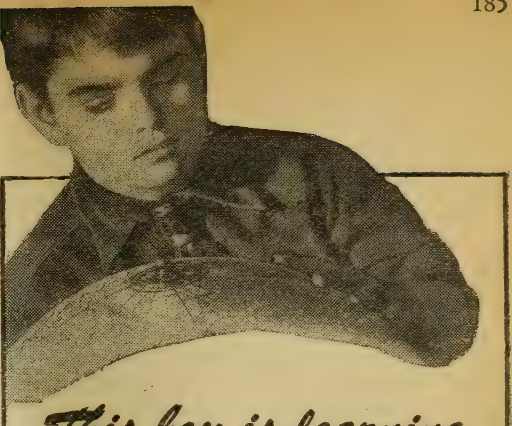
"TOTAL WAR AND THE HUMAN MIND," by Major A. M. Meerloo (International Universities Press, $1.75), is another of the *Ersatz* miscellanies that the war has produced; but, aside from its extreme brevity, it has a good deal to recommend it. The major, a medical officer in the Dutch army, was in Holland during two of the agonizing years of German occupation, and his book is a mixture of reminiscences, exhortations, and rather interesting reflections on the psychological aspects of the war. He has nothing particularly new to say, and he cannot in such brief compass deal adequately with any of the topics he treats. He furthermore goes in on occasion for the self-assured, dogmatic oversimplification that mars so much psychiatry. Nevertheless he writes for the most part with the clarity, simplicity, and temperateness that denote an exceptional command of one's subject; and he offers a number of salutary reminders: "The criminal hankers after his own punishment. . . . If this is applied to Germany, the inference must follow that before there can be any question of reformation or reeducation, there must be punishment. . . . The world [may be] lost through the vicious circle in which fear inspires aggressiveness, aggressiveness brings a sense of guilt, and guilt seeks an outlet in more aggressiveness."

Major Meerloo seems to subscribe to William James's view that the best way to learn about the normal is to study the abnormal, for he says that "to the psychologist abnormal circumstances are in the nature of experiments which history applies to humanity." The experimental situation is of necessity—that is, by definition—an abnormal one, and it is obviously true, however regrettable, that war is the best lesson in the nature and conditions of peace. The Major steps out of character, therefore, when he quotes some Dutch lawyer to the effect that "one should at no time discuss the law with a criminal." Prudent as it is, this is hardly in the spirit of James, nor is it consistent with the Major's commitment to "science."

If the book has a thesis, it is the astute, highly liberal one that the best mithridate against fanatical or obsessive behavior of any sort is the maximum voluntary intercourse of free people; for "when thinking is isolated and can no longer expand, delusion may follow." The book should be read on that account alone. MARTIN LEBOWITZ

Roadway to Brooklyn

IN "THE BUILDERS OF THE BRIDGE" (Harcourt, Brace, $3.50) D. D. Steinman tells the story of one of the



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seven wonders of the world with easy-to-read authority. Since he is an accomplished engineer himself, Mr. Steinman is in a position to appreciate the work of John A. Roebling and his son August and their almost insurmountable difficulties in building the Brooklyn Bridge. In addition, there are enough photographs, drawings, and engravings to make an interesting visual commentary on the great amount of material gathered. J. S.

Farmers and Industry

THE PROBLEM of food and farmers is admittedly difficult and complicated. The public mind has been confused by the behavior of the farm bloc, in wartime and earlier, and by the crop-reduction program of the government when faced by the severity of the great depression. For crop reduction in the face of hunger is one of the curious phenomena of our scarcity economics. In "The Farmer and the Rest of Us" (Atlantic Monthly Press Book, Little, Brown, $2.50) Arthur Moore goes to the root of the matter, bringing considerable order into the growing popular discussion of food and agriculture.

"The Farmer and the Rest of Us" is based on the assumption that farming is making its adjustments to the predominantly industrial culture of today, and because of this overall concept of the problem, the book comes clean on such difficult matters as the relation between farmers and organized labor, the wasteful and destructive use of soil resources in America, our growing tenancy, the growth of bigness on the one hand and poverty on the other, and the sense of insecurity among farm people even under the conditions of wartime profits. As a farmer I began Mr. Moore's book with a good many misgivings. I felt his judgments would be based too largely on his experience among the large corn growers of Illinois, and that he would see the situation in terms of price and profits as does the leadership of the farm organizations to which these growers often belong. I have finished it, however, feeling that Mr. Moore has presented not only a very fair and reasonable discussion of the farm problem in modern America, but an exceedingly provocative one.

The author asks the question: "Shall we learn to balance our food account with our permanent resources, land and human?" We must develop a permanent agriculture if we are to feed ourselves adequately and remain a great nation. And I take it he means by a permanent agriculture not only a system of farming the land which will maintain its fertility, but likewise an integration of the rural and urban people in an industrial society which will bring them security and a higher standard of life.

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Mr. Moore knows that this will not be easy to achieve, and he goes into a great many phases of the problem from public policy to a discussion of the farm organizations as pressure groups. His viewpoint is from the city and he is talking to city people in the main about a subject on which there is need for understanding. Moreover, the clear, easy, and lively style of the book should make it available to a large number of Americans who know now, after their war experience, that food is important and, for a great complexity of reasons, often difficult to get.

P. ALSTON WARING

Without the Law

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS'S "Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace" (Harcourt, Brace, $2) is timely and important in that it draws attention to a problem which has received far too little attention from liberals and which, one feels, was given scant attention at San Francisco and preceding United Nations conferences. There can be no secure foundation for peace, the author argues, unless the rights of colonial peoples are given effective status. It is not simply a question of supporting all national struggles for independence, but of deliberately and freely granting constructive aid to the colonial peoples so that they may become truly free. A simple maintenance of the old hypocritical mandates policy would be fatal.

Dr. Du Bois argues with much cogency, though many of his statements, as isolated assertions, are unacceptable to this reviewer. The author's indeterminate philosophy is responsible for this. He addresses himself to the reader in two polemical languages, one inflected by the author's warm and somewhat uncritical admiration for the U. S. S. R. and its policies, the other being the natural language of a vigorous, non-revolutionary liberal of native stock. But this criticism should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the book's message is fundamental, not merely to an honest liberalism but to any lasting solution of the problem of war and peace.

RALPH BATES

Milton and Eliot

T. S. ELIOT AND HIS SATELLITES effected a revolution in taste as well as poetry. In the last few years such assured stars as Goethe and Milton have paled under the glorification of Dante and Donne. Goethe is called a great man who aside from a few lyrics did little to prove it, and Milton is said to have manufactured beautiful music around a mythology that should have stayed in the Book of Genesis. Douglas Bush in "Paradise Lost in Our Time" (Cornell University, $2) analyzes some of the reasons for this and gives us a critical defense of Milton.

The book is in part a polemic against Eliot. In the first place, modernist taste for metaphysical poetry, "poetry which simultaneously embraces diverse planes of experience," is chiefly an apologetic for modernist poetry, which attempts the same thing. Certainly Eliot's poetry needs no such apology, and why, Mr. Bush asks, does appreciation of one kind of poetry demand rejection of another? Many modern poets, Allen Tate and John Crowe Ransom, for example, have expressed a great admiration for Milton, and Eliot himself coupled Milton and Shakespeare as our two greatest poets.

In the second place, the anti-Miltonists reject "Paradise Lost" because upon misreading it they find its morality and theology odious. It all starts with Satan's first speech, which a satanic modern society interprets as a bit of magnificent heroism. Mr. Bush insists that quite the contrary is true. Satan is not a hero but the seven deadly sins personified. Perhaps Milton thought so, but to me Satan is a tragic hero despite Mr. Bush's careful textual analysis to prove the contrary. That kind of analysis is a dangerous thing anyway; it reminds me of—I think it was Samuel Butler, who proved that Lucy Grey was someone Wordsworth had murdered.

I must take issue with Mr. Bush on another, more important point. One of the leaders of the anti-Milton movement is Ezra Pound. Mr. Bush uses this as a weapon in Milton's defense with a syllogism that runs something like this: Ezra Pound hates Milton, Ezra Pound is a fascist, therefore Milton is good. Mr. Bush should be ashamed of himself. That Pound is a foolish man politically has nothing to do with the fact that he is an astute critic and one of the major poets of our time.

For the most part the book is intelligent, healthy counter-criticism to the current praise for the modern metaphysical school of poetry.

JOHN SENIOR

FICTION IN REVIEW

ROBERT HENRIQUES, author of "No Arms, No Armour" and "The Voice of the Trumpet," has a new novel, "Home Fires Burning" (Viking, $2.50), about the post-war world. It is a theme we can no doubt expect to see explored very frequently in fiction, now that hostilities cease. But as a matter of fact, Mr. Henriques's story doesn't even wait on the termination of hostilities to set the wheels of domestic trouble in motion: victory is still only in sight when his England faces the difficulties of adjusting her fighting population to her civilians, her civilians to her fighters. The main thread of the novel is concerned with the reunion of a nice girl, Jane, a war nurse, with her childhood sweetheart, David Sloane, a distinguished writer before the war and a distinguished soldier in the war—until he was shot in the leg and head. The leg wound has healed but the head wound has laid bare the other side of David's personality; a brain concussion turns a seeming liberal into a dangerous fascist, and it is the point, of course, of Mr. Henriques's book that the returning troops are potential fascist material. Happily, at the end of the story, a sounder political thinking than David's is shown to prevail—that of David's unglamorous brother, Robert, and of Bill, the natural leader of the four returned soldiers with whom Jane has taken up on a railway platform. Of this symbolical quartet (they remind us of the drifting spirits that people a Prokosch novel), only another head-wound case is willing to follow David, but we are given to understand that even the mentally ill will also eventually prefer the direction of the Roberts and Bills of England to that of the Davids.

What Critics Say

about "Conspiracy *in* ALGIERS"

"'Conspiracy in Algiers' . . . is the most complete and informative report we have yet had. And though it reads like a detective story with bizarre plots and counter-plots and as fine an assortment of rogues, condottieri and ignoramouses as you are likely to find in a dozen books of fiction, Mme. Gosset manages skillfully to keep the emphasis in her book on the political significance of the events she describes. . . . For a dollar, it is the buy of the season."

WILLIAM L. SHIRER
N. Y. *Herald Tribune*, Aug. 12, 1945

"This book is the first to explain what really went on in Algiers. Why was Darlan brought to the spot? Why was he allowed to order resistance of American troops? Why was he condoned as the scion of Vichy? Why was he allowed the privilege of not only saving his neck, but ruling North Africa when every sane citizen expected him to be shot for a double traitor the morning after the landing? President Truman should read this book and act."

STERLING NORTH
New York *Post*, Aug. 2, 1945

"The war has provided some examples of pretty good history written at full gallop. 'Conspiracy in Algiers' belongs in any selection, whether for readability or for content."

EDWIN H. BLANCHARD
New York *Sun*, July 27, 1945

"As a novel the story Renée Gosset tells in 'Conspiracy in Algiers' would seem incredible. As history, spiced with gossip and Gaullic wit, it is at once convincing and important. . . . Robert Murphy is today directing American policy in Germany. That gives Mme. Gosset's story, so excitingly and intimately told, more than dramatic significance. I hope President Truman and Secretary Byrnes read it."

LEWIS GANNETT
New York *Herald Tribune*, July 26, 1945

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So brief a synopsis of "Home Fires Burning" is sufficient to indicate, I think, its diagrammatic program—its proper democratic intention and its not very fresh approach to a persisting political problem. In itself, program writing of this sort is not to my fictional taste, and I find even less attractive the over-poetical atmosphere in which Mr. Henriques projects his problem—the fancies of prose and the tangle of time-sequences which is a device for suggesting complications of thought which aren't actually there. Nor do Mr. Henriques's observations upon the mood of the homecoming soldiers coincide with my own admittedly limited observation of their emotional temper. It is not at all my experience that the returned soldier is bitterly antagonistic to civilians or lawless in his personal social behavior; quite the contrary, he seems to me only to be modestly eager to resume his place in the world he left behind. And although I can easily imagine divergences from this observed attitude, my imagination is not fortified by either Mr. Henriques's particularizations or his implied generalizations.

DIANA TRILLING

CONTRIBUTORS

LIONEL TRILLING, assistant professor of English at Columbia University, is the author of "Matthew Arnold" and "E. M. Forster."

ALBERT GUERARD is professor of comparative and general literature at Stanford University. Among his books are "Literature and Society" and "The France of Tomorrow."

MILDRED ADAMS, a close student of Spanish and Spanish-American literature, has translated a number of political works into English.

MARTIN LEBOWITZ has contributed to the *Journal of Philosophy* and the *Kenyon Review.*

P. ALSTON WARING is a Pennsylvania farmer and co-author of a book on the small farm, "Roots in the Soil."

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

INCREASING age has not affected Toscanini's powers as conductor and musician. Not only did last year's performances with the N. B. C. Symphony have the same unique qualities of sharpness of contour, exquisite inflection of phrase, transparency of texture, and organic coherence, but some of them, like the one of Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony, showed further development and reached new heights of effectiveness and power. And at the New York Philharmonic Pension Fund concert—at which he chose to repeat the program of his very first concert with the orchestra in 1926 and his last Thursday-Friday pair in 1936—it was, miraculously, as though one were sitting in Carnegie Hall in January, 1926, or April, 1936, and hearing what one had heard then, but with the wonderful qualities of the performances even more wonderful than they had been. The mercurial darting about of Haydn's mind in the finale of the "Clock" Symphony was pointed up by even greater sharpness of inflection; the organic proportions of the Siegfried's Death music from "Götterdämmerung" were molded in a way that achieved an even more shattering climax.

Also one heard again the great New York Philharmonic Orchestra of 1936, miraculously brought to life for this one concert. And in this way Toscanini once more proved Virgil Thomson's statements about the Philharmonic to be the fantastic nonsense they have been.

It was Thomson's contention, in 1941, that the Philharmonic musicians had been "so thoroughly guest-conducted for twenty years now that they have become temperamental, erratic"; and the "twenty years now" made it clear that he did not mean only what had happened in 1940-41, when Barbirolli, after three seasons as full-time permanent conductor, had shared the season with Bruno Walter, Mitropoulos, and Damrosch, or what was going to happen in 1941-42, when the season would be shared by Barbirolli, Stokowski, Walter, Rodzinski, Mitropoulos, Fritz Busch, Koussevitsky, Damrosch, and Goossens. No, Thomson meant the years when the orchestra had been conducted for long periods of the season by Mengelberg and Furtwängler, then by Mengelberg and Toscanini; even the few years when it had been conducted for twenty weeks of the season by Toscanini. And his contention was that not even Toscanini, conducting the orchestra for ten years, anywhere from ten to twenty weeks each year, had been able to mold it into an instrument expressive of himself, to impose on it a discipline, a style, an individuality which it would retain, as did Stokowski's Philadelphia or Koussevitzky's Boston Symphony, when it played under other conductors. Only in the last two years, Thomson has maintained recently, has this been achieved at last by Rodzinski.

Now Toscanini's recordings with the New York Philharmonic give evidence of his having made it an instrument expressive of himself; for they reproduce the characteristic and unique contours, inflections, and textures that are to be heard in any performance of his with any orchestra. But with no orchestra that he has conducted since 1936—not even with the greatest of them, the Philadelphia—has he produced the Toscanini style raised to the point of sheer incandescence that one hears in his recorded Philharmonic performances of the Overtures to "Semiramide" and "L'Italiana in Algieri." That is because his years with the Philharmonic created a hand-in-glove relation between them that he has not been able to create to the same degree with any orchestra since —the kind of relation that existed between Stokowski and the Philadelphia and Koussevitzky and the Boston Symphony. The Philharmonic was sensitized to Toscanini's direction in exactly the phenomenal way the Philadelphia was to Stokowski's, the Boston Symphony to Koussevitzky's; and under this direction it had a discipline, a style, a sound as individual as those of the Philadelphia under Stokowski, the Boston Symphony under Koussevitzky. True, whenever Toscanini was away the Philharmonic lost its identity in a way that the Philadelphia did not; but that was because in Stokowski's absence the Philadelphia played with a sense of responsibility to its greatness, whereas one could see as well as hear the Philharmonic sit back and take things easy (and if it merely took things easy it was treating the conductor well).

The relation between Toscanini and the Philharmonic was demonstrated in breath-taking fashion in the first minutes of the first rehearsal of the Beethoven Festival in 1942, when he stepped on the podium and with no preliminaries simply began to conduct the orchestra for the first time after six years, and the orchestra at once began to play as though the interval had been only one day—to produce the razor-edge attacks, the radiant sonorities, the transparent textures of balanced woodwinds or strings that his movements had elicited from it in 1936. But even more impressive was the demonstration at the rehearsal of the "Götterdämmerung" music this year. In 1942 he had returned to an orchestra only slightly changed in personnel; in 1945 he was conducting an orchestra in which Rodzinski had made a considerable number of replacements, and which had had two years of drilling by Rodzinski that, according to Thomson, had given it a definite and unchangeable style and individuality; yet consider what happened. Having first devoted a few minutes to working out the cross-rhythm at the climax, and the balance of the wind instruments in the opening chords, Toscanini then simply led the orchestra through the piece, and produced with it every sound and contour of the performance of 1936 —quite as though there had been no interval of years, no changes in personnel, no other conductors.

It was his way of saying, as he had said in 1942: "This is *my* orchestra."

Films

JAMES AGEE

IT MAY be unforgivably decadent of me, but I cannot get much excited about incest, nor do I feel that any great victory has been won because a story about incest, "Uncle Harry," has escaped from the Hays office in still fairly recognizable condition. I am, however, definitely excited by watching characters in conflict with themselves and with others; by the beauty, intelligence, and ability of Geraldine Fitzgerald; and by seeing her after years of criminal neglect in a role which, though not by a long way good enough for her, does give her room to move around in and things to do, and ought to guarantee her roles as good or better, from now on. Though he bats his eyes too often, as a sign that he is a simple soul, George Sanders is generally good as Miss Fitzgerald's infantile brother. Ella Raines is very handsome and effective as the woman who tries to make him grow up. I also like Angela Lansbury's mother, Moyna Maggill, as the gentler sister. The small New England town and its inhabitants are well-detailed, too—especially a set of witnesses at the murder trial, and the perfect dressing of Miss Raines' semi-permanent room in the hotel. I imagine the two people most to be thanked for so intelligently casting, specifying, and bringing to life this generally superior movie are the producer, Joan Harrison, and the director, Robert Siodmak. Nobody is to be thanked for the asinine ending. But if you will take care to hurry for the nearest exit as soon as Miss Fitzgerald tells her brother that that is the way things are, "Uncle Harry" can be recommended.

"Over 21" is Ruth Gordon's story of the liberal newspaper editor who joined the army and was joined by his wife and his former boss in a crowded and flimsy Miami cottage. Some of the congestion and despair is amusing, especially a catastrophic cocktail party at which the ex-editor tries to entertain his Colonel and the Colonel's two ladies. I don't feel that Irene Dunne has quite the right kind of humor to play the wife, but Alexander Knox is very proficient as the editor, even when he is required to be impossibly silly. Towards the end of the film, resuming his impersonation of Wilson, he reads a most sincere editorial in which the creation of the post-war world is compared with the creation of an apple pie. In either undertaking, if disaster is to be averted, all the ingredients have got to be good. Since all the world is not apple pie, but is composed of atoms which have just begun to learn that they are many, and that we are few, I found this editorial unbearably discouraging.

"Bewitched," which is derived from an Arch Oboler radio play, is Oboler's first movie. It is a melodrama about double personality, and uses mental voices and dialogue as profusely as if it were on the air. When these interior voices are expressive, carefully timed, and counterpointed with any discretion whatever, Oboler manages the first persuasive imitations of stream-of-consciousness I know of in a movie. Much more often, he bores to desperation with the vulgarity and mere violence of his "effects." As a moving picture "Bewitched" is at moments vigorous and at all times essentially lifeless. But the sensitiveness and charm of Phyllis Thaxter and the honesty and force of Horace McNally make it worth seeing.

I must apologize for postponing even the attempt to review "The Story of G. I. Joe"; the secondary radiations of the atomic bomb render me still unfit to consider a piece of work I so deeply admire. My apologies also for careless proof-reading, meaning none at all. The Nils Esther mentioned in the issue of August 11 is, of course, Nils Asther.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Jim-Crowed Heroes

Dear Sirs: Captain Charles L. Thomas, commander of a tank-destroyer contingent, is the first Negro officer to be awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for extraordinary heroism in action. He holds an air pilot's license and when he gets out of the army intends to study mechanical engineering in order to become an aeronautical engineer. But it's almost certain he won't get a job unless the federal Permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee bill is passed. It is not now the practice of the airline companies to hire Negroes as pilots or engineers, or indeed in any other capacity than as porters.

I wonder whether Captain Thomas's white fellow citizens will help make it possible for him and others like him to have a fair chance at decent jobs in the post-war world. If so, we will need the full-employment bill as well as the Permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee bill. Thus far both are stalled in the mazes of Congressional opposition such as that voiced by Senator "Dear Dago" Bilbo.

CONSUELO C. YOUNG
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People.

New York, July 27

Foremen and the U. A. W.

Dear Sirs:

Irving Richter's article, Detroit Plans for Chaos, in the June 30 issue of *The Nation,* is uninformed on a very vital point. Mr. Richter states:

> The General Motors Corporation has recently issued to all its foremen an order which strikes at the heart of established procedure for collective bargaining. The order requires the foreman to refuse to call a union committeeman to hear an aggrieved worker unless the worker has first given the complete story of his grievance to the foreman. It further orders the foreman to remain present at all times while the worker and the committeeman discuss the grievance. Obviously this will discourage all but the toughest union men from reporting a grievance. And if the union cannot be used for handling grievances, the natural reaction of the worker will be to balk at joining or paying dues to the union.

Mr. Richter fails to state that the General Motors department of the U. A. W.-C. I. O. had promptly informed the General Motors Corporation that it would refuse to recognize the order which it had issued to its foremen. Following our protest, we entered into negotiations with the corporation on this matter. When the corporation declined to rescind its order, we took the matter to the War Labor Board. On the insistent petition of the General Motors department of the U. A. W.-C. I. O., the War Labor Board, on May 10, 1945, issued the following directive order:

> When the employee, after thus stating his grievance (to his foreman), asks for his committeeman, the foreman shall send for the committeeman without discussing the grievance with the employee until the committeeman arrives.
>
> After the arrival of the committeeman, the employee shall have the right, if he so desires, to discuss the grievance privately with the committeeman before it is discussed with the foreman.

This directive order of the War Labor Board completely voids the order which the corporation had sent to its foremen. Those who know the policies of the General Motors department of the U. A. W.-C. I. O. might have known that we would never accept without challenge the order which Mr. Richter describes in his article.

ELWIN J. CORBIN,
Chairman, National General Motors
Council, U. A. W.-C. I. O.

Detroit, Mich., July 14

Italy Today

Dear Sirs: We who fought fascism were but a few of pure faith, full of enthusiasm, and without means of our own; yet we helped each other and supported the underground press. There were never more than six persons at our meetings so that if one was caught and talked under torture, he could give the names of no more than five persons. I was the public-relations man of the ——— Brigade. There were only three of us in 1944. When the insurrection broke out we numbered over twenty thousand. We too would have liked to proclaim a republic during the twenty-four hours that followed the insurrection. It was not possible. But we shall have a republic yet. All the popular mass parties of Italy are for it. It was not possible to ask further sacrifices and lives of our tragically tried people. We shall come to a republic through persuasion. I am positive of this. We refuse to have anything to do either with the Regent or the Regency. We have great hope in Parri's government. He is a man who has given his all to his country and he is paving the way for a new Italy that will be free and independent. His successor will reap the laurels and fruit of what is being done today.

We must be prudent and calm. There has been too much suffering, too much horror, too much abuse. We must not repeat past mistakes. We must succeed, but through persuasion. Let us not forget that the youth of Italy was born and reared in a completely Fascist climate. We have become a people without political education. Only the man who has suffered is sufficiently balanced to have a clear understanding of the times he is living in. He is athirst not for blood and vengeance, but for justice.

I was arrested in September, 1944. They knew that I was connected with Parri. But they never got a shred of information from me. They found a picture of the Maestro [Arturo Toscanini] in my pocket. For the first time I was hustled before a firing squad. They fractured my skull and bashed in my ribs on the left side and broke two on the right side. They held lighted cigarette and cigar butts to my chest and then doused me with alcohol. I was beaten from head to foot almost to a pulp. My fingers were slashed with razor blades and my hands gashed in the form of a cross. I could not wash. I could not even blow my nose. I had to sink my face into my plate to eat. They subjected me to other unnameable kinds of torture which left me impotent for six months. Brought before the Special Tribunal, I was twice condemned to death. I sometimes wonder how I lived through it all.

There are still men and women with courage in Italy. Unfortunately, we must still fight, especially those who succeeded in filtering into our ranks. They are the same ones we knew twenty years ago. We must be calm and serene. Our brothers overseas must follow us and not handicap our very hard work which can assume a dynamic character if the need should arise. Only through our own efforts will Italy again be free and independent. Italy is eager to start upon its reconstruction. Justice will prevail everywhere sooner or later.

ITALIAN ANTI-FASCIST

Italy, June 23

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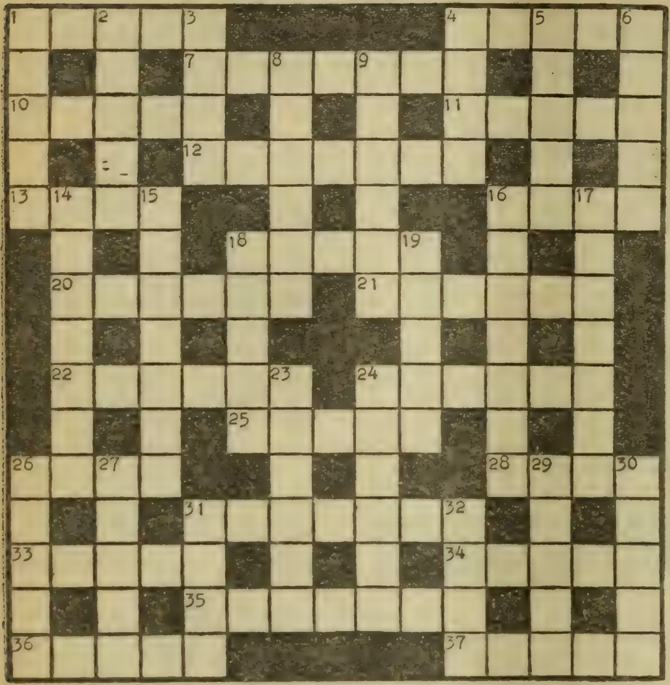
Crossword Puzzle No. 124

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Open to receive food for the hungry
4 Explosion of gunpowder
7 Count in
10 Street urchin
11 I help to make Dutch cheese, but am not really wanted
12 A dweller in Cloud-Cuckoo-Land, perhaps
13 Stand by ready to execute
16 The common man of Germany
18 Sounds like a team that is full of ideas
20 Gag that seems to impede the breathing
21 Catch
22 You don't usually mind when he takes your job
24 New York quarter reputedly full of gunmen and bad yeggs
25 A Scottish dog, but not a Scottie
26 Star that has set
28 Horse racing
31 Scottish equivalent of English aldermen
33 Suitable card game for stokers?
34 This flower sounds right for lots of sheep
35 A collector
36 Moved unsteadily
37 How the Irish playwright, Yeats, pronounces his name

DOWN

1 There's an element of doubt about such power
2 Unnerve
3 A farmhand
4 Was first brewed by the ancient Romans
5 Empty
6 English river, and thanks to mother nearly all of it
8 Mark made by folding
9 Reduced to its original form
14 Eight of them have ruled England
15 A word mentioned once in the clues Across
16 Born in Ireland, lived in England, studied music in Germany, became an American citizen
17 We don't mind if he pays us back in our own coin
18 An early Mexican
19 Not broadside on (two words, 3 & 2)
23 Bluebeard's last wife
24 If yours are picked, someone's getting a bright idea on the cheap
26 Half seas over
27 Awry
29 The lights o' London were, until September, 1944
30 "Once upon a time there were three little ----- Who didn't wear stockings and who didn't wear sockses"
31 You won't find it easy to hit this nail on the head
32 Make it snappy!

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 123

ACROSS:—1 JOSEPHUS; 5 CARAFE; 10 KENIL; 11 HOROSCOPE; 12 LAST MAN; 13 ANODYNE; 14 CHANGE; 15 HIDE-OUT; 18 TALLEST; 21 BALLET; 24 USURPER; 26 ROMANCE; 27 INFORMANT; 28 TWAIN; 29 HIDDEN; 30 MANDOLIN.

DOWN:—1 JEKYLL; 2 SENESCHAL; 3 PALEMON; 4 UNHINGE; 6 ABSCOND; 7 AGONY; 8 ELEMENTS; 9 ARMAGH; 16 ONE AND ALL; 17 STOUTISH; 19 EXPURGE; 20 TARTAR; 21 BOROTRA; 22 LIMITED; 23 PENNON; 25 UNFED.

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AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THE RETIREMENT OF NELSON ROCKEFELLER AS Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America and his replacement by Spruille Braden is a hemispheric victory for democracy. The Rockefeller interests, Standard Oil and Chase National, have always been pillars of dollar diplomacy and dictatorship in Latin America. It was a sour commentary on the effectiveness of press agentry that a member of the family, backstopped by a leading official of the Chase bank, should have turned up in the Good Neighbor policy period as Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and then as Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America. Nelson Rockefeller helped engineer the cabal by which Argentina was admitted to the United Nations at San Francisco. It is good to see that his last-minute change of front—in a speech at Boston he ingenuously declared that the Argentine government rather than its people had violated the Chapultepec pledges—did not save his job in the State Department. The militant attitude taken by Braden at Buenos Aires against the Perón dictatorship makes his promotion the sign of a new and more vigorous policy at Washington. In view of the broken pledges cited by Rockefeller himself, we now have ample basis for breaking off diplomatic relations with Perón.

*

THE ARGENTINE PEOPLE WANT DEMOCRACY. BUT their dictator still thinks he can make a deal. He is intensifying his efforts to split Argentina's most powerful political organization, the Radical Party. Last week, it is true, two of its members joined his Cabinet, but the vast majority of Radicals remain united in opposition to Perón and popular determination to oust him is undiminished. This was demonstrated once again on V-J Day, which became the occasion for three days of civil strife in Buenos Aires. Armed soldiers attacked, killed, and wounded civilians celebrating the Allied victory. Pro-democratic crowds fought back with bare hands, sticks, and clubs. The next day Perón was afraid to make a public appearance at the annual Livestock Show, a function always attended by the highest state dignitaries. Had he been there he would not have relished the repeated shouts of "Death to Perón," and "We want no more dictatorships," or the ovation to Spruille Braden, who only the previous day had asserted that the democracies "must and will establish the only legitimate sovereignty—the sovereignty of the people." Later Braden paid a well-deserved tribute to his audience when he said that "there are few peoples on earth so well prepared to exercise healthy democracy" as the Argentines. He is right. The people of Argentina are undergoing democracy's stiffest training course—resistance to a fascist dictator. Many have already suffered torture and imprisonment, many have been exiled or killed. But they are clearly determined to go on fighting until the last battle is won.

*

LAST WEEK IT SEEMED TO EVEN THE LEAST optimistic observers that the Spanish republicans in Mexico were about to reach an agreement on the formation of a new government. Señor Martinez Barrio had offered the Premiership to Señor José Giral, who had promptly invited the participation of the leading political groups and had proposed Dr. Negrín as Vice-President of the Cortes and as Foreign Minister. As we go to press, we learn that this solution was not acceptable to important sections of the working-class movement. The majority section of the Socialist Party, as well as the Communist Party, has rejected Señor Giral's solution. Moreover, the General Union of Workers (U. G. T.) is to be represented solely by Señor Prieto, who speaks only for a minority of the U. G. T., while the invitation to the National Confederation of Labor was so obscure that it might almost be assumed that there was a wish in some quarters to exclude the C. N. T. from policy-making decisions. This apparent exclusion of groups whose contribution to the Loyalist cause in the Spanish war was tremendous in volume and magnificent in quality seems to us neither justifiable nor realistic. The fact is that a republican government which does not have their support and collaboration has little chance of survival. We hope, therefore, that by the time our next issue appears the Cabinet list finally submitted to the Cortes for approval will be much broader than the one now proposed.

*

THE ONE HOPE OF MAINTAINING SOME ELEMENT of order in reconversion is to support OPA against the business pressure groups rapidly engulfing it and to demand a firmer price policy. The War Production Board has come completely under the domination of the big-business point of view on reconversion despite Presidential directives which are opposed to it. The appointment of General Levin Campbell as assistant to War Mobilization Director John W. Snyder adds still another big-business-minded official to the agency. Chester Bowles and the OPA are trying to resist the tide toward a disorderly and inflationary reconversion period in which small business and the consumer will suffer. The greatest danger lies in the fact that, while the Full Employment Bill is making headway in Congress and the country, the pattern of reconversion is in the direction of an economy with a chronic load of unemployment and under-utilization. The steel industry seems to be deliberately holding production to 60 per cent of capacity. The removal of price control from aluminum and magnesium will encourage the restoration of monopolistic practices in the light metals. Aid to little business in priorities and prices and programs for low-cost items in textiles are promised. But without a vigorous Presidential shake-up of reconversion policy and personnel, all such promises will remain on paper.

THE GOOD DEMOCRATIC BELIEF THAT MILITARY leaders must be controlled by civilian authority in time of peace has already begun surging to the fore, only a few days after victory. Judging by some of the actions and reported plans of the military, this is highly salutary; Congress, the press, and the general citizenry are to be encouraged in their efforts to check the authoritarian tendencies of the high brass. We have already pointed out some of the flaws in the army's demobilization scheme, and suggested that its reasons for maintaining four million men under arms a year from now had not yet been made clear. Now comes the question of redeploying European combat veterans to the Pacific for occupation duty, which has brought cries of outrage from the men of the 86th and 95th Divisions, and from several smaller units en route across the country. It is probably true that the army has screened these units carefully, and that men with more than seventy-five points or thirty-seven years are not being sent toward Japan. It remains true that there is injustice in sending combat veterans to a new theater when non-combat troops remain at large in the United States. Of course, it is far easier for the army to send units which are reasonably intact than it is to form new units by a process of individual selection among the non-combat troops stationed here, which is the only way in which the situation could be corrected. In wartime, the expenditurre of time and energy and trouble in organizing such new units, training them, and transporting them, would be indefensible. With occupation as the only task ahead, the army should certainly stretch itself to see that no more combat veterans than are absolutely necessary are sent overseas again after the war has been won.

*

EVEN LOUDER HOWLS OF RAGE ARE COMING from the navy, whose personnel have just had inflicted on them a point-discharge system which gives no break whatever to combat men—except those decorated for bravery, who get immediate discharges. Equal credit is given for months in service whether the sailor spent those months pounding a typewriter in Norfolk or fighting a PT boat through the South Pacific. "Scuttlebutt" has it that this is because the navy's record-tabulating machines are unable to distinguish between duty ashore and duty afloat: an explanation which may not be entirely fanciful. A man with three children gets no more points than a man with only one dependent; a man without dependents, over thirty, and in service since Pearl Harbor, still won't be discharged for months. It looks very much as if admirals, like generals, were anxious to keep big establishments under their command.

*

NO MORE TERRIBLE STORY HAS COME OUT OF Europe than the survey published by the New York *Times* on Sunday, August 26, of conditions among the pitiful remnant of Central European Jewry. Recent revelations of what happened in the concentration and extermination camps provided a glimpse of persecution so cruel as to be pathological. These disclosures are transcended by the accounts of the treatment accorded the survivors. More painful than the mistreatment of the Jews by their enemies is the indifference, fumbling, ignorance, and, often, the prejudice displayed by

---

Correction: Contrary to a statement on page 71 of our July 28 issue, the California state legislature has memorialized the President and the Senate to approve a bill authorizing the naturalization of Filipinos.

their liberators. Official Allied policy is humane, enlightened, and sympathetic, at least on paper, but too little understanding is being shown in the lower echelons where directives must be carried out. Even on the policy level, it was not until August 23 that a United States directive was issued authorizing special welfare benefits in the Reich for those who suffered at the hands of the Nazis for racial, religious, or political reasons. "Enthusiastic but needy Nazis," said one *Times* report, "have often fared better than their ex-victims." German Jews will now be treated as displaced persons and will be moved wherever they want to go "provided they can obtain entry into the country." But where can they go? Only the opening of the doors of Palestine by Britain can provide a home for the No. 1 victims of Nazi fury.

The New Japanese Line

DURING the past week General MacArthur has set the stage for the final act in Japan's humiliation. By the time these lines are read, MacArthur himself, with a vast assemblage of Allied military might, will be established in the heart of Japan. Occupation forces are scheduled to land in the other Japanese islands after the signing of the final articles of capitulation. As the hour of occupation approaches, Japanese propaganda has taken on a curiously changed note. For the first time we find the Japanese press and radio frankly admitting defeat and advising the Japanese people to forget past animosities and concentrate on reconstruction. Pictures and detailed accounts of the devastation caused by the atomic bomb are being published to convince possible die-hards of the folly of further resistance. "For Japan's own good," the *Nippon Times* declares, "there must be a speedy realization that the old order is finished." Admitting the disastrous consequences of one-party rule, other papers urge the people to take a more active part in politics. In an obvious effort to impress the Allies with their newly-fabricated democracy, steps have been taken to set up six parties to replace the totalitarian Political Association of Greater Japan.

This almost servile note in Japan's reaction to defeat is in many respects more disquieting than the defiance of the first few days after surrender. The change came too suddenly and too uniformly to be regarded as even partially sincere. Japan remains a totalitarian state. Its leaders are essentially the same men who plotted aggression against China in 1937 and the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Like the German militarists in 1918, they have decided that the best tactic for the moment is to play for Allied sympathy in the hope that they may remain in office and ultimately be able to rebuild their shattered naval and military power. Perhaps the clearest evidence of the hypocrisy of Japan's new democratic pretenses may be found in the six parties that are supposed to provide free political expression for the Japanese people. The Social Mass party, which made such an impressive showing in the 1937 elections on an anti-militarist program, is not among them. Nor are any of the other proletarian parties which were active in the 20's and 30's. The six new parties are to be created, apparently, by dividing the Political Association into six roughly equal parts. If there has been any popular outcry against the militarists or the *Zaibatsu*, any resurgence of labor-union activity, or any other evidence of a genuine change of heart, it has not been reported by the Japanese radio.

Further evidence of Tokyo's duplicity is provided by its continued efforts to sow seeds of dissension among the Allies. With characteristic insolence the Japanese government twice appealed to General MacArthur to permit its forces in Manchuria to retain their arms to protect the local population against outrages committed by the Red Army. These appeals have quite properly been ignored.

Similar requests, however, that the Japanese in China be allowed to keep their arms to prevent the country from being overrun by "bandits" appear to have had some success. Chiang Kai-shek, with American backing, has ordered the Japanese to surrender only to accredited representatives of the Chungking government. And some sort of arrangement appears to have been entered into between Chungking and Chinese puppet troops for joint action against the resistance forces organized by Yenan. Whether this will lead to a Chinese civil war or a sharper cleavage between the two Chinas, remains to be seen.

Hope that Soviet influence will serve as a stabilizing factor and help avert war has been raised by publication of the recently concluded Stalin-Soong agreement. As had been forecast, Russia agreed to the restoration of Chinese sovereignty in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, and took over only part of Japan's treaty rights in the Kwantung Leased Territory. Russia is to regain a half interest in the Chinese Eastern and South Manchuria railways, but, in contrast to the pre-war arrangement, these railways will be garrisoned by Chinese, not Russian, troops. Both countries agree that Korea shall be given ultimate independence; in the interim it will be occupied by the Big Four.

From China's standpoint, the Moscow agreement is a major diplomatic triumph. The only important concession made to Russia was recognition of the independence of Outer Mongolia—an established fact of twenty years' standing. But against this China gains not only full sovereignty in Manchuria but a guaranty against Russian interference in Chinese internal affairs. Many observers have interpreted this clause as signifying that Moscow has abandoned the Chinese Communists. This is indeed possible. If so, it will be a cruel blow to the millions of peasants who had escaped from China's feudal land system under Yenan's guidance. But there is also a strong possibility that as an unpublished part of the arrangement Chungking agreed to enter into a settlement with Yenan. Chiang Kai-shek's three urgent invitations to Mao Tse-tung and the latter's final agreement to go to Chungking suggest that outside pressure has been exerted. The indorsement of the pact by the Chinese Communists indicates that Yenan has not been wholly cast off. It is difficult to predict the outcome of the negotiations between Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung. The most favorable outcome, from China's standpoint, would be the creation of a coalition government under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership. Such an arrangement was nearly reached a year ago. Another possibility is a regional understanding under which the Communists would receive a high degree of autonomy in North China under nominal Chungking authority. In any event, the threat of civil war has been substantially diminished, and the danger of international complications has been virtually eliminated by the new Sino-Soviet pact. The Japanese attempts to divide the Allies in peace appear to have failed as completely as similar Nazi efforts did in Europe.

Lend-Lease Blunder

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S action in bringing lend-lease operations to an abrupt halt even before Japan's formal surrender had been completed has met with fairly general approval in this country. Now that the fighting has stopped most people have assumed, without giving the matter much thought, that any further aid our Allies may require can be arranged by credits on commercial terms. In our haste to liquidate the war and return to "normalcy" we have not bothered to use our imaginations in considering what the decision means to other countries. Leo Crowley says that the Administration had no option in its action because Congress decreed that lend-lease was to end with "the end of the war." He has interpreted this to mean the end of actual fighting, but for many purposes—conscription, and the use of numerous war powers, for instance—the end of the war does not come until peace is actually declared by Congress.

Questioned in the House of Commons on this subject, Prime Minister Attlee said that, while a long continuation of lend-lease had not been anticipated, the British government had hoped that "cessation of this great mutual effort would not have been effected *without consultation and prior discussion.*" (Our italics.) Mr. Churchill, who followed him, expressed disbelief "that so great a nation . . . would proceed in such a rough and harsh manner as to hamper a faithful ally who held the fort while their own American armaments were being prepared." These statements put in strong but Parliamentary language what many ordinary Britons are saying in much blunter words.

Side by side with dispatches from New York telling how rapidly peace-time plenty is being restored in this country, British newspapers will be printing announcements of new deprivations. Let us keep this in mind and not be too ready to fling accusations of ingratitude when criticisms of the American action are reported.

To the British the end of lend-lease, without a period of warning during which new arrangements to solve their supply problems could be contrived, means anything but normalcy: it means, on the contrary, that controls must be retained and restrictions increased, that belts already tight must be pulled tighter. Even before the news was received butter and cheese rations had been cut and the stretching of six months of clothing coupons over eight months announced. Now it may be necessary to introduce bread rations for the first time since the war started. It is not a matter of shortage of total supplies throughout the world but of shortage of dollars with which to pay for imported food. Britain has been receiving abut $1 billion worth of lend-lease food annually and, in consequence, has been able to devote that much more of its resources to war manufacture instead of to producing goods for export. Now, in order to pay for essential imports it will have to draw on its exchange reserves, which are small in relation to its foreign liabilities, until it can reconvert its industry—far more fully mobilized for war than that in this country—and start the slow process of rebuilding export markets. Last year British exports were valued at about $1 billion—little more than one-third of their pre-war figure; imports, excluding munitions, totalled over $5¼ billion. With the end of the war some decline in imports is possible, since huge quantities of raw materials were received for armament manufacture, but even so an immense gap will remain between Britain's minimum needs and its present capacity to buy. Washington officials suggest that this gap can be filled by American loans. But loans take time to negotiate and, in any case, the lending powers of the United States government are quite modest in relation to the international demand for credits. For Britain is not the only nation, nor the most needy, which will now seek credits to keep its people alive and revive its industry.

The lend-lease decision, coming as it did on the heels of the new British government's socialist program, has led to suggestions that Washington is seeking to put pressure on our ally with a view to keeping it in the straight capitalist path. We do not believe that the Administration has any such motive. On the other hand, it is quite probable that action was taken to force a showdown with Britain on post-war international commercial and financial policies, a showdown which, from the point of view of some of our leading Washington officials, would have been just as necessary if Churchill had been returned to office.

For months now the United States government has been seeking definite commitments from Britain which will insure an eventual return to competitive, multilateral world trade. We want to abolish barter deals, bulk purchases and sales by governments, exchange controls, import quotas, and other devices which impede American free enterprise. Britain is not indissolubly wedded to such methods but it feels unable to forswear their use until it can see its way to achieving balanced trade without them. For its fundamental need is to find means of paying for the imports without which it cannot survive.

One of the biggest obstacles to a solution of this problem is the enormous debt Britain has accumulated during the war. It has drawn heavily for supplies on India, Egypt, Portugal, Argentina, and a score of other countries, giving I. O. U.'s payable only in sterling. American traders want to sell goods to these countries but Britain cannot allow them to turn their sterling assets into dollars for, if it did, the exchange value of sterling would sink through the floor. A way out would be the funding of at least part of these debts through an American loan, and there have been repeated rumors that Britain has requested help from Washington for this purpose. Leo Crowley, Foreign Economic Administrator, however, has denied that any such application has been made. Actually there is reason to believe Washington would be delighted if Britain asked for a loan for then it would be in a position to make conditions. According to John H. Crider of the New York *Times*, one purpose of Assistant Secretary of State Clayton's present visit to London was to sound out British officials on this matter without making an offer which would give Britain an opportunity to suggest terms. Whitehall, however, has proved unwilling to commit itself. British experts see little point in transforming sterling debts which could eventually be paid off in the form of goods into a dollar debt. For the result might be to worsen Britain's plight unless the American market was thrown open to its products and assurances were received that the American economy would not be allowed to go into another tailspin.

With the end of lend-lease the British government will be forced to come to a definite decision: shall it seek further American aid on American terms, or, turning its back on free-trade ideals, seek to build up an independent trading system around the sterling bloc and so free itself from dependence on the dollar? Mr. Truman and his advisers are, apparently, counting on a favorable answer. We think they are gambling dangerously. While the Administration's action may have been taken with a view to persuading Britain and other countries to adopt commercial policies favorable to American trade, the immediate result at least may very well be more restrictions on trade and tighter exchange controls in Britain and the sterling area. We cannot complain if Britain cuts its coat according to its cloth and refuses, say, to use up its limited supply of dollars to pay for American films. We cannot insist that it *must* borrow money to pay for non-essential imports at a time when it is forced to ration necessities. It is at least equally probable that America's action will give victory to the British bilateralists and, in the end, leave America commercially isolated.

Balkan Maneuvers

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

A LITTLE honesty among the Allied powers would help clear the air over Europe, but clear air is not, I suppose, what our leaders are anxious to provide. Better fog and low visibility as a cover for motives that don't appear entirely compatible with One World ideals—or even United Nations agreements.

Yet nobody is really fooled. Nobody doubts that when Russia talks about "non-intervention" in Eastern Europe it intends merely to warn Britain and the United States not to throw their weight around in its special security sphere. Certainly it does not mean that it would tolerate a hostile government in Bulgaria or Rumania, no matter how such a government was chosen. And when Messrs. Bevin and Byrnes make solemn pronouncements in favor of "free elections" nobody supposes that they really hope for the early establishment in the Balkans of democratic methods which have not yet been applied in Hongkong or South Carolina. What they are trying to do is obvious, however veiled in semantic clouds. They are trying to build up the political elements which may prove independent of, if not hostile to, Russian influence. Neither side is able to hide its self-interested purposes; but I suppose it is inevitable that both should try. For honesty in this case would expose too baldly the thin patches in the fabric of inter-Allied relations.

And so we shall probably go on stumbling from one crisis into the next, with patched-up agreements creating brief interludes of uneasy armistice. The qualities that could overcome the difficulty altogether seem lacking: a capacity for honest cooperation and a willingness to sacrifice near-at-hand national claims to those more ample purposes of social reconstruction and international understanding which offer the only real basis of even national security. It is startling that three weeks after the fact of atomic power burst upon the world, the greatest Allied nations should still be pitting Balkan factions against each other and haggling over security zones. We need badly a breath of greatness, an impulse of generosity among our rulers.

Progressives everywhere felt particularly let down by Bevin's foreign-policy speech. On Spain, on Greece, on Eastern Europe, he echoed his Tory predecessors to the last stodgy inflection. No one expected the Labor government to abandon the cherished principle of continuity in Britain's foreign relations. What its sympathizers here and elsewhere confidently believed was that the new government would see the unchanging interests of Britain safeguarded rather than threatened by the rise of left-democratic forces in Europe and by firmer bonds with Russia. Mr. Bevin's stand-pat speech has shaken that belief.

Nor has Bulgaria's sudden capitulation altered the situation by so much as a hair. The provisional government yielded, not because it had been persuaded of its sins. Indeed Mr. Bevin's disapproval, read side by side with his defense of the Churchill policy next door in Greece, can only have created a mood of cynicism in Bulgaria. The government yielded because it was bullied by Britain and the United States: unless the election laws were changed, the newly elected regime would be excommunicated and economic help would be withheld. This threat of political-economic sanctions worked; the election has been indefinitely postponed. But I cannot believe the result will mean better relations between the west and the east or even any increase in Balkan democracy.

For behind the interplay of power politics, some real facts lie half hidden. The most important of these is the fact of revolution. All Europe—perhaps all the world—is undergoing a process of revolution. Here in America, social change has been cushioned and slowed down by our immense wealth, our well-fixed habits of democratic procedure, and above all by our exemption from the devastation war has brought to every European country. For these happy circumstances we should be thankful; they certainly give us no excuse for displays of self-righteousness.

The peoples of Europe are dealing with the fact of revolution in various ways and with varying degrees of success. In the western nations, the tradition of democracy may prove strong enough to survive hunger, physical destruction, and the impact of social change, particularly if they receive help and encouragement from the United States. Eastern Europe has no democratic tradition. Under forced draft, an obsolete system of society is being broken down and a new one constructed. In each country the resistance to Nazi domination generated a tough, fairly united fighting force largely under Communist direction and committed to immediate, urgent, primitive reforms—the ending of feudalism through the distribution of land to the peasants and the wiping out of prewar ruling groups, whether landlords, collaborationists, clerical interests, fascist left-overs, or combinations of all of them.

The process is not one which observes the niceties of democratic behavior. Reports indicate that the abuses in Bulgaria have been extreme. Repression of political opposition is not a pleasant business, and one-party rule, even when the party is a "front" made up of a variety of parties, is not by any definition democratic.

It is possible that the rigors of revolution might be moderated by the friendly intervention of all three major powers acting together under the Potsdam agreement. But to be useful such intervention would have to be both disinterested and united. It would have to respect the underlying realities of social and political change. It would have to be based on a general policy applicable elsewhere—in Greece and Italy as well as in Bulgaria and Rumania. The intervention of Britain and the United States met none of these tests and, indeed, it could not meet them as long as the powers are sparring for position in eastern Europe. Under existing circumstances, however successful it may appear on the surface, our ultimatum to Bulgaria can only have intensified differences and created new suspicions. Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Bevin have stopped the Bulgarian elections; they are not going to establish Jeffersonian democracy in Bulgaria, no matter how drastically the election laws may be changed or how many observers they station at the polls.

Capitalism and Full Employment

BY I. F. STONE

THE New York *Times* recently complained—one could almost hear the tremor in the editorial voice—that the Full Employment Bill "rests essentially on the assumption that private enterprise, left to its own devices, cannot provide sufficient employment." I don't know what is meant by "sufficient" employment. I suspect that employment sufficient enough to satisfy conservative editors might not be sufficient enough to satisfy the rest of us. But if the New York *Times* means full employment, its reproach is not unjustified. Despite the pious genuflections to free enterprise on almost every page of the bill, its basic assumption is, indeed, that free enterprise, left to its own devices, is unlikely to achieve, much less to maintain, full employment. If the backers of the bill felt otherwise, they would never have bothered to introduce it. If free enterprise alone can provide full employment, there is no need for action by government.

What the editors of the New York *Times* seem to overlook, however, is that this basic assumption is shared by the opponents of the bill. Senator Taft, the leader of the opposition, has said in Congress and over the air that the full-employment idea itself is communistic and that it originated in Section 118—the "right-to-work" section—of the Soviet Constitution. I was myself on a radio program with the Senator last winter in which he read from that Soviet document, as though this provided a conclusive and crushing argument, "The right to work is insured by the socialist organization of the national economy. . . ." Unlike the New York *Times*, Taft indulged in no question-begging phrases about "sufficient employment." His position was that free enterprise and full employment are incompatible. He implied that full employment is possible only under socialism. This point of view has been expressed in many other conservative quarters, notably on the financial and editorial pages of the New York *Herald Tribune*.

There has thus been a curious reversal of roles in the debate on the Full Employment Bill. Many conservatives like Senator Taft, in opposing the bill, are saying that full employment can be achieved only under socialism. Many liberals and leftists, in backing the bill, are saying that maybe full employment *can* be achieved under capitalism. We on the left agree with Senator Taft and the Soviet Constitution that the socialist organization of the national economy is the one certain way to guarantee full employment. But we are less defeatist than Senator Taft. We are not yet ready to state dogmatically that it is impossible to have both full employment and private capital. In a very real, though paradoxical sense, we have more faith than Taft in the possibilities of private enterprise in America.

The basic assumption shared by both sides is true. It is true in this sense: "Free enterprise" as it existed in this country before the war was incompatible with full employment. "Free enterprise," roughly speaking, was a combination of monopolistically controlled basic-material industries and competitive consumer-goods industries. In the former, prices and output were determined not by the market but, as under socialism, by administrative decision. The criterion of decision in this private socialism, as Roosevelt once called it, was the maintenance of a profitable scarcity. The monopolistic basic-materials industries hampered and limited enterprise in the competitive consumer-goods field. There too, though less obviously, the natural tendency was to keep supply a little behind demand. A margin of poverty and joblessness is necessary to the profitable functioning of an unplanned, irresponsible, and anarchistic economic system like capitalism. Full employment is incompatible with such a system of production. The individual employer under existing circumstances can best hold down labor costs if there is a margin of unemployment, best maintain profits if there is a margin of unsatisfied demand.

I stress "existing circumstances." The real question at issue between the opponents and the supporters of full-employment legislation is whether it is *possible* under different circumstances to maintain both full employment and private capitalism. They say "No." We say "Yes." We have just come through a war period, and in that period we had full employment, and a considerable area of free enterprise, within the framework of private and corporate ownership. And full employment of facilities so lowered unit costs as to make operation enormously profitable despite war-time taxes and war-time wages. Three things made full employment possible during the war: (1) the government provided a market for all industry could produce, (2) it set up agencies to plan, supervise, and direct the productive process, and (3) a sense of common danger and patriotic purpose made extraordinary controls sufficiently enforceable to be effective. If we can carry these three essentials over into peacetime, we can have full employment under private capitalism in peace as well as war. I am not sure that the possessing classes have sufficient foresight to meet the future halfway with such a program. But it could be done and it's worth trying. For ultimately the only alternative is a very grave and costly one.

In the enactment and successful utilization of the Full Employment Bill much will depend on the intelligence of the smaller and the independent business man. He will be wise to do less worrying about sacred-cow words like "free enterprise" and more thinking about the actual situation in which he finds himself. In a fully employed economy he can survive as a business man. In a return to "free enterprise," as it was practiced before the war, he becomes again one of the little fish on which the big fish of the business world feed. Part of the profitability of the system lay in expansion but part lay in economic cannibalism, and it was the little fellow who ended up in the pot. To the biggest financial operators, governmental planning for full employment means a loss in freedom to control and speculate. But for the average business man planned full employment is as vital as for the worker and the farmer; it is the only context in which he, too, can achieve security.

California Looks to 1946

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, August 23

ON AUGUST 6 an era in California politics came to an end: "the Hiram Johnson era." A lone wolf in California politics, Johnson was a master of political strategy and tactics. After he was elected Governor in 1910 he proceeded to "drive the Southern Pacific out of politics"—for about a decade. California voters could never forget their indebtedness to him for this masterly achievement, and for many other progressive accomplishments. They liked his fiery denunciations of General Harrison Gray Otis, owner-publisher of the Los Angeles *Times*; they admired the courageous way in which he took over the San Francisco graft prosecutions after Special Prosecutor Francis J. Heney had been shot. On these solid foundations Johnson built a strong personal machine. But his liberalism, like that of certain Southern politicians of the same period, was curiously mixed with illiberal ingredients. He was a chauvinist, an isolationist, and a race-baiter. Though he had a strong claim upon the loyalty of California voters, he would have been overwhelmingly defeated in 1946. For the great majority of Californians, of both political parties, were indignant over that final act of an embittered, morose, cynical old man—his "no" vote on the United Nations Charter.

True to form, Governor Earl Warren has used the vacancy created by Johnson's death to pay an old political debt by appointing Major William Knowland to the Senate. Major Knowland is the son of Joseph Knowland, publisher of the Oakland *Tribune*, a pillar of reaction in California these many years. The elder Knowland was Warren's original sponsor in politics and has consistently advanced the career of his protégé. The appointment, which as a matter of right and tradition should have gone to a Southern Californian, is not popular. California progressives and chronic Johnsonites feel keenly that the Governor ought to have appointed a man who represented the old Johnson tradition.

Major Knowland is a young man, 37 years of age, former Republican National Committeeman, assistant publisher of the *Tribune*, who has served one term in the Assembly and one term as State Senator from Alameda County. He is not an isolationist, but surely not a progressive on domestic issues. From present indications he is likely to be opposed for the Republican nomination in 1946 by Lieutenant Governor Frederick Houser—a smug reactionary if ever one existed—and by Judge Thomas White of the District Court of Appeals in Los Angeles, a liberal Catholic with an excellent record on racial, labor, and international issues. There is also considerable sentiment, among Willkie Republicans, for Bartley Crum of San Francisco. If the reactionary vote were divided between Knowland and Houser, either White or Crum would stand a good chance of winning the Republican nomination.

Until last week, the fight for the Democratic nomination promised to be a free-for-all in the best California tradition. Mentioned as likely candidates were: Orson Welles, Congressman George Outland, Colonel Evans Carlson (of "Carlson's Raiders"), Colonel James Roosevelt (who is establishing political residence in California), Congressman Ellis Patterson (perennially willing to run for any office higher than the one he currently occupies), Congressman Cecil King, J. Ray Files, a prominent Los Angeles lawyer, former Congressman Will Rogers, Jr., and Attorney General Robert W. Kenny, the most powerful figure in Democratic Party politics in California today. When Kenny quickly eliminated himself, by announcing that he would run for reelection as Attorney General, the liberal forces inclined toward Colonel Carlson and George E. Outland, generally regarded as the state's ablest Representative in Congress. But within the last few days the situation has been considerably changed by the report that Manchester Boddy, publisher of the *Daily News* and the *Evening News* in Los Angeles, would be a candidate.

In 1926 the *Illustrated Daily News*, one of the tabloids founded by Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., was tottering to a premature grave in Los Angeles. At this juncture Boddy took over control of the paper, largely with the aid, so it has long been rumored, of the Southern California Edison Company, or, if not of the company itself, then of some of its officers and influential stockholders. To most observers Boddy seemed an unlikely choice for the difficult task of rehabilitating the *News.* A graduate of the University of Montana, a veteran with a distinguished record in the first World War, and a crack book-salesman with an inclination toward metaphysical speculation, he hardly seemed the right man for the job. He lacked practical newspaper experience, he was not widely known in Los Angeles at the time, and he was himself without means. But, by consummate bluffing and financial finesse, he managed to keep the *News* alive from 1926 to 1932.

In the depth of the depression the *News* struck a new low: its circulation dropped to 75,000 and its principal advertisers began to desert it. Then, as the result of a casual suggestion, Boddy began to feature, as front-page news, a series of articles on technocracy. Throughout December 1932 large crowds fought for the early editions, with single copies frequently selling for a dollar and two dollars. Boddy had really hit his stride as a publisher, and since then the *News* has been a profitable and successful enterprise.

Extremely charming and engaging, Boddy is essentially a salesman of ideas. Following his skilful handling of the technocracy ballyhoo, he began to plug for handicraft industries; switched to decentralization of industry; and then gave David Cushman Coyle's "The Irrepressible Conflict: Business vs. Finance" a typical Boddy treatment. Still later he promoted the idea that capitalism should be confined to the production of luxury goods, only to abandon this dispensation, after a few months, for a short flirtation with social credit. From time to time, however, he has returned to his first love, technocracy. As a columnist in his own newspapers Boddy is unpredictable, erratic, and inclined to be tangential in his views. During the EPIC campaign in 1934 he delayed taking a position until the week of the election; and then, with all Southern California eagerly anticipating his indorsement of Sinclair, he devoted his column to a series of essays on Plutarch's "Lives"!

In many respects Boddy resembles Senator Sheridan Downey. Both gentlemen regard themselves as extraordinarily subtle logicians and mathematical wizards; both are spinners of particularly fancy socio-economic fairy tales. The possibility that California may be represented in the Senate, during the critical post-war period, by two such incorrigible romanticists (albeit men of good will) is disconcerting. Should he decide to run, however, Boddy will be "the man to beat." He stands well with the American Legion and the A. F. of L.; he has considerable support in business circles; he is widely known throughout the state; and he has the inside track with officials of the Democratic Party.

Since most of the Los Angeles County Congressmen mentioned for the Senate are indebted to Boddy for support in previous elections, they will probably withdraw should he enter the race. This does not, however, apply to George E. Outland, whose district embraces the central coastal portion of the state. In California politics there is some advantage in coming from this neutral zone, thereby avoiding the perennial north-south rivalry. Many of Outland's most enthusiastic admirers, however, want him to run for Governor, an office for which he is especially well qualified by temperament, training, and experience. He has taught sociology and government at Yale and at Santa Barbara State College, and is the author of "Boy Transiency in America," a standard work on the subject. Running for Congress in 1942, he had the courage to oppose confiscation of the land and machinery of Japanese farmers who were moved inland after Pearl Harbor.

Although the suggestion may seem far-fetched, Orson Welles is one of the dark-horse candidates to watch in this fight. During the 1944 election he demonstrated remarkable political drawing power and was one of the most effective campaigners for President Roosevelt's reelection. The vision of Orson Welles replying to Senator Bilbo is, indeed, fascinating to contemplate. Still another dark-horse candidate, either for Governor or Senator, is Colonel Evans Carlson. The "talk about Carlson" dates from a memorable speech which he delivered at the Writers' Congress sponsored by the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization and the University of California on October 1, 1943. On this occasion Colonel Carlson made a profound impression by his obvious sincerity, simplicity of manner, and unmistakable conviction. He is, of course, known to servicemen throughout the world as the organizer of the famous Second Marine Raider Battalion which performed so brilliantly at Makin Island and Guadalcanal. All America knows about the spirit of "Gung Ho"—"work in harmony, cooperate, practice tolerance"—which may well be a political slogan in California in 1946.

Colonel Carlson commanded native troops in Nicaragua in 1930-33, and later marched with the Chinese Eighth Route Army. He is the author of two interesting books: "Twin Stars of China" and "The Chinese Army." An ardent student of international affairs, he is also profoundly interested in the great social, economic, and political issues of our time. Listening to him talk, seeing him on the platform, chatting with him in private conversation, one can readily understand the enthusiasm he inspired in the men he commanded; one can also understand the enthusiasm of the Hollywood liberals who see in him a new Lincoln. Colonel Carlson has not said that he will run for office, but it is known that he intends to withdraw from active service, as soon as he fully recovers from injuries received in the Pacific, and devote the rest of his life to public affairs. Since the servicemen's vote will be very important in 1946, particularly in California, he would be a strong candidate for Governor or for the Senate.

In 1946 Governor Warren will be a candidate for reelection. He will not be able to repeat his 1942 campaign, when he stood as an anti-Olson candidate without a positive program of his own. Either Outland or Carlson could be relied upon to stress major issues in such a manner that the cagey Warren would be forced to take a position. Warren has no important achievements to present to the voters in 1946. He is extremely vulnerable on racial issues and is under fire for his conspicuous failure to push through an adequate post-war program and for his quiet opposition to the great Central Valley hydro-electric project.

The ideal candidate to oppose Warren would, of course, be Robert W. Kenny. But Kenny knows Sacramento. Given the present obsolete and undemocratic system of legislative representation in California, any person elected Governor is likely to be stymied if he has a progressive program.

Fortunately, the Republican Party in California is badly demoralized at the moment. For the last fifteen years two-thirds of the members of the legislature have been elected at the primaries by receiving both party nominations. During the last session party discipline in the Republican ranks broke down completely, with the Republican Speaker of the House telling off Governor Warren on several occasions. In an effort to restore order, Herbert Brownell, G. O. P. national chairman, came to pray with the local functionaries for unity. His visit was not a success. Governor Warren, who has been at outs with the Dewey element since the 1944 election, refused to go along with the movement to tighten the organization. Thus in 1946 the Republicans will not be in a position to make a strong partisan campaign, while, organizationally, the Democratic Party in California is stronger today than in 1942.

Never a dull state politically, California promises to excel past performances in 1946. Out-of-state observers should be reminded of the fact that primary elections will be held in June, 1946, the legislature having advanced the date of the primary by two months.

Everybody's Atom

BY J. D. BERNAL

[Dr. Bernal, one of Britain's leading younger scientists, is professor of physics at Birkbeck College, University of London, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. He is the author of "The Social Function of Science."]

> This revelation of the secrets of Nature, long mercifully withheld from man, should arouse the most solemn reflections in the mind and conscience of every human being capable of comprehension. We must indeed pray that these awful agencies will be made to conduce to peace among the nations and that instead of wreaking measureless havoc upon the entire globe, they may become a perennial fountain of world prosperity.

MR. CHURCHILL'S words, written in the foreknowledge of the effects of the atomic bomb, are echoed in many millions of minds today. People have been quick to see how the actuality of the atomic bomb has implicitly changed the whole existence of man in this universe. The immediate effects, however horrible, have been decisive in ending the war; but the possibilities of further destructive use are in every man's mind and far less certain are the hopes that it may also bring equally untold benefit. These hopes are weak despite official reassurance because, though the people may have little experience of the behavior of atoms, they have considerable experience of the behavior of men, corporately and individually. They remember that in the past science has been fully developed only in human destruction and this gives a poor augury for the beneficent use of these more powerful forces.

President Truman in his broadcast said:

> We must constitute ourselves trustees of this new force, to prevent its misuse and to turn it into the channels of service to mankind. It is an awful responsibility that has come to us.

The exercise of this trusteeship is, however, greater than can be borne by any government or group of governments. It is one that must be shared with the whole of the human race. Good will is not enough. It needs to be backed by an intelligent appreciation of the possibilities that the mastery of atomic energy gives us, and of the ways in which these possibilities can be realized without disrupting our coal- and oil-based civilization.

The perfecting of the atomic bomb is only the first impressive practical utilization of knowledge that appeared almost as startlingly as the bomb itself in the scientific world of fifty years ago. The discoveries of X-rays by Röntgen in 1895, followed by that of radio-activity by Becquerel, were totally unexpected; they broke up the complacent nineteenth-century, determinist, physical picture and started a major revolution in scientific thought. There followed the Rutherford theory of the atom with its heavy nucleus and attendant electron, which showed us a picture of matter very different from our old concrete imaginings; while the quantum theory of Planck and Bohr revealed modes of behavior of that matter even farther removed from common-sense experience. These ideas led to an almost unbroken sequence of discoveries—neutron, positron, meson—culminating just before the war with the splitting of the isotope of uranium which is the basis for the atomic bomb. The bomb itself is, therefore, the first large-scale, practical result of fifty years of intense, fundamental scientific activity.

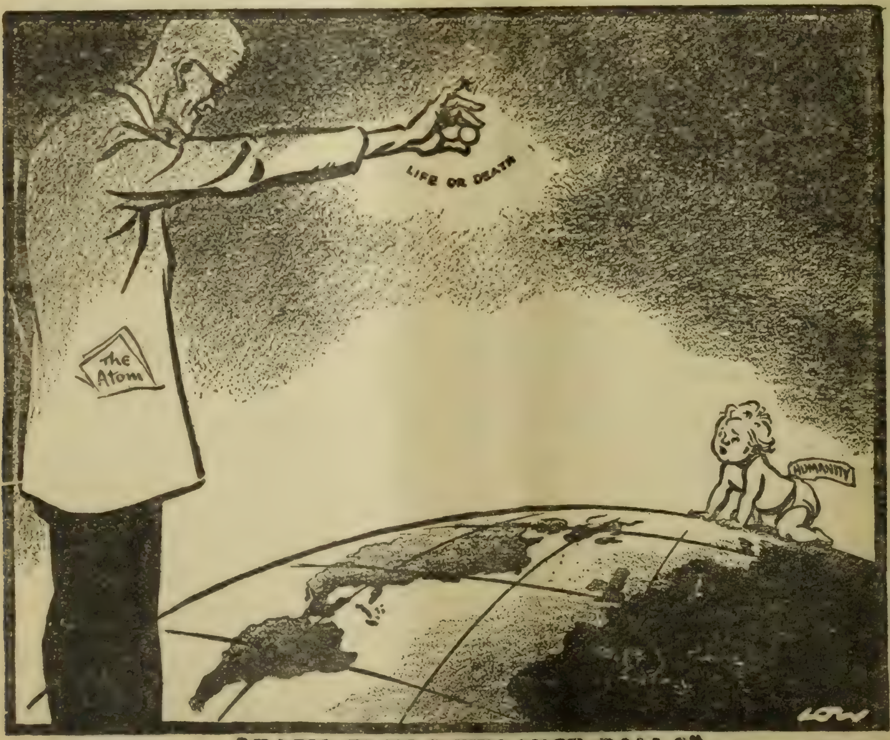
What the effect of the use of atomic energy is likely to be on society, we can now only dimly see. Those who know most about it are prohibited by military secrecy from making any statement. I can write about it only because it is work in which I have at no time been involved. What is important now, however, is not an accurate presentation of the immediate, technical possibilities of the utilization of processes in atomic nuclei but rather an appreciation of the social effects which such utilization is bound to produce. The first obvious and incontestable fact is that we have here a concentration of energy of the order of a million times greater than any we have had before. That does not mean, of course, that we have as yet actually increased the available energy in this planet by any perceptible amount. The rarity of the original elements, the practical difficulties of extraction of the active isotopes, and the unavoidable inefficiency of the disintegration process, may make the effective cost per energy unit for many years far greater than that of the more prosaic sources, coal and oil. We may feel reasonably sure, however, that the application of scientific analysis and practical ingenuity will overcome these difficulties in the course of a few years —if the effort which produced the atomic bomb is maintained at the same intensity.

Long before this time, however, there are obvious fields of utilization for costly but concentrated sources of energy. Such sources would obviously be at a premium in all remote parts of the world where the cost of transporting coal or oil is great and it is there that the use of atomic power will first be economic. It does not follow, however, that the best application of atomic energy is its tranformation into mechanical power. Before this is achieved, we may be utilizing atomic energy for the production of extremely high temperatures and pressures: for a new metallurgy and ceramics, and in large-scale engineering as a super blasting agent. Already, in the availability of an enormous variety of radio-active elements in hitherto unthinkable quantities, we have means for the rapid increase of our chemical, biological, and medical knowledge.

Sooner or later, however, it will be possible to use atomic power economically to provide directly or indirectly for immediate human wants. In the crudest way, such energy could be used to pump water and make fertilizer, extending and intensifying agricultural exploitation. At the same time, by increasing the facility of transport, it can make agricultural products more rapidly available. This means, in effect, that the basic limitation of food supply, already being felt acutely in the world, can be removed.

The discovery of a new source of wealth does not imply its rapid, large-scale use. Columbus's landfall did not mean any immediate increase in the resources of medieval Europe, but it did open a new world, and, in time, that new world with its ever widening frontiers brought an overwhelming increase in human population and standards of living. The development of the atomic bomb is a signal that another new frontier has opened, a frontier more illimitable than the physical frontier of mountain and prairie because it is not tied down to the geographical limitations of this globe but only to the capacities of human intelligence and human ability to cooperate.

Just as, when the new world was opened, the more adventurous could not be content with the constraints and resignations of the old, so, from now on, men will have a reasonable impatience at being tied down by the physical limitations of older methods of production and will demand the most rapid and the most effective development and exploitation of the new powers that science has put into our hands. It is here that lies the way out of the very real horror and apprehension that the atomic bomb has created. Attempts to control this force by secrecy and limitation are foredoomed to failure. The real way to insure freedom from fear and suspicion is not negative restraints but rapid expansion. Many of the troubles of our time, particularly in advanced countries like the United States, have been attributed to the closing of the last frontier. With the unlimited possibilities of atomic energy, mutual suspicion and struggles for *lebens-*



"BABY PLAY WITH NICE BALL?"

(Copyright in All Countries)

num can give way to a new, universal constructive effort full of excitement, uncertainty, hope, and promise.

The analogy of the opening of the New World, however, must not be pushed too far. What America gave us was something that people were already acquainted with—lands, forests, mines—only more of them than they had ever dreamed of; our new resources are not in the physical world but come from the systematic and cumulative tradition of science, and their benefits can be realized only by ordered and controlled progress, not by a further extension of individual and uncoordinated enterprise.

Perhaps as impressive as the atomic bomb itself is the feat of scientific organization and industrial production that made it possible in three years to go from what was a laboratory experiment involving hardly more than home-made apparatus and sub-microscopic quantities of substance, to a practical release of energy on a scale thousand of times greater than ever before achieved. Social discoveries are intrinsically more important than physical ones. A new way of doing things has an indefinite future not tied to any particular field of knowledge. The overriding need to avoid a fate similar to that we have inflicted on our enemy has shown what many scientists have long believed: that the potentials of modern science were not being realized for the simple reason that insufficient effort was being put into science. From now on this fact is as inescapable as the splitting of the atom itself.

People had grown so accustomed to the multiplicity of ways in which science was affecting modern life that the majority, including many scientists, were content with the relatively small-scale and haphazard manner in which scientific research was conducted and applied. That method, or lack of method, is now dead. The object lesson of the two-billion-dollar expenditure on the atomic bomb, with its integration of scientific, industrial, and military organizations, shows what can be achieved if such projects are tackled in a big way. There are hundreds of projects in science, already known to be realizable theoretically, much less spectacular but of importance comparable to that of the atomic bomb. We have had one example of them already in this war; the development of penicillin, which has saved many times more lives than the atomic bomb has destroyed, or, we hope, will ever destroy. Here again the normal development of fifty years was condensed into two by turning on an adequate effort. The problem of protein structure, with its relation to agriculture, food, and disease; the problem of the control of genetics, with the production of new and useful species; and the great physiological, psychological problem of the relation of body and mind—all these should be tackled by international team-work.

As long as people were content with the pre-uranic scientific progress, that is, as long as people were content with what they knew, the few imaginative scientists who saw the possibilities of the serious and adequate utilization of science could get no hearing. Now that everybody has seen what the pace can be, they are not going to be content any longer with leaving the realization of scientific benefits to their grandchildren or great-grandchildren when they could enjoy them in their own lives. The new era of the atom will also be the era in which the pursuit and application of science will become a major instead of an exceptional human occupation. Put concretely, before the war, between one-tenth and one-third of 1 per cent of the national income of modern industrial states was devoted to scientific research. The war has raised this figure to more than 1 per cent, but a rational appreciation of the newly revealed possibilities of science cannot be content with such a limit. The figure must rise year by year until it reaches stability at some value that we cannot now assess, but may within our own lifetime reach as much as 20 per cent. This implies the recasting of the educational system so as to produce many times the number of scientific workers and at the same time give every citizen enough scientific knowledge to appreciate the problems of the new age.

A mere increase of scientific activity, however, is not enough; it must be coordinated and directed to really worthy tasks. The objectives of science—"what needs to be done"—are set by the conditions of society. Sometimes perverse conditions, such as war, require superior methods of destruction, but normally the aim of science should be to enable individual men to realize their inherent possibilities, whether expressed in art, in science, or in simple human relations. The basic requirements of food, shelter, and work must first be met for the present population of the world and for its future increase. How such general directives can be translated into scientific research is a task for the scientists themselves. It needs to be organized—and organized on a world-wide basis. Science cannot be done in holes and corners. Only a combination of the scientists of all the countries of the world, freely interchanging their ideas and persons, can provide sufficient mutual stimulation to insure a full growth of science. The development of the atom bomb itself required the massed leadership in physics of Britain and America, with contributions from Denmark and from anti-Nazi Germans. German and Japanese science, after its perversion by fascism, was not up to the task. Success was achieved by working to a precise and narrow end, but for the general advancement and benefit of mankind the ends are multiple and indefinite.

It often takes much greater ingenuity to find out what problems have to be solved than actually to solve them once they have been stated. Even now we can see only a very small fraction of the possible applications of atomic energy. These applications must not be attacked in a haphazard way. Just as in war we had our priorities, so we must have them in peace. The jobs that atomic energy can do immediately are probably gigantic enterprises in remote places. Its use, therefore, must be concentrated where such action is likely to give the greatest human return, irrespective of national or individual interests. For example, even now the explosive force of the atom can be used to dig canals, to break open mountain chains, to melt ice barriers, and generally to tidy up the awkward parts of the world.

The control of atomic energy, however, which is already promised by President Truman, should be from the start a fully international control, under the guidance in the first place of the United Nations. The maintaining of secrecy on the principles and processes involved and the limitation of their application to the use of particular nations will be doubly disastrous, partly in slowing down the rate of useful progress, but, far more seriously, in withholding the utilization of atomic energy on account of mutual suspicion. It was possible to develop the atom bomb in secrecy but under a cloak so wide that it covered hundreds of the most brilliant physicists, chemists, and engineers of America and Europe. Far more scientists would have to be brought in for the wider peace-time uses. New and valuable ideas from outside cannot appear effectively under conditions of secrecy. Science needs the widest range of free discussion to develop fruitfully. Sir Henry Dale, president of the Royal Society, has made an impassioned plea for open dealing:

> I believe that the abandonment of any national claim to secrecy about scientific discoveries must be a prerequisite for any kind of international control, such as will obviously be indispensable if we are to use atomic energy to its full value and avoid the final disaster which its misuse might bring.

It is clear that publication and control are indissolubly linked. If we have control without publication, we shall have permanent suspicion and resultant stifling of scientific initiative through secrecy. Such a policy will actually tie up the active sources of energy, which will be kept for war purposes instead of used as fast as they are made. Leading scientists in the world have already recognized this. Sir James Chadwick has said:

> The fundamental principles involved in the atom bomb are so widely known that it is only a matter of time before every country, even without learning the British and United States secrets, develops a similar bomb. I do not think there is any safety in every country having it, but some effort should be made to control its use.

The responsibility is heavy. It must be widely borne. The democratic countries have finished their first task of liberating all countries from domination by reactionary forces. The people of these countries and of the rest of the world must see to it that they do not again pass under a domination of fear created by the very weapons that gave them mastery. They will need all their intelligence and political wisdom from now on to conquer themselves.

Life in a Vacuum

BY PHILIP JORDAN

Germany, British Zone, August 13

TO LIVE in Germany today is to live in "Cloud-Cuckoo Land." It is remote, by a paradox, infinitely stable, and is separated from the normal activities of men and the currents of history by immense gulfs, wide, deep, and spiritually impassable. In the last week mankind has crossed a frontier at whose barriers he has been knocking since the Renaissance first awoke him from a sleep that had lasted several centuries: he has discovered how to harness the powers of atomic fission for his own purposes. On a plane infinitely lower, the Japanese Government has all but surrendered, and for the first time in—how many years is it?—thirty or more, the guns are about to be silenced all over the globe.

You would hardly guess at those facts if you were here in Germany. They have made no more impact on German life than the frail clouds which are moving slowly across the summer sky today. On those who garrison this section of the country the impact is hardly stronger. It is strangely ironic that one of the reasons for the indifference of the latter is due to our present inability to harness illimitable power for other than destructive purposes: we are still as much at the mercy of the weather as we were before the airplane was invented. Here we have had no newspapers to read since the day before the Soviet Union declared war on Japan; and because we have learned to rely on the airplane and have now been betrayed by it, we are as much cut off from our only satisfying sources of information—the newspapers from home—as were our forefathers, in similar appalling weather, in the days before the railroad was invented.

Radio? Yes, somewhere there is a radio, but until today a prolonged series of electric storms has interfered with reception; and when we do manage to turn it on we hear little more than the ineffable voice of Luxembourg, telling the Germans that they are guilty, in much the same voice that a superior, genteel nursemaid uses when reproving some recalcitrant child for stealing jam from the larder.

Not that the Germans are inclined to stick their fingers into the forbidden jam at the moment, but their disinclination to listen to nurse is as convinced and certain as that of the child forced to receive a rebuke which he believes to be neither just nor relevant. It is natural to like jam; and if you are not old enough to have a moral sense, you don't listen to pious homilies on the sin of theft.

But the Germans have an additional reason for disregarding this stern, but, alas, amateur, voice: they are concerned now with satisfying a desire older even than that for glory, older than that for power or self-indulgence, a little older than that to reproduce your species: they are concerned with the problem of their collective stomach. Nothing else matters. They dress up, they go to concerts, they flirt, they read the poverty-stricken little news-sheets we allow them, but they talk of food, endlessly, distressingly. Atomic bombs, the end of "honorary Aryanism," peace on earth to men of good will and all that, these are phantoms for the delight of children, phrases with which the practical mind has no concern at the moment. You can have all the atomic bombs you like, they seem to say, provided that little Hansel and little Gretel can be guaranteed a cup of milk every morning and a slice of good bread several times a day.

Well, of course, little Hansel and Gretel can be guaranteed nothing of the sort. Montgomery, a fine fighting soldier but one who must still prove himself as an administrator, makes their flesh creep with hints of famine this winter, now so close; and he exhorts them to help themselves. They hear that their harvest is good, but they know better. They have lived and farmed here for more years than we have been here days; and for the last five years they have been flogging their unfertilized land to produce more and ever more for the now shattered Wehrmacht. The land is old and tired.

Slowly, with an admirable efficiency, the Allied forces are transporting what remains of the shattered Wehrmacht home so that they may bring in this visually lovely harvest; but the rains which now flatten and rot its weak ears also have their story to tell; and every adult German can see on the horizon, like a thundercloud coming up against the wind, the horrid form of hunger.

That is what matters here. The flounderings of Military Government, the incompetence of UNRRA's desperately willing staff—war demands alone seem to have drained civilization's limited fund of administrative ability—the petulance of those displaced persons who remain here (and who can blame them?), the race against time to produce enough men to produce enough fuel—we've long given up hoping to produce enough food—all these are small rashes on the emaciated and inflamed body of the German state. Had those higher levels which give forth policy adequately realized what every sensible man and woman realized (namely, that Germany must be fed and administered when it was defeated) our task today would no doubt have been easier. It would have been mapped and planned. But it wasn't mapped and planned, because the Churchills of this world know no better than to suppose that you have achieved victory when you sign an armistice. One can only thank God on bended knees that he was defeated at the British election or all the old mistakes of 1918, whose first vague shadows lie across this land, might have taken substance and menaced us with a new, resurgent, bitter, militaristic Germany.

We can face it now: those who planned or thought to plan for beaten Germany fell between two stools as high as cliffs. Torn between their desire to destroy German militarism and their wish to preserve some sort of Germany that might still stand between them and communism, they planned a vacuum; so that Germany today, so far as the zones of the Western Allies are concerned, is nothing but a land of people who are afraid of being hungry. They have nothing to live for beyond food.

Pious "handouts" expressing vague wishes that intellectual life may be restored are distributed to Allied correspondents by the only efficient organization in the country—a so-called public-relations outfit which exists not to disseminate information about this country but to prevent newspaper men from finding out what is going on. Never, in nearly six years of journalism with the armies, have I felt so cut off from the stream of events, so thwarted and so incapable of telling you what is happening. This is the new censorship, invisible, professing helpfulness but standing between the newspapers of the world and the truth like a vast unscalable wall of China. Here and there, of course, you can climb over it, but the effort is hardly worth making, and you get tired of finding admirably disinterested, half-trained men and women trying to do a job with no directive to guide them and not enough experience to use their common sense and take a rapping over the knuckles if they offend the powers.

Much of the trouble, of course, is caused by the violent trade-unionism of the old, the regular, army. Men who proved themselves incapable of understanding the strains and necessities of modern war, and were consequently relegated to their proper places during the years of hostility, are now putting on their red tabs and their brass hats and climbing back to the comfort of a good mess and a job infinitely better paid, for all the stinginess of the British Treasury, than any they might get in civil life. First-class brains are not attracted to the governance of defeated Germany, for there is no room for them at the top—with a few shining exceptions—and no responsibility for them lower down. So Germany will be governed for the most part by men of generally lower caliber than those they have to govern—unless, of course, there should be a change in policy, which, so far as the British zone is concerned, is now possible.

Clemenceau used to say that war is far too serious a matter to be left to soldiers: if war is, how much more so is peace!

In the Wind

EUGENE R. FLITCRAFT of Chicago is having troubles with his "Gentile Business Directory," a 152-page "handy shopping guide for Gentiles who prefer to do business with Gentiles" ($12). The Chicago Better Business Bureau reports that many of the listings are unauthorized and inaccurate, and a number of firms and individuals are considering legal action on the ground that listing in such a publication injures their reputations.

LOCAL 24, United Office and Professional Workers of America, C. I. O., claims a majority of the employees in Henry Ford's Chicago office, and has filed a petition for a National Labor Relations Board election.

TIMING; In its issue of August 13 *Time* said, "Last week Russia was not ready—if she ever would be—to go to war with Japan" (page 27, column 2). Russia went to war with Japan, as readers of *The Nation* are aware, on August 8.

THE CURRENT (1945) edition of Webster's Collegiate Dictionary defines "Fascisti" as "an Italian organization, originated by patriots (1919) to oppose all radical elements in the country."

WILLIAM DAMON, an artist of Ocean City, New Jersey, was arrested on Sunday, July 29, while painting a portrait. Mayor Clyde Struble pointed out that a city ordinance forbids "unnecessary business" on Sunday.

ROBERT CASADESUS was the soloist in the final program of the Bach-Mozart Festival at Tanglewood, Massachusetts, August 12. A note on the printed program warned the customers: "Baldwin Piano. (Mr. Casadesus uses the Steinway Piano.)"

DETROIT, MICHIGAN, and Madison, Wisconsin, are planning to adopt the Philadelphia system of taxing the incomes of "daytime citizens," who earn their money in the cities but live in the suburbs.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

Monuments of Old Germany

BY LINCOLN KIRSTEIN

Somewhere in Germany

ONE OF THE HAPPIER aspects of the late war is the almost complete survival of the glories of French monumental building, and of the paintings, sculpture, and furnishings which adorn them. This extraordinary circumstance is due to a combination of causes, primarily the realistic and considered policy of French museum directors. Objects from museums were stored in dispersed castles, and a list of the repositories where they were placed (not, as the romantic reporters write, "hidden") was given to a neutral legation for transmission to belligerent bomber-commands. The German Occupation Monuments Service, originated in the First World War under Dr. Paul Clemens, the distinguished art historian, then at the University of Bonn, was revived for the present conflict by a group of Francophile scholars, many of whom had been trained by Clemens at Bonn.

It should be understood that the Monument Service personnel had no relation to, and were continually at odds with, the Einsatzstab Rosenberg, a well-organized body for systematic pillage, which stole on a vast scale from Allied institutions and from Allied nationals, generally Jewish. It is too early to write the history of the machinations by which France was spared its public (though not its private) collections. That story when it is finally documented will be an absorbing chapter in the ancient, Jesuitical record of the manipulation of works of art.

In Germany it has been quite different. The controlling powers of the Nazi state would not entertain the notion of defeat, and hence their protective arrangements were not worked out in advance, but rather forced upon them by the increase of the Anglo-American aerial offensive. The treasures of the Prussian state museums, a complex of collections unrivalled in the world, actually remained in Berlin until March. This appalling delay shows how completely the High Command was taken in by its own propaganda. When the director of the state museums, well over a year ago, attempted to formulate a request for the evacuation of the collections, he was informed that his attitude was dangerously defeatist. The two *Flaktürme*, Am Zoo and one at Friedrichsheim, were considered as depots, impregnable from the air. But when long-range Russian artillery finally moved up, the Minister of Education dispatched a first shipment, only about one-fourth of the holdings, to a potassium salt mine in central Germany, together with seventy-nine cases of his own library. This was done on the advice of Marshal Kesselring. Some three days after the pictures arrived, along with the entire Reich gold reserve, General Patton's infantry took the mine. The city fathers of Hamburg, on the other hand, refused in their Hanseatic pride to allow their treasure to leave the depot in the *Flakturm* at the airport.

Pictures and sculpture do not profit by travel. They rip and break. The French had time to pack properly. The German objects had been packed once for a short move, and should have been repacked. There was no time. Papyri were put in open lead cases which were crushed. The nineteenth-century French and German pictures had not even been packed. They were first sent to a mine that was wet. They were later shifted to a drier one, but half a mile down a potash mine is not a nice place for pictures. The oil or tempera surface, the patina on bronze, carries on its own chemical life and needs light and air. Otherwise deterioration sets in.

In the case of other museums, the news is better. The Walraf Richartz pictures from Cologne, the Stadel collections from Frankfurt, the principal provincial and city collections were removed from their galleries, which with some two or three exceptions have been destroyed. Where and when these collections can be displayed is a problem no one can solve for a long time.

The principal Gothic cathedrals of France and Germany stand in the midst of what is, the farther east one moves, almost absolute desolation— monuments to stubborn faith and the genius of medieval builders. Those of Aachen, Cologne, Mainz, Frankfurt, Metz, Strasbourg, and Trier, may have had their roofs burned off and the vaulting pierced, may even have sustained direct hits on side chapel or cloister, but the main skeletal vaulting has held. In Germany, excellent brick and cement *kunstschutz* for interior sculpture, which was also used on some free-standing exterior groups, has saved what could be saved.

But a very great number of churches, and a great deal of Gothic civic and domestic architecture—the central portions and marketplaces of Trier, Cologne, Mainz, Frankfurt, Wurzburg, Nuremberg, the beautiful breathing memories of the greatest epoch of pure Germanic culture, of Kaiser Maximilian and Cranach and Dürer—these are gone, *spurlos versenkt.*

Many were exercised over the fate of the Roman remains in Trier, a beautiful and severely damaged town. They came through well enough but they were already ancient ruins a thousand years ago. What did not come through were the glorious baroque palaces of the archbishops and the counts of Kessel. In the Rhine cities, the entire lengths of river banks were tactical targets, and so some of the grandest Renaissance and rococo monuments are lost. In Mainz, for example, a cluster of early medieval and baroque churches was adjacent to the citadel, and to important anti-aircraft emplacements. Now the exuberant, angel-bedecked, triumphant décor of the chorales of Bach and Buxtehude is efficiently strafed, and richly ruined. The Residenz in Wurzburg is gravely hurt but Treppenhaus, the chapel, and the Kaisersaal survive.

The horrid desolation of the German cities should, I suppose, fill us with pride. But the builders of the Kurfürstliches Palast, of the Zwinger, of Schinkel's great houses, and of the marketplaces of the south German cities were not the executioners of Buchenwald or Dachau. No epoch in history has produced such precious ruins. To be sure, these structures are rather *filigraine*, delicate in comparison to those of antiquity, but what they lack in scale is made up by the extensiveness of the area they cover. Fragments of elegance —and the yawning contempt for the creative impulse.

There is little use in trying to figure out now what can eventually be done. Should the cities be built again around the focus of surviving cathedrals? Can the church summon enough strength for restoration? And where are the transport, the gasoline, the manpower, the materials which are necessary to clear away the solid ruins, even before any rebuilding can be considered? Will the Tiepolo ceiling in the Residenz, lacking a roof, survive the summer rains?

In the meantime, the little our armies can do is done. I can speak only of the Third, but it is the same in the others. Our Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives officer is Captain Robert Posey, a New York architect. He can at least request first-aid repairs for endangered roofs and walls, place certain sites off limits to prevent deterioration, and remove pictures and books to safer places if they are in danger.

A while ago Captain Posey turned up the library of the German Foreign Office in a dance-hall in a tiny inn. It was founded by the Great Elector in 1680, and it contained among other things the files of the *Congressional Record* complete through 1943! There were also brass-band parts for every nation in the world, including Guatemala. The director, who had come with the books, was the fox-type, von Papenesque permanent state servant. He let us know he expected us to find the three other carloads of books which had been dispatched a month before. Clearly it was our fault that they had not arrived. It was very important, for the Foreign Office holdings were unique, and three million books at least had been burned in Germany since the aerial offensive started. Captain Posey and I had the same thought: the Nazis couldn't have burned three million books. That's a lot of anti-fascist literature. The Nazis didn't burn them. We did.

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

THE CONVENTIONAL ANTHOLOGY consists of variations on a single theme and is by its very nature impersonal. One would not think of reading it as if it were a "real" book. Yet I did just that with "The Reader's Companion" by Louis Kronenberger (Viking, $2). It is a selection of prose and poetry which Mr. Kronenberger enjoys and expects to read again and again. The book contains a wide variety of good writing, including light verse and aphorisms, which yields its own intrinsic satisfactions; but the volume has another sort of interest too. There is a pleasurable suspense in exploring a man's taste. Moreover, taste is so personal a matter that a true exposition of it is a form of characterization. Mr. Kronenberger, one is convinced, has been very conscientious in "giving himself away," and has made no concessions to considerations other than his personal preferences. I happen to like his taste, perhaps because it so often coincides with my own—and the fact, for instance, that he too likes Blake's poem "Ah, Sun-flower, weary of time" is to me somehow more convincing evidence of good character than the most fulsome "reference" he could produce. But the pleasures of disagreeing are also open to the reader. The point is that "The Reader's Companion" is not only a good collection; it also has the charm and interest of a personal communication—which makes it far more lively than the usual anthology.

THE ALCOHOLIC INTERPRETATION of the behavior of Congressmen and diplomats—a Washington psychiatrist says they drink too much—has its charms. It may even have validity in certain cases. But it would be unfair to the highball, the sidecar, the Alexander, to charge them with all the sins of Congressmen. Theodore Bilbo doesn't drink. Or of the State Department—I can't imagine Mr. Hull, for instance, entertaining the "inebriating impulse." Teetotalers are capable of an intoxication quite as dangerous as that derived from honest Scotch. Hitler did not drink—and the Pétain trial reminds us that during one period at least the trouble with the State Department was that it was swallowing too much Vichy.

THE VIKING PRESS has issued an "errata pamphlet" containing "Corrections of Misprints in Finnegans Wake by James Joyce, As Prepared by the Author after Publication of the First Edition." It is available, at a charge of ten cents, to libraries and to individuals who have copies of the novel. It is surely the most extraordinary collection of errata ever printed. Item: Page 10 line 34 from top . . . for "pelfalittlegnarlybird" read "pelfalittle gnarlybird." Joyce anticipated the scientists. All of a generation ago he split the atom of language and released the hidden powers of the word.

THE ATOMIC BOMB, by the way, has made at least one expression obsolete. "Blown to atoms" will have to be retired.

A SUCCESSFUL AUTHOR, who read my note about Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and the reader's fee of $7.50 which it offered to a literary critic, contributes an account of his own experience. He was asked by one of the big companies to do a piece of publicity for a moving picture.

> I was sent the script [he writes] and a lot of hand-painted illustrations for the theaters. I set to work and did a thousand-word piece about it. I sent it in but held on to the material. After a while I wrote to know what the payment would be. I was told in a frightened telegram that they had no appropriation to pay for this. I put the matter in the hands of my agent, who got busy. Backed into a corner they managed to scrape the bottom of the till and found $100.
>
> Not long ago my agent queried me about a script. I happened to have the material in mind for such a script. I had a long encouraging letter from the head man in New York, and I set to work on a scenario. I spent eleven days on it. The two head men in New York liked it so much they air-mailed it at once to Hollywood. There it

was thrown into the ash-can by Mister Big, and I got nothing.

SPEAKING OF HOLLYWOOD, a writer who recently took a short turn at working there notes in a letter: "Life here is not so strange once you cut clear of the moving picture industry." She also notes that "California is quite full of climate," which reminds me of the delightful remark of a friend who on going to that fabulous state wrote that he had been cast into outer sunshine.

Dutch History

EVOLUTION OF THE DUTCH NATION. By Bernard H. M. Vlekke. Roy Publishers. $3.50.

A CENTURY ago Dutch Catholics did not write history. They were treated as second-class citizens by the ruling Protestant majority. Dutch schoolbooks taught that the rise of the Dutch Republic was due to the Calvinist revolt against the Catholic sovereign who, being also King of Spain, ruled the Netherlands as an absentee landlord from his palace in Madrid. The Catholics, therefore, had failed the cause of the Dutch fight for freedom, and their nineteenth-century descendants had to be grateful for the tolerance that granted them citizenship in a Calvinist nation for whose emergence from serfdom they could not claim any credit.

They refused to be grateful. They denied that the country's liberation from Spanish rule was an exclusively Calvinist achievement. They found an able spokesman in the physician Willem Nuyens, whose hobby was historical research. In his leisure hours he wrote in vindication of his fellow religionists and sought to prove that the Catholics in the time of William the Silent had had an equal share with the Protestants in the Dutch fight for freedom. Nuyens was one of the leaders of the Catholic revival which won for the members of the Church of Rome in Holland not only full equality with the non-Catholic majority but also prominence in scholarship, letters, art, and politics.

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Dr. Vlekke is one among many Catholic scholars of distinction who now bring credit to the nation whose loyal sons they are. It goes without saying that Dr. Vlekke's portrayal of the evolution of the Dutch nation differs widely from the traditional Calvinist picture. He does not deny that the revolt under the leadership of the Prince of Orange was a fight for freedom, but he does not subscribe to the theory that the forces unchained by that revolt worked the chemistry by which the disparate elements of the Dutch populace were solidified into a nation. That chemical process, he believes, was already at work in the late Middle Ages. The county of Holland with the diocese of Utrecht, the county of Flanders with the Duchy of Brabant formed two political units whose common source of prosperity was their participation in sea-borne commerce. The Dukes of Burgundy found in these provinces the mainstay of their expansionist policy. That policy would not have succeeded so well in binding the Low Countries together if the Dutch subjects they acquired had not been willing to be united. The Dukes met with opposition, to be sure, but the majority of the State Assemblies in their patrimonial provinces was on their side. These provinces formed the nucleus of the nation that later emerged and received its charter in the treaty of Ghent of November 8, 1576. It was a shortlived unit. Political integration was thwarted by religious dissension. The leading classes in the southern provinces, being conservative and Catholic, feared Calvinist radicalism more than Spanish domination, and seceded from the union with the North. Thus came about that regrettable cleavage between the northern and southern Netherlands which in the early sixteenth century seemed predestined for national unity. For a brief period after Napoleon's fall the two were reunited, but Netherland and Belgium, as they are now called, persist by force of tradition and adverse circumstance in their reciprocal aloofness.

Since Dr. Vlekke traces the unifying tendencies to a period prior to the revolt it is only natural that in his view the commanding figure of the Prince of Orange looms less large than he does in historical tradition. This is not stated by way of criticism. On the contrary, the author's unorthodox concept of the forces which formed the Dutch nation makes his book all the more interesting. He has complete mastery over the recalcitrant material and his style is so readable that his learning does not annoyingly obtrude. I know of no other Hollander in the United States who could guide Americans as expertly through the maze of Dutch history.

A. J. BARNOUW

B. H. Haggin is on vacation. His column will be resumed in the issue of September 8.

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Rule of Law

EMERY REVES'S new book "The Anatomy of Peace" (Harper, $2) reminds me of the guest at a *New Yorker* cocktail party who protested, "Sure, I can think of repartee, too, but I can't shout loud enough." Mr. Reves is forceful, interesting, and dead right on many things. But he roars like the Bull of Bashan and he never will have done with his points. At the close of the book he is still excitedly throwing in remarks the substance of which he has used again and again.

But this is certainly not just another of the peace books. Its central thesis is that the trouble in the world is due to the preservation of antiquated, and fatal, ideas of national sovereignty in a world of industrialism. There is absolutely no remedy but the abandonment of nationalism; of itself that remedy will suffice.

The exposition proceeds in a familiar way. Capitalism has failed as a polity as it has failed as a productive and distributive system. Socialism has failed. Even when it denounced nationalism, socialism did nothing effective to resist it in moments of crisis. And now that the Soviet Union has become nationalist, socialism is even more a delusion. Religion has failed. It does not and cannot be expected ever to appeal to enough people with enough force to restore true political catholicity.

Within any country, Mr. Reves argues, order, peace, and liberty have been the creations of law and of nothing else. The same will turn out to be true for the world as a whole. Today's internationalism is fallacious, for it rests upon unsurrendered national sovereignty; self-determination has the same defect. Collective security is just as much an illusion and for the same reason. Mr. Reves's argument is presented with ruthless force and absolute sincerity, but his unconcealable weakness is that he refuses to confront the next question. What sort of action is required to make nations surrender their absolute sovereignty? For Mr. Reves, forceful insistence on his doctrine is the essential, for he believes that it can stand and be effective without doctrinal context. The Socialist who accepts his main point will still believe that radical reconstruction of society is a necessary condition or concomitant of the intellectual and emotional revolution the author demands.

RALPH BATES

Things Not Caesar's

THERE WILL ALWAYS be an England. I trust there will always be Butlers, Beefeaters, and Belted Earls, even under a Labor government. And I devoutly hope there will always be *The Times*. The charm of Charles Morgan's essays, "Reflections in a Mirror" (Macmillan, $2.50), is their timely timelessness. London was blitzed and robot-bombed: but "Menander" kept writing of Why Birds Sing, of Ivan Turgenev, of Nausicaa and the Pelicans.

This is not aloofness, heroic or callous. Charles Morgan does not ignore the giant sorrows of the world. But, in his quest for values, he realizes that life does not exist only for the moment's sake. Under many forms there is a single inquiry throughout the book: the conflict between The Mighty Strong Beast, the collective, and the Uncommon Man. Perhaps he has not made a sufficient effort to understand "the Common Man"; the dreary average he depicts is not a foe quite worthy of his rapier. In his final essay, On Unrelated Knowledge, he expresses the conviction that man is most truly himself when he lives by law. But there is no law of the uncommon: the law is common ground, the rules that apply to our common humanity. No government, no church, no culture, can live under anarchy. The domain of the law, i.e., that which is common to men, is vast and expanding. This apparent contradiction is not resolved by the author. However, I am more than willing to admit that there are things which are not Caesar's—things which dwell beyond government, church, and culture, above the law.

Two quotations, in a different line of thought: "The evidences of strength in our civilization . . . in the proofs which reach us in increasing strength that in France, in Scandinavia, in all the occupied territories, desire for the reintegration of a free Europe is burning and effective." "The ideas of the Roman Empire, of the Papacy, and more distantly of Athens, have all served to establish, as a reality in the human mind, the idea of European coherence. If it were not a concept with power over thought, the Germans would not have troubled to represent their aggression as an attempt to establish a new European order." Only our intellectual sloth and our faint-heartedness prevent us from acknowledging this obvious fact.

ALBERT GUERARD

The Two Chinas

MOST BOOKS ON CHINA suffer from too great an absorption with one or another of the two Chinas. Observers who have visited in Chungking territory tend either to ignore Communist China or to parrot Kuomintang propaganda about alleged Communist atrocities. The few observers who have visited the so-called border areas are naturally concerned primarily with recounting the achievements and problems of Communist China. Mr. Rosinger, Far Eastern expert of the Foreign Policy Association, has performed a unique service in "China's Crisis" (Alfred A. Knopf, $3) by giving us a balanced picture of the two Chinas at the most critical stage in the emergence of the Chinese people into the modern world. He stresses the constructive achievements of the Chiang Kai-shek regime, but he does not gloss over the corruption, sloth, and open collaboration with the enemy that have persisted in Chungking throughout the war.

It is doubtful whether anyone can read this book without being gravely concerned regarding the wisdom of recent American policy in apparently throwing its weight on the side of the groups which would keep China under the yoke of the past. Yet on the whole it is an optimistic book. Mr. Rosinger is convinced that despite its many weaknesses and the shortcomings of its leaders, China will emerge from the war the dominant power of the East. But its strength and the welfare of its people will depend largely on its ability to achieve unity without a bloody internal conflict. The prevention of such a conflict is a challenge to the best statesmanship not only of China but of America, Britain, and the Soviet Union.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

VERSE CHRONICLE

Four Canadians

OF THE Canadian poets in this group, Ralph Gustafson appears to be least conscious of his nationality as implying any special predicament or being the source of any distinctive twist of sensibility. Apart from a few local references, the lyrics that make up "Flight Into Darkness" (Pantheon, $2) are quite in the vein of recent Anglo-American verse. In them anxiety over the state of the world alternates with themes of private love; and the writing, loaded with surprising adjectives, is eager to announce itself as modern. How little appropriate this modern manner is to the thinking core of the poems can be seen by inspecting closely almost any one of them. In Dedication, for example, the poet rejects the usual practice of honoring the war dead with conventional memorials and proposes to show what a soldier's death really implies. But the demonstration turns out to consist largely in declaimers, exclamatory remarks, and lists of objects notoriously more pleasing to poets than to actual boys:

> You who live, see! These,
> These were his hills where laughter was
> And counted years of longing, grain
> And wintry apples scorched in sun,
> Of corded hemlock deep in snow.

In both a political and a psychological sense, F. R. Jones is more aware than Gustafson of being a Canadian. Naturally this alone would not make him superior, nor is he so in fact. His being a Canadian, although it is for him a great source of ideas, is unfortunately not a cause of much originality in the texture of his poetry. In "Overture" (Bruce Humphries, $2.50) one group of poems explores his reactions to the Canadian landscape. Here the precious "North Woods" of the tourist emerge as a bleak, uncreated region of rock and forest intersected by the too elemental, too relentlessly flowing St. Lawrence.

> a quiet calling
> of no mind
> out of long æons
> when dust was blind
> and ice hid sound
>
> only a moving
> with no note
> granite lips
> a stone throat

Obviously the landscape embodies for Jones some uncongenial sentiment of geological timelessness. Why is he satisfied to state it in imagist verse so conventional that the total effect is only a slight shudder? Another group of his poems is made up of satires on local politics and literary life written from the point of view of a Marxist and anti-provincial. Many of these are amusing:

> and he   the last dot in the sky
> did but accentuate an i
>
> now you may see him   virginal
> content to live in montreal.

In a note on the jacket, E. K. Brown, the critic of Canadian poetry, says of Jones that "he has contrived to find for his social ideas forms at once simple and beautifully designed." On the contrary he has found them ready-made in Cummings, early Eliot, and others; and this derivativeness is all the more inhibiting in that it is so clever. One poem even undertakes to promote the revolution in the sleepy rhythms of The Garden of Proserpine:

> Till power is brought to pooling
> And outcasts share in ruling
> There will not be an ending
> Nor any peace for spending.

One mentions the derivativeness of Jones's verse forms only because it is so clear a hindrance to the development of a Canadian poetry. He is in the position of those American poets of pre-Whitman days who labored futilely to write about American experience in the manner of Byron or Tennyson.

Patrick Anderson and Irving Layton are probably the most interesting poets of this group. In "A Tent For April" (First Statement, Montreal, $1) Anderson produces a wandering, gracefully-awkward verse as if to amuse himself on a rainy day; and we do not need to look at the jacket biography to guess that he was at Oxford in the '30's.

> These to whom everything happens but history
> Continually wash with cold water of their eyes
> The world, etc.

Yet within these too relaxed impromptus is a great deal of striking fantasy and comment, and considerable feeling for local sights and moods. Like F. R. Jones, Anderson perceives in the North a "vehement loneliness" together with a slightly wearying air of perpetual promise everlastingly unfulfilled; but Anderson throws a wider net and brings up more suggestive images:

> I cannot tell the boredom from the dream
> sleep from these trees
> the vacant air from the wind's pale Utopias . . .

Anderson's cultivated ease is entirely absent from Irving Layton's 'Here and Now" (First Statement, Montreal, $1). Layton writes out of a stark plebeian experience among the waterfronts, redlight districts, and Jewish neighborhoods of Montreal, where it seems always to be a very dark night. These experiences he translates into descriptive satires akin to those of Karl Shapiro but not at all dependent on them.

> O reptilian streets whose scaly limbs
> Are crooked stairways and the grocery store,
> Isolate, is your dreaming half shut eye:
> Each virgin at the barricaded door
> Feels your tongue-kiss like a butterfly.

As in this passage, the anger is always leaping right out of Layton's poems and at your throat, often busting up the poems in the process. Yet for all their snarling, bottom-dog attitudes they often succeed in convincing us of their reality.

F. W. DUPEE

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The Shape of Things

GERMANY'S SURRENDER WAS A PIECEMEAL affair, bloody and disorderly. The leading characters fled for their lives or were seized or lay dead or disfigured in the midst of rubble. There was little ceremony about it. Terror had collapsed in terror, and the end seemed ugly and appropriate. The surrender of Japan was different. It was accomplished with a certain pomp and elegance. It went off smoothly; people played the roles history had clearly designed for them. A sense of dramatic fitness controlled the performance as in a well-directed drama. But perhaps because of this very fact the whole thing was a little gruesome. Correspondents had to keep reminding their readers that behind all this decorum lay the long, ugly slaughter stretching down the years from Japan's first thrust into Manchuria. Nothing decorous about any of it: the systematic job of destruction, rape, and massacre at Nanking; the elaborate sham of negotiation with an unready, gullible America, ending abruptly when the bombers arrived over Pearl Harbor; the death march of Bataan; the inhuman jungle fighting, without even a pretense of mercy or honor on either side. . . . The Japanese generals were polite and solemn; the Japanese officials cooperative, ready to play their new role of superperfect hosts to a conquering army. Everybody, from the top to somewhere near the bottom, is all set to show that the war was just a little error, a temporary misunderstanding, soon to be expiated, soon to be forgiven, and thereafter the Son of Heaven and all his minions can be left in charge and business can go on as usual during repairs. . . . Correspondents report that the Japanese are bitter about American bombings, but when you mention Nanking or Manila they look pained, as if you had made an awkward slip of the tongue. Surely the uninvited guest knows better than that! But Admiral Halsey expressed emotions that must have boiled through the veins of most of his fellow-countrymen during these last few days when he said he would "have liked to kick each Japanese delegate in the face." Not elegant. Not polite. But very exact and satisfying—and somehow reassuring.

*

WE WELCOME THE HINT FROM STETTINIUS IN London that the United States and Great Britain may be prepared to share the secret of the atomic bomb with our allies and to place its development under the control of the new United Nations Organization. We agree with the Russian publication, *New Times*, that since the fundamental principles are known "it is simply a question of time before any country will be able to produce atomic bombs." Under such conditions war would be suicidal, and the ***reductio ad ab-***

surdum of the nationalistic attitude is the New York *Daily News* editorial suggesting "two atomic bombs for one." Presumably if our enemies destroy us once, we would destroy them twice! We are glad to see that Senator Pepper has raised his voice against the attempt to make the atomic bomb an Anglo-American monopoly. Altogether too little thinking is being done about the implications of the atomic bomb for warfare and for the future of society. Ultimately it will render both present war strategy and capitalism obsolete. In the meantime we would like to suggest a special commission to study the effects of the atomic bombing in Japan and the rushing of medical aid for Japanese civilians terribly burned (despite bland War Department denials) by the radioactive after-effects of atomic detonation.

*

HOPES OF A PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC solution to China's domestic problems were stirred as we went to press. There were indications that behind the scenes the United States and the Soviet Union may have insisted that Chiang make peace with the Chinese Communists and establish a democratic regime at home as the price for the Sino-Soviet pact and the return of Manchuria to Chinese sovereignty. The tone of the Russian press, the statement made by T. V. Soong at Ottawa, Chiang's agreement to postpone the People's Congress and to make it somewhat more representative, give promise that his current talks with Mao Tse-tung may yet be fruitful. American policy in this situation remains far from clear. Although there is one report that Chiang has agreed to permit the Chinese Communists to accept the surrender of Japanese troops in certain areas, our planes are still transporting Kuomintang soldiers into Yenan's territory and American correspondents have been prevented from covering these unusual military activities. By utilizing American planes and American personnel to ferry Kuomintang troops deep into Communist areas, Generals Wedemeyer and Hurley may be asking for trouble. Clashes are bound to arise in regions where conflict would otherwise have been physically impossible. If American soldiers are killed in these clashes, the incident would, as Mr. Bisson points out in his article in this issue, provide fuel for a "red scare" that would play into the hands of the Russia-hating press. Russia has deliberately adopted a hands-off policy in the China crisis, presumably out of a desire to strengthen United Nations unity. But American intervention is potentially just as dangerous to Allied unity as Russian intervention would be.

*

NO ONE AT ALL FAMILIAR WITH THE WAY THE minds of most officials and big business men operate—both prefer ballyhoo to candor in dealing with the public—can fail to be impressed with the job that the Office of War Information did. Elmer Davis collected a staff which included some of the ablest newspapermen in the country, and they succeeded, despite heart-breaking difficulties, in providing press and public with more honest information about what was going on than has been vouchsafed any other country in any other war. On every side, from the big dollar-a-year men of the War Production Board to the dodos of the State Department, Davis and his young men were surrounded by bigwigs to whom double-talk came natural. Almost every press release and every major report had to be cleared through several agencies dominated by just such mentalities, and it is a miracle that the resultant product was as informative as it was. That the OWI should be abolished at this time, when we more than ever need an agency to interpret our ways to the world, is a tragic consequence of the obscurantist partisanship which made OWI the butt of Congress and the rightist press. The international information functions of the OWI and of the Office of Inter-American Affairs are to be transferred to an "Interim International Information Service" in the State Department. If the President is wise, he will leave that vestigial agency in the State Department for the interim only. The stodgy ways, musty atmosphere, and un-American outlook that continue to pervade that department make it totally unsuited to the task of interpreting America for foreign countries. At the very least, if this agency is to stay in the State Department, the President ought to appoint a man of Archibald MacLeish's ability, stature, and imagination to handle international information and give him ample power to keep free of bureaucratic barnacles.

*

SPRUILLE BRADEN'S MASTERLY ADDRESS ON THE anatomy of fascism which he delivered at a luncheon of the Argentine-American Cultural Institute in Buenos Aires was also his first speech as Assistant Secretary of State. We can't help feeling that as such it must have fluttered the tail coats in the State Department. "Let no one imagine," concluded Mr. Braden, "that my being transferred to Washington means the abandonment of the task I have undertaken. The voice of freedom makes itself heard in this land and I do not believe anyone will succeed in drowning it. I shall hear it from Washington with the same clarity with which I heard it in Buenos Aires." Certainly what we need is diplomatic officials who can hear the voice of freedom even through the State Department's thick walls of protocol, precedent, and plain reaction. We hope that Mr. Braden's hearing remains unimpaired and also that his appointment represents a change of policy toward the voice of freedom whether it rises from Argentina or, say, Franco's Spain.

*

PERON WILL FALL WITHIN THE MONTH IF political developments in Argentina continue at their present pace. The middle-of-the road Radicals, last to oppose him, hope to be first to replace him and they may succeed. We do not think the State Department would object. But since the best-laid plans of ministers are sometimes ruined by determined men, the Argentines may confound conservative elements both in our country and in their own. Several hours after Braden's biting denunciation of the Perón regime the Radicals finally agreed to join the United Democratic Front which includes all opposition parties—on condition that they retain full independence and autonomy and that the Conservatives and anti-Personalists are excluded. The next step is up to the United Front, which, unless the Radicals withdraw their objections, will have to decide which group to exclude. Meanwhile Socialists, Communists, and Radicals held large independent rallies last week, the first since the lifting of the state of siege. And last week also, a second group of exiled democratic leaders came back to Argentina to help liberate their homeland. Perón was afraid to order his police to attack them as he did the week before when the first group of leftist opposition leaders returned. The militant strike of teachers and students and the fact that British Labor government may be counted on to withdraw support from Perón are other factors hastening the dénouement. Meanwhile Perón is not idle. According to one rumor he plans a coup in which Farrell will be replaced by a renegade Radical or by a military figure such as General Avalos who will permit Perón to keep on pulling the strings. As opposing forces prepare for the showdown one fact is evident. A conservative, fairly democratic government dominated by the large landholders and livestock producers and dedicated to the establishment of a stable government of minimal democracy would not displease certain elements in our State Department. And if the people of Argentina are not careful that is what they may get.

*

GOVERNOR DEWEY IS THE REAL OFFENDER IN the Campbell case. He was the glamorous district attorney who missed his goal of a record of 100 percent in convictions by only 2 per cent. And it was his office that in 1938 brought about the conviction of Bernard Campbell for a crime he never committed. Detective Woods, who arrested Campbell when ordered to do so, always doubted his guilt and was instrumental in bringing the true culprit to justice. Some restitution has been made to Campbell for the forty months he spent in Sing Sing by Governor Dewey's executive pardon. At public hearings held last week by the New York County Criminal Courts Bar Association, Robert Daru, the association's counsel, showed that key witnesses were coached before the trial and that the State Parole Board had not, as it asserted, interviewed all persons of any consequence in the case. He charged that, despite the pardon, Campbell had not received full justice either from Governor Dewey or from the state parole authority. For attached to the pardon was a board report saying that it was "impossible today to establish with certainty" Campbell's innocence. This despite the fact that another man had confessed to the forgery of which Campbell was falsely convicted. Mr. Campbell's name has been cleared to our satisfaction—but Mr. Dewey's has not.

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CHICAGO IS THE FIRST CITY IN THE UNITED States to outlaw racial discrimination in matters of employment. Last week the City Council adopted a Fair Employment Practice ordinance that makes it a misdemeanor for an employer to refuse to employ or for a union to refuse to admit any person because of race, creed, color, or national origin. Violations will be prosecuted in the Municipal Court by the City Prosecutor. Ira Latimer, executive director of the Chicago Civil Liberties Union, which drafted and introduced the ordinance, has stressed its special importance at this time in view of the vast public-projects program about to be initiated in Chicago. The ordinance, a model of brevity and clarity, states that "whereas . . . the democratic way of life within the nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders, the City of Chicago, to cooperate with the United States Government by eliminating discrimination in public and private employment, enacts this ordinance. . . ." Not only do acts of discrimination in hiring, promotions, wage increases, tenure, and conditions of employment come under the classification of misdemeanors. But in Chicago it is now also unlawful to seek information concerning the race, color, religion, origin, or ancestry of any employee as a condition of employment and to place help-wanted advertisements based on such discrimination. Chicago has broken fresh ground in the fight for minority rights.

Showdown in Japan

THE next few days may provide a clue as to whether we shall have peace or merely a protracted truce in the Pacific. Now that the surrender has been signed and Allied troops are well established in the heart of the Japanese empire, the nature of our basic policy toward the defeated enemy will rapidly become evident. So far—until the signing of the formal documents—our policies have been amazingly soft, especially when compared with our treatment of Germany after its capitulation. We chose to work through the Emperor in the hope of effecting a bloodless entry into the Japanese home islands. This policy is defensible on the ground that it has saved American lives, even though it inevitably gave an impression of conciliating the authorities. But now that the occupation has been accomplished, General MacArthur must act decisively to eradicate the sources of Japanese militarism or he will find that the opportunity has eluded him altogether.

It is evident that the Japanese government is striving to make our occupation as painless as possible in the hope that MacArthur may be tempted to leave the existing governmental and economic machinery intact rather than risk anarchy in an endeavor to set up direct Allied control over every aspect of Japanese life. So far the Japanese have been embarrassingly passive and polite. Correspondents have complained that the occupation has often taken on the atmosphere of a tea party. And the government has complacently gone about its task of substituting "democracy" for totalitarian rule. The militarist Premier Higashi-Kuni has announced that a general election will soon be called, and that restrictions on the freedom of the press and assembly will soon be lifted. Textbooks to be used in the schools will be carefully purged, not by the Allied occupation authorities, but by the Japanese government itself.

Thus the Japanese hope to achieve by guile what they could not possibly have achieved by prolonged and fanatical resistance, and the danger is that they will succeed. George E. Jones, a correspondent of the New York *Times,* reported from Okinawa that the Allied military administration intends, unless events force a change, to channel its orders through Emperor Hirohito, his Cabinet, and the prefectural and local governments. As there has been no official statement of policy, this dispatch may merely represent one correspondent's gloomy reaction to developments prior to occupation. But if this is to be our policy, it means that the groups in Japan that are responsible for the war—the superpatriots, the *Zaibatsu,* and the landlords who have dominated Japanese policy for many years—will retain their dominant position. A few war criminals might have to commit *hara-kiri*—for the crime of losing the war, not for starting it—but the feudal political and social structure which is the root cause of Japanese militarism would not only remain intact but continue to be dominated by the individuals who led the world to disaster. What started out to be a policy of accepting the Emperor as an instrument for facilitating surrender would thus end in our accepting all the evils which the Japanese throne embodies.

Nothing that General MacArthur has done to date deserves such harsh judgment. He has gone about the task of arranging the occupation and formal surrender in a businesslike manner. He has yet to show his hand toward the Emperor, the present Cabinet, or the other war criminals. He is known to bear little love for the Japanese, and it is doubtful that he is greatly impressed by their excessive politeness and subservience. But MacArthur's virtues are of a military rather than a political order. His actions in the first fortnight of occupation will reveal whether he is likely to be outmaneuvered in peace by an enemy that was his inferior in battle.

MacArthur's first step after establishing his position thoroughly enough to enforce his will should be to dismiss the present Cabinet and arrest Higashi-Kuni and several other of its members as war criminals. It is a militarist government and, as long as it remains in power, our anti-militarist protestations will lack moral force. After eliminating the hold of the military and their associates on the government, the Allied Supreme Commander should turn his attention to the task of demilitarizing Japanese industry. This will involve the establishment of new forms of ownership and control. For in Japan, even more than in Germany, the industrialist class was actively responsible for the war. Only by making it impossible for them to recover their control over industry can we hope to destroy the foundations of Japanese militarism. Punishment of the active warmakers will probably not be such a difficult task. Through defeat they have already forfeited their standing as individuals in Japanese society. Suppression of the hundreds of patriotic societies, which played such an active part in whipping up the war fever, presents much greater difficulties. These societies will doubtless go underground and will probably be able to escape detection unless the occupation authorities are successful in developing a genuinely anti-militarist regime in Tokyo capable of dealing with them.

The discovery and enlisting of democratic groups within Japan that can be counted on to oppose the revival of militarism is perhaps the greatest challenge that faces the Allied Supreme Commander. Obviously, he will not find them within the present government or in any high civil or business posts. A few anti-war leaders may be found in prison or in exile, but Japan did not even keep its opposition leaders in concentration camps where they would be easily available for our use. Most of the men who opposed the war openly in 1937 are now believed to be dead. Yet if we are to credit the dispatches of the correspondents who visited Tokyo and nearby Japanese cities, the common people of Japan are pathetically glad that the war is over. If a vote could be taken today, the anti-war sentiment would undoubtedly be far greater than it was in the 1937 elections when the anti-militarist groups outvoted the war parties. But in a land accustomed to dictatorial rule, the undercurrent of popular unrest may not become apparent until the present militarist regime is driven from power. Waiting for this latent democratic force to develop into a constructive movement capable of regenerating Japan may prolong the occupation for many months or years beyond the short period now being considered. But it is the only alternative to handing Japan back to the groups that even now are probably studying the Pearl Harbor documents to find out how they can improve on their treachery next time.

No Longer Uncle Shylock

EVERY American who understands what this war has cost our Allies will be grateful to President Truman for his frankness in disavowing any intention to collect the $42,000,000,000 we have supplied our Allies on lend-lease, and for his reminder that the cost of the war is to be measured "in blood and toil . . . in the immeasurable wreckage of human lives . . . and cities" as well as in dollars. These are far cries from the "they hired the money, didn't they?" of Coolidge and refreshingly distinct also from the involved double-talk with which the Truman statement was followed by Byrnes. Our allies matched those dollars with sacrifices more precious than money, and we have already had our value received. Our cities were not bombed; our children were not maimed; our country was not ravaged. We bought time with lend-lease, and the race between the Western powers and the Reich to develop the atomic bomb is only the most dramatic example of how crucial a factor time was. Had our allies weakened or crumpled and given the Germans more time, New York and Washington might well have suffered the fate of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Let us not forget that in discussions of lend-lease.

We alone of the fighting United Nations have emerged from the war enriched by the conflict, and there could be no uglier spectacle than an attempt by the richest of the partners to insist on heavy payments from the poor. But economic good sense as well as equity dictates the cancellation of the lend-lease payments. We are desperately in need of an expanding world market for the wares of our war-expanded industry, and the world market can only be restricted by any attempt to pile $42,000,000,000 in debt on top of the other difficulties of Britain, Russia, France, the Netherlands, and China, the principal recipients of lend-lease. Markets are more important to us than money; markets mean employment, while collection of lend-lease debts, even if possible, would merely add to our squirrel's horde of gold in Tennessee. Some of this we learned after the last war, and it is our good fortune and the world's that President Roosevelt, in framing the lend-lease program, planned in advance just the action foreshadowed by President Truman's statement.

Mr. Roosevelt was very clever in circumventing prejudice and economic ignorance. Aid to the Allies was launched not as a loan or as a gift but as "lend-lease," a completely new phrase pulled out of the hat by that master of political prestidigitation. The text of the enabling act as prepared at the White House and passed by Congress provided that the "terms and conditions" for granting aid were to be "those which the President deems satisfactory," and the compensation "may be payment or repayment in kind or property, or any other direct or indirect benefit which the President deems satisfactory." Congress was reconciled from the beginning to the idea that there would never be repayment in dollars, and Truman, thanks to his predecessor, has ample power to make a magnanimous settlement. Under the circumstances his bold and open declaration looking toward cancellation is preferable to the small-minded trickiness with which Byrnes tried to save some of our "bargaining power." Our bargaining power lies in our enormous economic assets. This power will be enhanced by a generous attitude that will command world respect. It can only be diminished and ill feeling provoked by haggling.

Let us also remember that as bad as an attempt to collect on lend-lease in dollars and cents would be an attempt to use our superior economic power as a bludgeon to force on others economic policies largely of advantage to ourselves. We must permit other countries the benefits of transitional tariff and currency arrangements, such as those of the sterling bloc, if we are to achieve freer trade conditions under circumstances beneficial to weaker countries as well as the United States. And it would also be well to remember, in the midst of our self-righteous talk about free trade (utterly forgetful of our high tariffs and continued export bounties) that the key to world prosperity lies not in breaking up British imperial preferences or lowering other people's tariffs but in the achievement of full employment at home. If we, the Midas of the world, learn to use our wealth, if our men and machines are fully occupied, the resultant prosperity will spill in an unheeding flood over such minor obstacles as tariff walls and currency difficulties.

Anglo-American Economics

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

[*Mr. Vallance is* The Nation's *London correspondent.*]

London, August 30 (By cable)

HUMAN nature being perverse, benefactors commonly share with creditors a measure of unpopularity. Candor compels me to report that the United States, to which Britain owes its present position as a victorious albeit impoverished nation, is spoken of here today in somewhat the same accents as Frenchmen spoke of *les Anglais* in 1919. No one enjoys being a poor relation, and the tendency to view America's preponderant strength and wealth with the green eye of jealousy is accentuated by press dispatches from less responsible British correspondents in the United States featuring the post-war abundance to be found in your department stores and ignoring altogether your unsolved problem of under-employment. Candor also forces the admission that the voice of Rotary-lunching Brother Jonathan proclaiming the American Century grates slightly on the ears of Britishers anxious to forget nineteenth-century British economic imperialism.

This said, it is important to emphasize that there is absolutely no resentment in this country—least of all on the left—at the President's decision to terminate lend-lease. The right, of course, is secretly jubilant. Taking the cue from Wall Street's *bel ami,* Lyttelton, Conservatives are exaggerating with disingenuous gloom "the gravity of the blow." Their hope is that either the government will be forced to give priority to an individualist export drive at the cost of deferring socialist measures, or that if United States credits "with strings on them" are declined and consumers here are required to tighten their belts and forgo Virginia cigarettes, the public will grumble and blame the Cabinet.

But among Labor M.P.'s, and this goes for the mass of the government's supporters in the country, I can assert with assurance that the dominant sentiment is one of relief that we must face realities squarely, here and now, and that the day of reckoning cannot be postponed—as Churchill, with his Micawber-like propensities, would certainly have postponed it—at the cost of entanglement through further financial indebtedness.

By this I don't mean that Lord Keynes has instructions to reject any and every offer Leo T. Crowley may make of temporary accommodation to cover part, at least, of lend-lease goods in pipeline. Were that the government's decision, they would scarcely have sent Keynes across the Atlantic to announce it. Indeed, the foreshadowed abrupt end of mutual aid, unless slightly cushioned, involves consequences disadvantageous both to Britain and to the United States.

We can get through this economic Dunkirk. Though Britain's over-all balance of external payments, with a deficit running to an annual rate of about four billion dollars, presents a pretty grim picture, and the manner in which we have drawn on the resources of the sterling area (already creditors for nearly fifteen billion dollars in blocked London balances) recalls uncomfortably the methods of Dr. Schacht, we can at least economize our own expenditures of dollars. Last year, against exports to the United States worth eighty million dollars, we imported American goods, excluding munitions, costing over two billions. But two-fifths of this total was represented by petrol, obtainable henceforth from Iran, Iraq, and Trinidad, while as for the other big items, meat and dairy produce, timber, machinery, tobacco, we can switch our imports largely to other sources or go without.

Some dollars, of course, we must spend. We are determined to play a full part in the relief and reconstruction of Europe, and this, given our present scarcity of goods, involves purchases on the Continent's behalf in the United States. Certain American goods, notably raw cotton, are indispensable, and others are urgently needed for our industrial reconversion. Partially, we can draw on our present holdings in dollars, estimated here at nearly two billions. Proportionately, we should impair our ability to put dollars for the purchase of United States goods at the disposal of our sterling area creditors—a point which Crowley is unlikely to overlook. But in a pinch we can draw on those holdings. Certainly the left here would expect the government to do so in preference to incurring financial obligations in Washington without the assurance of an American commercial policy which would enable us to repay them.

That, in fact, is the crux of the present issue of Anglo-American economic relations. The British are uninformed as to whether the men controlling United States policy yet realize not only that America, as a creditor nation, must have a future permanent import surplus but that all Europe, including Britain, has adopted a socialist economy in which foreign trade becomes a matter not of the old-fashioned financial checks and balances of laisser faire but of planned interchange of physical goods. The British government, like that of the U. S. S. R., will undoubtedly sign the Bretton Woods agreement, but, like the Russians, will sign with the explicit reservation that our imports and exports must be state-controlled. We have no desire to impoverish ourselves by adopting "Sinn Fein for Socialism" nor any idea of ring-fencing the sterling area against the inroads of American commerce. But we must face the fact that our resources are temporarily as straitened as in 1940, and must be carefully husbanded in order to command enough raw materials for full employment and enough essential foods for our workers. The summary end of lend-lease brings us sharply up against the realization that our foreign-balance payments are the prime factor necessitating socialist planning. It will be planning for expansion, not restriction, but planning, state-directed, it must be.

Giral Takes Over

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IT WOULD be useless to pretend that the solution reached by the Spaniards in Mexico is a satisfactory one. The new government, dominated as it is by rightist republican elements, has been received without enthusiasm. José Giral, the Prime Minister, is a colorless person, a man of little force or capacity for leadership, and his Cabinet is almost as pallid. Its outstanding member, Angel Ossorio y Gallardo, is also the most conservative. One can hardly imagine that such a government will be able to rally the republican rank and file, in Spain and in exile, for a united stand against Franco. Nor does it represent a majority of the organized political groups in Mexico. Of the nineteen parties and organizations consulted by President Martinez Barrio, ten urged a government headed by Dr. Juan Negrín. Whether the Giral Cabinet will win the necessary two-thirds vote in the coming Cortes meeting remains to be seen. Even if it does, the result will be a legal rather than an actual political indorsement. For the Cortes itself, elected before the Franco rebellion, has since been dispersed among the various countries of refuge and has lost more than a hundred members through death, mostly at the hands of Franco's assassins. Those who can be assembled in Mexico, even if they make up a quorum, can hardly be said to represent the people of Spain or even the Spaniards in exile.

To express the actual political tendencies among the republican forces, the new government would have to include the group of parties and organizations which composed the Negrín government, including particularly the two chief labor federations. This it has failed to do. The reasons why Negrín and his associates have refused to enter the Giral Cabinet are explained on another page in a dispatch from Mexico by J. Alvarez del Vayo, former Foreign Minister. Undoubtedly there are aspects of the situation which Mr. del Vayo cannot yet discuss in detail. But he makes it plain that the abstention of those groups was based on considerations of policy rather than on factional hostility. They accept the new government as the legal government of the Spanish Republic but refuse to assume responsibility for policies they do not approve. In making this decision they have shown both restraint and political wisdom.

If the groups which dominate the Giral regime had adopted the same attitude toward the Cabinet headed by Negrín, instead of repudiating it and setting up "juntas" in opposition, the republican government would long ago have commanded recognition and support abroad. The Negrín government was of course based on far firmer constitutional ground than is the new regime, since it was legally established in Spain and had received a unanimous vote of confidence at the last Cortes meeting on Spanish soil; its weakness arose solely from the attacks of dissident elements. Now that the new government has been built, in large part around these same elements, the Negrínists have adopted the magnanimous and extremely difficult role of "loyal opposition." There is little tradition in Spanish politics to support this role even in normal times; to carry it through in exile, after years of acute political division, will demand high qualities of statesmanship.

But the attempt is worth making, and it is the logical sequel to Dr. Negrín's whole course in Mexico. For, paradoxically, Negrín himself created the situation which brought Giral to power: he went to Mexico determined to turn the problem of the government over to the parties and at the same time to create the constitutional instruments through which a change in the government could legally be effected. The procedure followed was agreed upon after long and patient negotiation with the party leaders. The result is a tribute to the moral stature of Negrín. He is no longer Prime Minister, but it is a safe guess that his influence has grown rather than diminished.

Inevitably under the circumstances, the new Cabinet takes office in an atmosphere of skepticism. It must prove its strength before the Cortes meets in October, and one of the chief tests of its capacity to function as a government in exile will be its success in winning the recognition of other governments. Mexico established relations promptly with the Giral regime, and it is significant that this first diplomatic point was scored after President Avila Camacho had consulted privately with Dr. Negrín. Of one thing we may be certain: If Giral fails it will not be through any political act of his predecessor; his government will be given every possible chance to carry out the task for which it was chosen. Negrín is neither a saint nor a martyr; but he loves Spain and desires the restoration of the Republic more than he loves or desires power.

Brass Hats Undaunted

BY I. F. STONE

THE report of the Naval Court of Inquiry on Pearl Harbor begins by explaining that the Pacific Fleet was organized in three main task forces. The operating schedule was so arranged that there was always one task force at sea, and usually two. "At no time during 1941," the Court of Inquiry assures us, "were all the vessels of the Fleet in Pearl Harbor." In accordance with this operating schedule, only Task Force One and part of Task Force Two were in Pearl Harbor at the time of the Japanese attack. Reading thus far, one feels that naval operations were wisely planned to avoid a situation in which the entire Pacific Fleet might have been destroyed in one enemy attack on the Hawaiian base. But then we read that "the preponderance of the battleship strength of the Fleet" was in Task Force One, and that all three of the battleships of Task Force Two were also in the harbor, and finally that "all battleships of the Pacific Fleet, except one undergoing overhaul at the Puget Sound Navy Yard, were in Pearl Harbor on 7 December." The Naval Court of Inquiry concludes, however, that this was "purely a coincidence." The disingenuous approach and the fatuous conclusion are alike characteristic of the report turned in by the three high admirals, Kalbfus, Murfin, and Andrews.

Despite this solemn rigmarole about the three task forces, the fact is that the Japanese attack had the effect, as the Army Board of Inquiry reports, "of immobilizing and substantially destroying the Pacific Fleet, which was a major threat to Japan's left flank in its southward move." To dismiss as "coincidence" the crucial blunder that concentrated all our battleships and most of the Pacific Fleet in Pearl Harbor that ghastly morning is to demonstrate the continued presence in the armed services of the brass-hat mentality responsible for that disaster. Admirals and generals are supposed to avoid "coincidences" of this kind when they know war is an imminent possibility, as they knew in the fall of 1941.

On a par with this Naval Court of Inquiry conclusion is its finding that "condition of readiness No. 3," in effect at the time of the attack, was "that best suited to the circumstances." This deserves to rank with the medical gag about the operation being highly successful though the patient died. It draws from Admiral King the tart comment that "condition of readiness No. 3" is that "normally maintained in port." In other words the high admirals of the Court of Inquiry still think the condition of readiness observed by a ship in Brooklyn in peacetime was "best suited" to the circumstances in Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. This finding will read better in Japanese.

As can be seen from these samples, the naval report on Pearl Harbor is hardly a masterpiece of forthright self-criticism. The report of the Army Board of Inquiry is by comparison a vigorous and outspoken document. The mealy-mouthed naval report is accompanied by separate statements from Admiral King, as commander-in-chief of the United States Fleet and Chief of Naval Operations, and from Secretary Forrestal. Both King and Forrestal indicate their displeasure with the Court of Inquiry and speak out with manly frankness on the navy's responsibility for Pearl Harbor. On the other hand, the army board's report is accompanied by a separate statement by Secretary Stimson which seeks to soften the criticism in that document and to rebut findings which place on the General Staff in Washington and on General Marshall, its chief, a substantial share of the blame for our unpreparedness at Pearl Harbor. The net effect of the reports and their accompanying statements is to leave the impression that the services as a whole are still far from prepared fully to admit the errors which made Pearl Harbor possible. That attitude does not promise well for the future.

Both the army and navy reports do a great deal of buck-passing. The prize specimen is the naval court's finding that "constitutional requirements that war be declared by Congress" made it difficult to prevent the attack on Pearl Harbor. This was neatly deflated in Secretary Forrestal's dour retort, "The constitutional inhibition . . . did not preclude long-distance reconnaissance." The army board's report blames the state of public opinion and isolationism, but itself contains isolationist overtones; noteworthy is the statement, in discussing contradictory tendencies at home, "we were arming our forces for war and at the same time giving away much of such armament." Both reports have given fuel to the isolationist press by blaming Secretary Hull for not continuing to stall and appease the Japanese in the fall of 1941. That public opinion bears a heavy share in the responsibility for Pearl Harbor is indisputable, but irrelevant. For the question before the army and navy boards was whether the armed services did all they could to prevent the disaster *with the means at their disposal* and within the existing circumstances. The answer to that question is sharply negative. It is only the criticism of Hull, and by implication Roosevelt, which merits serious consideration.

Hull is blamed for presenting his ten-point proposal to the Japanese on November 26, 1941, over the objections of General Marshall as Chief of Staff and Admiral Stark as Chief of Naval Operations. Marshall and Stark, supported by Stimson and Knox, said we were unprepared for war and seemed to feel that Hull's proposals were so drastic as to make war unavoidable. It is implied that Roosevelt ignored or overruled this warning. But it is hard to see how Hull could have stalled the Japanese any longer without in large part accepting their proposals of November 20, and those proposals would have made us a partner in Japanese aggression. The Japs wanted us to supply them with all the oil they needed, to unfreeze Japanese accounts in this country, to end all aid to China, to "cooperate" with Japan in acquiring "those goods and commodities which the two countries need in the Netherlands East Indies." To accept such terms would have been to risk the complete collapse of China and the dominance of the Dutch East Indies by Japan. There was no assurance that paying this kind of blackmail would have prevented further Japanese advances and an eventual attack upon us anyway. It is to the credit of Hull and Roosevelt that they refused to participate in a Far Eastern Munich and insisted, in the ten-point proposal, on the evacuation of China as a condition for resuming friendly relations with Japan.

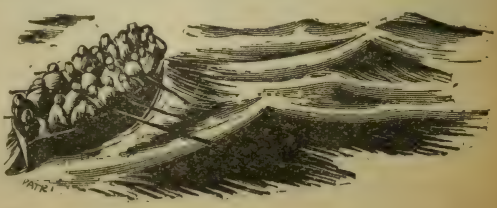
The army and navy wanted more time, but we had already been stalling and appeasing the Japanese for ten years. The price asked for more time was so large that it would have benefited Japan more than the United States. The refusal to pay that price undoubtedly precipitated the long-prepared Japanese attack, and we were poorly prepared for war. But the real point involved in the Pearl Harbor inquiry was whether that disaster need necessarily have happened. And one test of the army-navy plea for more time is what use the armed services made of the time they did have. The services regarded the ten-point proposal as a virtual ultimatum to Japan, and since they so regarded the proposal they were under obligation to take steps immediately for war. But their record, as disclosed in the army and navy inquiries and in the earlier Roberts report, is one of unpardonable negligence and appalling stupidity. We would have had to fight a defensive war for months in any case, but we need not have lost our Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor and our air force at Manila in two quick, crushing surprise attacks. For the facts disclosed indicate that it was not a lack of knowledge but sheer stodgy unimaginative bureaucratic complacency at Washington, Pearl Harbor, and Manila which made the Japanese blitz possible.

In the first place, the joint army-navy defense plan for Hawaii signed on April 9, 1941, was, as the army board said, "prophetic in its accuracy." It was based on the assumption that the Japs would attack without warning, and the men who drew up that plan accurately forecast every basic detail of what happened at Pearl Harbor: the time of day, the type of task force used by the Japanese, the form the attack would take, even the fact that it might be preceded (as it actually was) by a single submarine foray in the harbor just before the big blow. The only trouble is that this army-navy defense agreement was neither implemented nor taken seriously by the military-naval command in Washington and in Hawaii. In the second place, President Roosevelt told the heads of the army and navy at a White House conference on November 25, the day before the ten-point proposal, to expect a surprise attack "perhaps as soon as next Monday," which was December 1. In the third place, from the time of that White House conference until December 7, "the record shows" (says the army report) "that from informers and other sources the War Department had complete and detailed information of Japanese intentions." Finally, at 9 o'clock on the morning of December 7, the War and Navy Departments were tipped off (four hours before the attack) that the Japanese would present an ultimatum or declaration of war at 1 p. m. Washington time. And a Commander Kramer in the navy was quick to point out that 1 p. m. Washington time would be dawn at Pearl Harbor, the very time at which our war plans predicted a surprise attack there.

General Marshall as Chief of Staff and Admiral Stark as Chief of Naval Operations failed to see to it that proper defense measures were taken at Pearl Harbor between November 25 and December 7. And they failed to react quickly enough to the advance knowledge that they had on the morning of Pearl Harbor. Stark didn't think the information was worth passing on and Marshall sent it to General Short by commercial cable when faster means of communication were available. The last warning left Washington 22 minutes before the attack and did not arrive until several hours after the attacking force had departed. Marshall could have telephoned Short, but his excuse was that he was expecting an attack in the Philippines rather than in Hawaii and telephoned MacArthur instead. This throws additional light on MacArthur's extraordinary incompetence as a commander at that juncture. For despite the pleas of subordinates to disperse his planes, MacArthur left them on the ground at Clark Field outside Manila, where almost his entire air force was destroyed by the Japanese ten hours after their attack on Pearl Harbor. MacArthur was more culpable than Kimmel and Short, and it is scandalous that there should never have been an investigation of his bungling in the Philippines.

Our military-naval command acted with indecent sedateness. Lacking daring itself, it did not expect daring from the Japanese. Even now, when we know how meticulously and minutely (and, let us confess, brilliantly) the Japanese planned their attacks, we still find the Army Board of Inquiry talking nonsense about "the Oriental mind" and attributing the Pearl Harbor blitz to "the violent and uncivilized reasoning of the Japanese." Our military-naval command did not keep abreast of new developments in warfare, notably the use of torpedoes from planes in shallow water. This was how the Japs did most of their damage at Pearl Harbor, and naval intelligence warned of this possibility months in advance. Our military-naval command underestimated the intelligence of the Japanese and they made the equally crucial mistake of underestimating the loyalty of our Japanese-American population. For it was the latter error which led General Short to institute the alert against sabotage instead of the alert against attack from without. Under this type of alert planes were parked wing to wing and unable to get off the ground in less than four hours. The attack on Pearl Harbor took only three, and most of the planes were destroyed.

Perhaps the crowning example of military stupidity is in the revelation that while our army's mobile anti-aircraft artillery was in state of instant readiness, it had no ammunition. The ammunition was in a crater a mile away. General Short and Ordnance had rejected pleas for artillery shells several days earlier on the ground that "they didn't want to issue any of the clean ammunition, let it get out and get dirty, and have to take it back in later on and renovate it." The slogan of the Pearl Harbor high command seems to have been, "Praise the Lord, but don't muss the ammunition."



British Labor Sets its Course

BY MICHAEL FOOT

[*Mr. Foot is a new Labor member of Parliament, having defeated Leslie Hore-Belisha in the recent election. He was formerly acting editor of the London* Evening Standard, *and covered the San Francisco conference for the London* Daily Herald.]

London, August 29 (By cable)

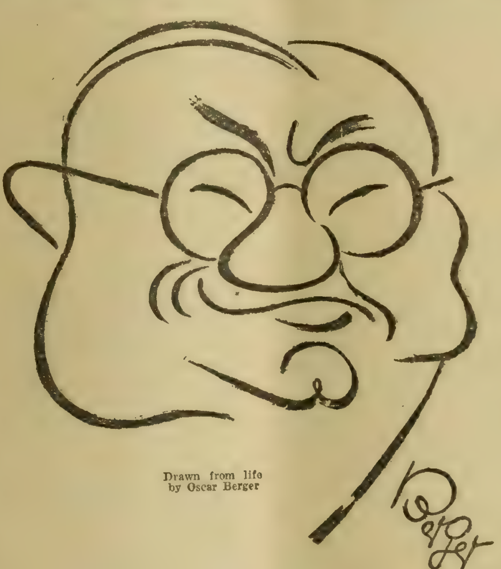
THE new British government has been in power a little more than a month. No government in British history, with the exception of Mr. Churchill's Administration, which came into office when Hitler's panzers were smashing through the Ardennes, has ever confronted more serious economic and social problems during its first weeks of authority.

Coal stocks are much more meager than a year ago and the nation only survived last winter with the utmost economy. Stern warnings have had to be given that the allowances of food and clothes cannot be increased and may have to be diminished; and this unhappy news was broken to a people who were just beginning to hope that some relief might be granted after the bitter endurance of the past six years. Eagerness to be demobilized is being vigorously expressed by the servicemen; their demands cannot yet be satisfied by a government which is resolved not to cast away the fruits of victory through a failure to execute military commitments or through a disorderly and unjust demobilization plan.

All these pressures were urgent enough before the news was announced that lend-lease was to be terminated. Mr. Attlee's revelation had little of the drama of Mr. Churchill's call for "blood, toil, tears, and sweat" in 1940, but it must figure in the records as a hardly less historic proclamation. Britain in the next few years must adopt the psychology of the Soviet five-year plans. Present rewards must be postponed with the purpose of making secure future enjoyment. The success of the new government in appealing for a gigantic productive effort will depend on its capacity to convince the people of its good faith in carrying out measures for insuring a fairer distribution of the new wealth still to be created. It is a formidable summons, but the survival of democratic government not only in Britain is the stake.

How is the government succeeding in the invocation of this spirit? The King's speech which outlined the government's plans for legislative action was a good beginning. The minority Labor government of 1929 worked on the assumption that bold measures should be postponed until economic conditions were more fortunate. That horizon was never reached. The new government adopts a quite different strategy. The King's speech forecast the maximum amount of action in the field of public enterprise that could have been hoped for by the most radical elements within the party. The new Parliament will have to work harder than any of its predecessors. Moreover, to assist in its task, plans are being made for a speed-up in the procedure of Parliament. When first mooted, this proposal aroused the ire of Mr. Churchill and his followers, who claimed to see in it a proof of his election charges that Labor was intent on tampering with the rights of Parliament and the liberties of the people. This accusation has now been scotched. The Tories for the moment are roaring like sucking doves. And except for a probably unavoidable discontent with the pace of demobilization, the government retains the great fund of good will on domestic policy amassed at the election.

On foreign affairs there are louder murmurs of criticism. Mr. Ernest Bevin, who is probably the most powerful figure in the government, killed all hopes of a sudden reversal in British foreign policy. He won more applause from the Tories than from his own supporters. Continuity of policy was the phrase on everyone's lips. However, the decline in expectation which this speech has caused may prove as unjustified as the earlier excessive jubilation. Toward liberal or left elements in Spain, Italy, and France Mr. Bevin's words were not as warm as they might have been, but a careful examination of them shows that neither General Franco nor the Italian monarchists can derive any encouragement, while in the case of France it appears that a real attempt is to be made to overcome the unhappy misunderstandings of the past few years. In Eastern Europe no one who knew Mr. Bevin could have expected a pro-Communist approach; he is seeking to modify the totalitarian methods employed by the new governments in these countries but, unlike some of his



Drawn from life by Oscar Berger

Bevin

Tory predecessors, he is not animated by any anti-Soviet bias. The most serious criticism of Mr. Bevin's attitude concerns Greece. Here he appears to have accepted the same kind of evidence so uncritically welcomed by the coalition government. Proof of continued white terror or preparation for faked elections in Greece would present Mr. Bevin with his first real test as Foreign Secretary; for, as at the time of the fighting, it is clear that the leaders of the Labor Party are not at one with all their followers.

No account of the new government's position would be complete without reference to a fresh and hitherto indefinable factor in the situation. The whole constitution of the Parliamentary Labor Party is revolutionized. Some fifty new members of the party have made their maiden speeches, and the quality they have shown more than confirms Labor's boast at the election that it was the real national party. Of the two hundred new members, most do not yet know one another; they have not had time to master the highly complex business of effective action in Parliament; they have the greatest good will toward the government, but their age is much younger and their accent more virile than many of those whose experience has naturally made them members of the Administration. Their general political outlook is not yet consolidated, but in general they are opposed to the idea of continuity in foreign policy and indeed are healthily impatient about all aspects of policy.

The Tories have too eagerly revealed their desire for a split in labor's ranks. They will not be gratified, but the mood of the new members is certain to have an increasing influence on the government. Meanwhile Britain's recovery from its economic Dunkirk will depend not only on the actions of the government but on the power of these new members to sustain the imagination of the people as they captured it during the election campaign.

China on the Brink

BY T. A. BISSON

[*Mr. Bisson is the author of "Japan in China," "America's Far Eastern Policy," and the forthcoming "Japan's Wartime Economy." He wrote What Program for Japan? in* The Nation *of July 14.*]

THE obvious comment has yet to be made on the Sino-Russian agreements: that the basic Chinese political issue is still with us, and still cries out for settlement. It is a comforting but entirely fallacious thought that since the Chinese Communists have been "let down" by Moscow everyone can sleep easier of nights. Such an interpretation ignores the fact that these "China Reds" have gotten along very well without any Soviet aid for a long time now—since 1927, to be exact, and then the aid was given to a Kuomintang-led popular front. Something in the soil of the good earth has provided them with ample nourishment; they have thrived as a home-grown product. There is a sturdiness to this growth that has shown a capacity to withstand wind and weather. It will have to be reckoned with, in other words. Nor will it be weakened by a Soviet-Chinese understanding which strengthens China's general international position.

Advance reports indicate that Mao Tse-tung is taking nothing new with him to Chungking. He is raising the old, simple demand that the Kuomintang adopt a program of genuinely democratic reform—the only workable solution. We may hope that this time his demand will be accepted. Meanwhile, it will be well for Americans not to fall happily asleep, but to take a long, open-eyed look at the abyss which has yawned in China. Now, especially, it becomes advisable to explore fully some of the darker recesses of Chinese politics into which the light has penetrated but dimly.

If any further demonstration of the desperate need for a settlement of China's internal issues was required, the results of the sudden end of the Pacific war supplied it. Literally over night, Japan's surrender offer of August 10 released the explosive potentialities of the Chinese political situation. The crisis at once pitchforked not only China, but all powers with Far Eastern interests, into an exceedingly awkward predicament. For the immediate future the United States is in the most exposed position. It is essential, above all, that American military personnel do not become involved in Chinese civil strife—an events which would compromise our standing in China and the rest of Asia for decades to come.

In the present unprecedented and swiftly moving situation, a series of extraordinary obstacles stand in the way of adequate judgment on developments in China. The facts reaching the American public are thrice distorted: by Chiang Kai-shek's near monopoly of China's agencies of international publicity, by the strict censorship still maintained on news dispatches from Chungking, and by the unconscious or deliberate bias that characterizes much of our own radio and news commentary. In these circumstances it is particularly necessary to guard against a too ready acceptance of Kuomintang maneuvers in politics and publicity, on the one hand, and a failure to give due weight, on the other, to factors which may provide crucial motivations for the Chinese Communist leaders' reactions and policies.

There was little reason to be surprised by Chiang Kai-shek's initial series of orders: to the Chinese Communists to ground arms, to the Kuomintang troops to continue fighting until the surrender was effected, to the Japanese to give up arms and territory only to Kuomintang commanders. But there was just as little reason to expect that the Communist leaders would tamely submit to a program calculated to bar them from the fruits of a victory to which their arms had contributed so materially. The expressions of shocked surprise over the "flouting" of Chiang's orders by a force that, fighting the Japanese successfully throughout the war with no foreign aid, had yet been blockaded by some 500,000 Kuomintang troops, were uncalled for, to say the least.

A better knowledge of recent Chinese history might also have led the commentators to qualify their strictures on Mao Tse-tung for his unwillingness to rush off to Chungking for a conference at Chiang Kai-shek's first invitation. In 1929 General Li Chi-shen accepted a similiar invitation to confer on political matters in Nanking under a guaranty of political immunity. When he reached the capital, Chiang Kai-shek blandly settled political issues by arresting him. He was kept under detention for more than a year. In 1931 Hu Han-min, a member of the Kuomintang's leading triumvirate of that period, also proved troublesome, and Chiang incarcerated him "for his own good." A Chinese political leader takes his courage in his hands when he answers the summons to a conference. An opponent of Mao Tse-tung's stature, bitterly hated by the Kuomintang reactionaries, is doubly jeopardized. Fortunately, this conference takes place in the light of world publicity and under the sponsorship of Ambassador Hurley. The American government becomes the guarantor of Mao's safety.

On another point—the use of Chinese puppet, or traitor, troops to reestablish Chiang Kai-shek's control of occupied territory—American commenators have displayed an amazing leniency of judgment. In part this may be attributed to lack of adequate information. During the last three years of the war, foreign correspondents at Chungking were inhibited, less by the censorship than by their own sense of responsibility in the matter of psychological warfare, from exposing to the American public the extensive defections of Kuomintang officers and troops to the Japanese. Today such inhibitions have lost their force, and the full story has become essential to an understanding of some of the basic political factors operating in post-war China.

Military defections by Kuomintang units (there have been none by Chinese Communists) were relatively negligible during the first year of the war. Not only were defections few, but cases of treason were rigorously dealt with. For dereliction of duty the Shantung Governor, General Han Fu-chu, was executed. Following the desertion to the Japanese of the Kuomintang's vice-chief, Wang Ching-wei, in the autumn of 1938, instances of military defection gradually increased. Up to 1940-41, however, Wang Ching-wei's puppet government at Nanking had managed to recruit only a meager armed force, totaling little over 100,000 men. The tide of military defections began to flow strongly in 1942 and reached its flood in 1943-44. Results could be measured in the swelling numbers of Japan's puppet Chinese armies. By 1945, on a conservative estimate, these forces totaled 800,000,* of which at least 500,000 were former Kuomintang troops. Included among the commanding officers of the puppet armies was a long list of former Kuomintang generals, such as Pang Ping-hsün, Sun Tien-ying, Chao Yuan-hsiang, Sun Liang-cheng, Chin Yi-wu, Wu Hua-wen, Wang Ching-tsai, Chang Pu-yun, Wang Ching-han, and a host of other officers below the rank of general.

Defections on this scale could not be entirely concealed either from the Chinese populace or from the Chungking foreign correspondents. On occasion embarrassing questions were asked at press conferences. In one notable case, the official Chunking spokesman sought to quiet the correspondents by saying, in effect, that there was no need to be concerned, for the puppet Chinese commanders would turn out to be loyal patriots. This was a rare instance in which news of the puppeteering activity of former Kuomintang military units was cabled abroad, but it may be doubted whether many American readers of the dispatch caught its full implications.

Its meaning was spelled out more definitely on August 10, 1945, the day of Japan's surrender offer, in a special military order of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's broadcast by the Chungking radio "to all Chinese troops and puppet troops in Japanese-occupied areas." Word of this order was evidently not released to the newsmen in Chungking, since no correspondent reported it. In this country, however, it was picked up by the Federal Communications Commission and published on August 11 in the New York *Times*. Its salient points directed "all Chinese puppet troops" to remain in "the present assigned areas," to "preserve peace and order and protect civilians," and to "do their best to redeem themselves."

The celerity with which this order was issued betokens the degree of forethought which had gone into its preparation. It raises a number of interesting questions with regard to the future of the puppet armies, and especially of their commanders. Are the traitor generals, for example, to be permitted "to redeem themselves" and so continue as officers in China's national army? If so, China will be in the enviable position of not having to conduct the sort of trials that have rocked France, Norway, and other European countries. The collaborationists will simply be welcomed back into the Kuomintang fold.

The most significant political angle of this problem, however, still remains to be considered. By a coincidence, virtually all the Kuomintang generals who deserted to the Japanese were operating in north and central China. When their units were reorganized and reequipped by the Japanese what could be more natural than that they should continue to operate in the same areas? As a result, the "assigned areas" noted in Chiang Kai-shek's military order were almost exclusively located in regions contested by the Eighth Route or New Fourth armies, or in the larger cities surrounded by the expanding territories liberated from Japanese control by the bitterly fought campaigns of the Communist forces. By 1945 at least 90 per cent of the 800,000 Chinese puppet troops were so disposed. In some cases the officers of these puppet armies had to deceive their troops to effect the switch to Japanese command. After realizing their situation, numbers of these troops deserted to the Chinese Communists in the course of military operations ordered by their commanding officers.

Little imagination is required to appreciate the reaction of the Chinese Communist leaders to the phenomena here noted. The puppet armies could have appeared in no other light than that of a Kuomintang auxiliary of the Japanese. In order to leave no doubt on this score, Chiang Kai-shek is now proceeding to effect the occupation of Communist-besieged cities, notably in north China but also elsewhere in the country, by reconverting the puppet Chinese divisions in these cities into Kuomintang forces of occupation! In Peiping, for example, the puppet forces have placed themselves under the command of Hu Tsung-nan, blockader of the Yenan area and premier anti-Communist field general of the Kuomintang forces. The Japanese commanders are evidently facilitating this turnover, while at the same time refusing to surrender to the Communist armies standing virtually at the city gates. No better tactic for encouraging the outbreak of a major civil war in China could be devised.

In view of the feeble—almost non-existent—Kuomintang military effort north of the Yellow River, it is incredible that Chiang Kai-shek should seem determined to bar the Chinese Communists from receiving the Japanese surrender in this region. Over most of north China, the Eighth Route Army has borne the brunt of the fighting—against Japanese and puppet troops—for the past four years. No regular Kuomintang armies of any size or importance have been fighting the Japanese in this territory. Hu Tsung-nan's large Kuomintang army sat tight and concentrated on its blockade task, while in Shansi and Suiyuan provinces, respectively, the small and ineffective forces of Yen Hsi-shan and Fu Tso-yi have virtually rested on their arms for years. On August 10, however, all three forces sprang to life and are now seeking to occupy strategic centers in Honan, Shansi, and Suiyuan.

But these three Kuomintang armies are all far in the interior. In the key north China provinces of Hopei (Peiping, Tientsin) and Shantung (Tsinan, Tsingtao), regular Kuomintang armies simply do not exist. And the great cities in these provinces are closely encircled by extensive areas liberated by the Eighth Route Army's years of fighting. From these base areas the Communist armies have moved into the outskirts of Peiping, Tientsin, Tsinan, and Tsingtao. Inside the cities are the Japanese and the puppets.

In the final analysis, Chiang Kai-shek must use something better than the puppets to make good his occupation of cities from which regular Kuomintang troops are separated by hundreds of miles. He has one further recourse. He may persuade General Wedemeyer to place American planes at his disposal for the transport of Kuomintang regulars to the north China cities. There is no certainty that the Eighth Route Army will permit such a move to pass unchallenged, as was demonstrated by its occupation of the Nanyuan airfield outside Peiping. If fighting develops, it is quite likely that American personnel will find themselves in the line of fire. An incident would provide fuel for a "Red scare" in some American newspapers, but the responsibility would rest squarely on General Wedemeyer. American planes and pilots were sent to China for use in the war against Japan, not to become a pawn in China's internal politics.

Battle of the St. Lawrence

BY BENJAMIN J. ATLAS

[*Mr. Atlas is Washington correspondent of the Syracuse, New York,* Herald-Journal. *He was formerly chief of the special information section of the Army Specialized Training Division, War Department.*]

CONGRESS will soon resume its perennial debate on whether the St. Lawrence waterway should be harnessed for cheap electric power and opened to deep-draft navigation. Far to the north of where the familiar arguments will be heard the St. Lawrence spills its way to the Atlantic in the manner of some Gulliver proving his strength while the Lilliputians still conjecture his worth. Along the 2,687-mile Great Lakes-St. Lawrence artery from the heart of North America to the open sea, shallow-draft ships carry our commerce. Through the narrow length of river between Canada and New York State race all the waters of the Great Lakes, with the power of more than 2,000,000 horses thirteen billion kilowatts of electric energy.

The proposal to harness this energy and to open the entire waterway to deep-draft oceangoing vessels has been before Congress for almost half a century. Meanwhile, engineers of the United States and Canada have completed exhaustive surveys showing that for $421,000,000 the last remaining obstructions to deep-draft navigation could be removed and a power plant built to give the people of the Northeast a hydroelectric development far bigger than the TVA. In annual output of electricity, which would be shared equally by the United States and Canada, the project would be the biggest in the world.

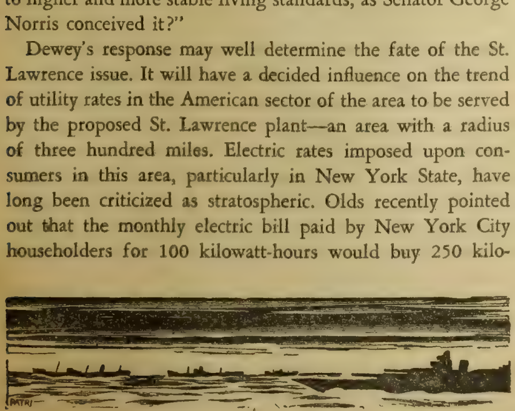
In refusing to authorize the development Congress has exhibited as much scorn for the counsel of governmental and industrial leaders as for the laws of nature and technology. Down through the years the project has been advocated by such diverse men as Herbert Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Alfred E. Smith, Calvin Coolidge, Owen D. Young, and Henry I. Harriman. Experts have advised Congress that the completed project would open the hinterland of North America to practically 90 per cent of the world's ocean shipping and supply an urgent need for low-cost electricity in an area inhabited by one-fifth of the continent's population. In the most thorough survey of its kind the United States Department of Commerce showed that shipping costs and electric rates would be reduced, railroad and water commerce increased, and industry, agriculture, and employment stimulated.

The Aluminum Company of America with professional adroitness has encouraged opposition to public development of the St. Lawrence, whose resources it covets for itself. After World War I it nearly succeeded in preempting them. Uniting with General Electric and du Pont under the name of the Frontier Corporation, Alcoa sought exclusive rights to the St. Lawrence and some neighboring waters for a 5,000,000-horse-power project on which the corporation was willing to spend $1,300,000,000. Fortunately the late Governor Smith of New York thwarted the attempted grab. Smith insisted that the resources belonged to and should be used for the benefit of all the people. Apparently "all the people" still lack a majority in Congress on the St. Lawrence issue.

Two St. Lawrence bills were dropped into the House hopper before the recess. Forensics will start in the Senate after a bill is offered by Senator George D. Aiken (Republican, Vermont), whose loyalty to the St. Lawrence waterway is reminiscent of the late Senator George Norris's crusade for the TVA. Aiken will repeat a proposal he made in vain to the Seventy-eighth Congress for approval of a 1941 agreement between the United States and Canada to complete the project. The 1941 agreement incorporated many features of a treaty signed by the United States and Canada during Hoover's Administration but later denied Senate ratification. The TVA is a federal agency, but the United States' share of the St. Lawrence power would be controlled by New York State, presumably through its Power Authority, first chartered by the state when Roosevelt was governor. From returns on the power sales New York offers to pay to the federal government over a fifty-year period an amount estimated in 1941 at $93,375,000.

The most ominous threat to the public-power scheme is now found in the willingness of many anti-St. Lawrence Congressmen to support a new Aiken proposal on condition that transmission of the power be restricted to the utilities companies. The gravity of that threat is increased by the silence of the present New York State administration on a St. Lawrence power-marketing policy. Roosevelt and Lehman as governors of New York never left any doubt that the State Power Authority would be authorized to build its own transmission lines whenever necessary to encourage increased distribution of St. Lawrence power at the lowest possible rates. Governor Thomas E. Dewey, however, has not yet given a clear-cut definition of his power-marketing policy, although he is backing the St. Lawrence development. Vice Chairman Leland Olds of the Federal Power Commission challenged Dewey not long ago to clarify his position. "Governor Dewey has reiterated his support for the project," said Olds, "but does he mean a 'Muscle Shoals' in the days when its power was sold to the Alabama Power Company for two mills while residential customers paid the company eight cents and farms could not afford power? Or does he mean a 'Muscle Shoals' serving as a stimulus to real American enterprise, as a means to higher and more stable living standards, as Senator George Norris conceived it?"

Dewey's response may well determine the fate of the St. Lawrence issue. It will have a decided influence on the trend of utility rates in the American sector of the area to be served by the proposed St. Lawrence plant—an area with a radius of three hundred miles. Electric rates imposed upon consumers in this area, particularly in New York State, have long been criticized as stratospheric. Olds recently pointed out that the monthly electric bill paid by New York City householders for 100 kilowatt-hours would buy 250 kilowatt-hours in Cincinnati, Madison, Topeka, Spokane, and Washington, D. C., in every case from a tax-paying private company. Experience in power marketing, whether at the municipal, state, or federal level, has proved that the most effective way to cut rates is to apply a government yardstick. Senator Lister Hill of Alabama, whose constituents are among the millions blessed by the TVA, has likened the government transmission line to "a public highway that brings the benefits of multiple-purpose projects to farmers, to householders, and to business men alike. If the government is required to sell merely to one large utility in the vicinity that can afford to build a line to the government's power dam," Hill has warned the Senate, "that utility will be able to dictate the terms upon which the power may be sold by the government."



Obviously passage of a St. Lawrence bill under conditions preventing any but private transmission would be a hollow victory for the people. Amid the growing pressures to cripple the project, a reaffirmation of the marketing policy enunciated by Roosevelt and Lehman is an urgent responsibility of the present New York State administration. As a matter of legislative procedure, details of a marketing program could await a federal-state contract subsequent to Congressional approval of the United States-Canada agreement. Nevertheless, an unequivocal expression of policy is needed now to head off the latest move to hamstring the public project. That the danger of a disastrous compromise is real is not doubted by anyone close to the Washington scene. In the debate that preceded the Senate's defeat of the Aiken proposal last winter by a two-to-one vote, Aiken exposed the offers of some private-utility operators to withdraw opposition "if they could be sure the St. Lawrence power would not be used for expansion of public power lines."

It is certain that Dewey, if he wished it, could get President Truman's backing for a policy of public transmission. Truman voted for Aiken's St. Lawrence proposal last December while he was a member of the Senate. He has demonstrated his allegiance to public power several times since, as for instance by renaming David E. Lilienthal as TVA chairman.

Dewey would be well advised politically to make the state's power-marketing policy clear at once. The challenge for a showdown is certain to grow as the time approaches for his reelection drive in 1946, preparatory to another possible try for the Presidency. Dewey's general declaration for the St. Lawrence last January drew the wrath of Republicans, but they will give him their votes out of party loyalty. Meanwhile, on the strength of that utterance, the Republican Governor has gained credit among Roosevelt liberals. He can ill afford to weaken his popularity with that group by ignoring the power-marketing issue.

Dewey's general friendliness to the St. Lawrence development up to now has become particularly embarrassing to United States Senator James M. Mead. Mead's explanation that he would support the power project divorced from the seaway cannot erase his recorded vote against the St. Lawrence proposal last December. He will have to live down that act in 1946 when he attempts either to stay in the United States Senate or to wrest the Governorship from Dewey.

Many of Mead's liberal supporters are still hopeful that he will come out convincingly for the St. Lawrence project as a whole. They would like to see the Buffalo Democrat end his preoccupation with the local interests of his home city, where grain-storage operators are worried about the seaway's possible threat to their profits. Mead's stand on the St. Lawrence issue has been turned to effective advantage by the anti-public power bloc.

While Congress has regaled itself with diverting dialectics on the St. Lawrence, Alcoa's sister company in Canada (Aluminium, Ltd.) has created its own private power empire at a strategic corner of the St. Lawrence system, with American taxpayers sharing the financial risks. Supported by a $200,000,000 loan from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, including an advance of $68,500,000, the Aluminium, Ltd., plant at Shipshaw on the Saguenay River north of Quebec has developed a capacity to generate 1,200,000 horse-power for its own benefit. The mistrust with which the United States Department of Justice regards Alcoa and Aluminium, Ltd., is apparently understood in Canada, and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation has been waging a vigorous campaign to reclaim the resources for the people. The Quebec parliament last spring authorized purchase of private power plants on the St. Lawrence with a view to public control, and the Quebec government has already taken over the Montreal Light, Heat, and Power Company. Some persons have suggested the advisability of integrating the Shipshaw development with the rest of the St. Lawrence-Niagara system in an international super-TVA for the Northeast. The suggestion is of importance as pointing up the potentialities of the world's cheapest source of hydroelectric power.

What is needed to rescue the St. Lawrence resources for the public is immediate grass-roots action. The true case for the St. Lawrence has not yet reached the rank-and-file business men, farmers, and householders who would reap the project's benefits. The anti-St. Lawrence propaganda to which these people have been systematically exposed year after year has killed their interest in the question. Yet only the insistence of the folks back home will get action from Congress. Even Senator Robert F. Wagner, long a public-power advocate, waited until this year before consenting to be among the sponsors of Aiken's St. Lawrence legislation. Only a resurgence of public interest can put an end to the sham of such distractions as whether the St. Lawrence project ought to be voted on again as a treaty needing ratification by two-thirds of the Senate. It would take strong popular pressure to compel the New York State administration to declare itself for something more than just a title to a power site.

Once business men have been introduced to the truth about public power, they have been quick to appreciate its value as an industrial catalyst and a rate-cutting influence. The most vigorous champions of the TVA today are the storekeepers, factory owners, and farmers in the area who had mistrusted public power before the TVA became a reality. Their vigorous disapproval of Senator Kenneth McKellar's attempt to hamstring the Lilienthal administration offers a model for action in the Northeast. The battle for the St. Lawrence must be won without much more delay lest most of the benefits be denied to the people forever.

In the Wind

DEBATE: The Chicago *Sun* of August 26 carried the following advertisement: "Town Club weekly public forum. . . . Today at 3 p.m. 'What Should We Do with a Defeated Japan?' Speakers: 'Yes!' Irving Pflaum, foreign editor, Chicago *Times*. 'No!' George Kao, Chinese News Service."

PROBLEM: An Associated Press dispatch from Madrid on August 23 reported, "A committee of directors of leading Spanish newspapers and magazines will be named next month to find a formula easing the present complete internal censorship without exposing the Franco regime to attacks by the opposition."

TROPE: "The European enemies are vanquished," says an advertisement in the August 12 issue of the *Sunday Guardian*, Port of Spain, Trinidad, "and Gibraltar is intact, impregnable, and redoubtable as ever. This rock has stood the test of time. In Trinidad we have built this Gibraltar of the Cleaning and Dyeing Industry. It took us over sixty years to build this unshakable rock. It has also stood the test of time and tribulation and today it stands as firm as ever under its present generals R. J. J. Clamens and Roy Clamens. All loyal subjects can depend on the excellence of our service at Gibraltar."

LABOR: The Metropolitan Music School, New York, has signed a contract with the Music Teachers Chapter of the Teachers Union, Local 555, C. I. O. This is the first music school in the country to have a union contract.

OBSESSION: John O'Donnell of the New York *Daily News* is still fighting Franklin D. Roosevelt. In his column of August 30, on the Pearl Harbor report, he called the late President "No. 1 public enemy of the United States in that horrible and shocking disaster."

PHILOSOPHY: "Is it a bad habit to reflect much upon the meaning of life?" asked Dr. Albert Edward Wiggam in his column, Explore Your Mind, in newspapers of August 24. "Worse than bad," he answered, "it's dangerous, unless you enjoy a nervous breakdown."

AD HOMINEM: Dr. John P. Peters, professor of medicine at Yale, spoke for the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill in a debate on health insurance over Station WOR August 28. Dr. Morris Fishbein, editor of the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, answered his arguments by asserting that Dr. Peters was not a practicing physician. But even less is Dr. Fishbein. He has worked for the American Medical Association ever since he completed his interneship. And Dr. Peters *is* on the staffs of the New Haven Hospital and the New Haven Dispensary.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay $1 for each item accepted.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

The New Spanish Cabinet

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Mexico City, August 29

THE Spanish republican crisis in Mexico was resolved several days ago, and the confusion that the first news about it must have created among American readers can now be somewhat cleared up. Naturally every Spanish republican, whether or not he occupies an official post, feels an intense obligation not to say anything that might prejudice the common cause. There are, however, two or three aspects of the situation which, perplexing as they may appear when viewed from a distance, are perfectly clear to those who played a role in the recent crisis.

The first is the question, now being widely debated by Dr. Negrín's followers, of why he risked a procedure that could end, as it did, by removing him from the leadership of the government. It is indeed true that when Dr. Negrín arrived in Mexico the great mass of the emigration, there and elsewhere, supported him. Why, his friends are asking one another, did he run the risk of calling in the parliamentary groups when, in the opinion of the ordinary citizen, many of the deputies, elected in 1936 before the Franco rebellion, do not represent the militant feelings of the Spanish people today? The answer was clearly stated in my article, Negrín's Plan for Spain, published in *The Nation* of July 21. Without the intervention of the Cortes there was no constitutional procedure for filling the vacant Presidency of the Republic, and without a President, Negrín could not, in accordance with the Constitution, broaden or reorganize his Cabinet. But, above all, Negrín was preoccupied with the consideration that recognition might be withheld by certain countries unless an enlarged and fully representative constitutional government were created. Only those who do not know Dr. Negrín can possibly imagine that he failed to take into account those dangerous maneuvers whose sole objective was to destroy him and his policy of resistance. At the first Cabinet meeting after his arrival here each of his ministers resident in Mexico called Negrín's attention to the danger of his being victimized by some such maneuver.

Dr. Negrín's answer was that he had no choice and that he must trust that a sense of responsibility and duty toward the Spanish people would ultimately prevail. Some of Dr. Negrín's friends suggested, not for his sake, but for the sake of the cause, that there should be a prior pact by which Negrín would facilitate the legal procedures necessary for a reorganization of the government, with the clear understanding that he should be retained as Prime Minister. Negrín is not the man for deals of this sort.

The second point that is being passionately discussed in Mexico is why Negrín did not accept a post in the Giral Cabinet. Here a brief chronology of the crisis is in order. President Martinez Barrio assumed his post on Friday, August 17, and finished his consultations with the heads of the various parties on Wednesday, August 22. During these five days intrigues were increasing; on Tuesday night, however, the general impression in Mexico was that President Barrio would call upon Negrín. On Wednesday morning we were informed that the President had asked Giral to form a government.

Giral requested an interview with Negrín and in this first conversation offered him the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs. Negrín left the decision to the executive committee of the Socialist Party to which he belongs. The executive committee communicated with Giral and told him that circumstances made it advisable that Negrín should continue as Prime Minister and that they would not authorize him to hold a Cabinet post. However, if the Cabinet were a broad republican coalition the executive committee would be ready to provide another minister as a gesture of support and cooperation. In the next forty-eight hours various propositions were made to Negrín: that he should be Vice-President and Minister of Foreign Affairs; that he should be Vice-President with an additional portfolio and that I should continue as Foreign Minister; that he should be Vice-President and Foreign Minister and that two of his friends, outstanding physicians, but without special political significance, should be included in the Cabinet. Negrín invariably replied that it was not a question of posts but of policy.

In order to face the arduous and complicated task of restoring the Republic, the Prime Minister must be in a position to direct policy in all its aspects. International and national policies could not be separated. Nor could the support of various nations be enlisted without guaranties of a national policy that would permit reestablishment of the Republic without unnecessary violence. Therefore the first requisite was to have true representation of all political forces within the government, and to leave the doors open to any group that chose to exclude itself. And secondly, the government needed a homogeneous policy and bold, strong direction.

On Saturday José Antonio de Aguirre, President of the autonomous Basque government, arrived and held a conference with Giral and myself. This was our last effort to achieve a broad coalition and to prevent the formation of a government in which the representation of the various republican forces was more apparent than real. Twelve hours later Giral abruptly declared the negotiations at an end, insisted on being Prime Minister, and presented the original list of Cabinet members that he had held in readiness since Friday.

The third point that must be clarified is the insinuation that only "Negrín and the Communists" remained outside the government. This was an unfortunate note for the new Prime Minister to strike in explaining the reason for the crisis; his statement evoked a sharp reply from the groups that had refused to join the Cabinet. These groups include the Socialist Party whose executive committee was elected in Spain (as distinct from the other branch of the party organized in exile by Indalecio Prieto); the U. G. T., the strongest trade-union organization in Spain; an important segment of the Left Republicans, the party founded by the late President Azaña; the Federal Party; the Basque Nationalist Action; the Asturian Workers Alliance, and others. They asserted their joint responsibility for the decision to remain outside the government and rebuked Giral for adopting the tactics used by the enemies of the Republic throughout the Spanish war. They explained that the reason for their decision was their united belief that "only a strong policy of resistance" such as was maintained by the last republican government could secure the establishment of a democratic regime in Spain. They pointed out that the Prime Minister is chiefly responsible for defining and representing the policy of the Cabinet. "Dr. Negrín's political significance would have been neutralized had his name appeared side by side with those of the persons now in the Cabinet—very honorable men but some of them representing a policy utterly different from and even contrary to what we believe indispensable at this moment." Whereas the government itself would have been weakened by the presence within it of such strongly conflicting points of view, the reply ended with the declaration that the abstaining group, "as republicans and democrats," will applaud the success of the new Cabinet, if success is obtained.

At 7:30 on Sunday evening Giral's Cabinet was announced. At 8:30 Negrín was already working on a plan of action with representatives of the parties and groups mentioned above. He easily exchanged the title of chief of the government for that of chief of the resistance. Nor was it any more difficult for me to surrender the post of Foreign Minister for freedom to devote myself fully to my work as an editor of *The Nation.* At such moments one realizes how little importance there is in a ministerial title if it is not accompanied by intense and useful action. Only time will tell if, from the point of view of the republican cause, the shift from one administration to another will prove equally rewarding and without penalties. We say: "As republicans, whether the government pleases us or not, we are pleased that a government has resulted from the present crisis; we must not attack it or make its life more difficult." That is what Negrín will say at the first public function since the crisis, which will be held on September 3 at the Fronton. He will urge full support of the government on the part of all republican elements. Nor is his attitude merely theoretical: to republican army officers and civil servants in Mexico who remain loyal to him he has said, "You belong to Spain and you must put yourselves at the disposal of the government." At the same time he will appeal to the friends of Spain everywhere not to be discouraged or pessimistic but to maintain intact their enthusiasm and fighting spirit on behalf of the Spanish people.

Yugoslav Democracy, Limited

BY HAL LEHRMAN

Belgrade, August 31 (By cable)

DISGRUNTLED bourgeois sip their spritzer in the Ruski Tsar, the cafe of the Belgrade élite on Prince Michael's Street, and trade sneers regarding the newly mighty who now inhabit Dedinje Hill. The partisans have taken over the villas of the aristocracy, and it is a source of bitter mirth to today's "underprivileged" that one high official who lived in jails or cellars hiding from the police most of his adult life now resides in two mansions with twenty domestics. But the partisan chiefs are working hard and long hours in the midst of their opulence, and there are weightier reasons for complaint about contemporary Yugoslavia.

I did not believe the stories which assailed me on my arrival here about the persecution of Yugoslavs who do not regard Britons and Americans as enemies of the nation—until the proof exploded under my nose. The August 1 celebration of United States Army Air Force Day proclaimed by Truman was organized by a group of Belgrade youth. The auditorium was draped with Yugoslav and American flags, the Air Force film "Memphis Belle" was shown, and two young men delivered pro-American speeches passed by the Yugoslav censor. At 2 a. m. the next day both were arrested by the OZNA and held incommunicado.

For forty-eight hours I tried vainly to see the police authorities, or the prisoners, or at least learn the charges. On the third day I was officially informed that the youths had been arrested because, according to "numerous previous reports," they had been associated with the Chetniks. I inquired why nothing had been done about the alleged reports until the morning after the pro-American demonstrations. No reply—except that the prisoners were suddenly released.

Top-ranking partisans say privately that the masses have disliked the Allies ever since the days of the occupation, when, after combat against combined German-Chetnik raiders, or after seeing their villages burned down by Chetniks, they gathered around the radio and heard London extol the heroic resistance of the Chetniks against the invaders. Nor has the record of the Allied occupation of Trieste and other Yugoslav irredenta endeared us to them. For whatever reasons official organs like the police and press are systematically anti-Allied.

Annoyances go fairly high. The British wasted weeks trying to get authorization to fly courier planes between their consulates and were finally forced to appeal directly to Tito. The Anglo-Yank embassies have several times formally protested against discrimination. The Soviet embassy hasn't found démarches necessary.

Belgrade rumbles with rumors of terror in the provinces. I am told there are three methods for disposing of suspects: mobilization and shipment to remote areas whence no letters return; arrest by the OZNA and disappearance; kidnapping or murder by unidentified "bandits" with whom the police somehow never catch up. I cannot confirm or deny these reports—because I have been unable to go and see. Correspondents need passes for travel more than a few miles outside of Belgrade, and only Soviet correspondents are able to get them.

I shall pass over the atmosphere of fear here in the capital, the unwarranted searches of homes and the seizure of property, the deep and abiding hatred against the regime on the part of many plain citizens who did not go to the hills during the occupation but did not collaborate with Mihailovich, Nedich, or the Germans either. Let's examine the program for the future, a few of the eleven monumental laws which the Parliament has passed in the last seven days.

My last dispatch called the legislation constructive and I still think so. The menace lies in the ambiguity of the escape clauses at the service of doctrinaire administrators. Take the law on the right to vote. Article Four disfranchises leading members of war-time fascist organizations, but "also any individuals who associated themselves with such work." "People's committees" are empowered to draw up voting lists. Thirteen deputies, including the Croat moderate and former minister Subasich, have already filed protests with Parliament concerning the manner in which these committees are operating in Zagreb. In Belgrade last week a ward committee moved to strike a man from the register because he sold an overcoat on the black market in order to get food. Conversely a woman who had stolen a kilo of sugar was reinstated on the register because her daughter, aged fifteen, had tattled against schoolmates for scribbling anti-Tito slogans on walls. None of these decisions is final, pending confirmation of a higher committee, but the tendency is obvious.

Article One of the law on the press guarantees its liberty, but eighteen other articles proceed to restrict it. Article Six excludes anyone ever connected with fascist and pro-fascist writings. Article Eleven authorizes suspension for "spreading false and alarming rumors endangering the state." Also noteworthy are the government controls over paper distribution and almost all printing plants. There are more than a hundred pro-government journals in Yugoslavia and not a single one for the opposition.

One could go on taking apart all the other laws. The guaranty of right of association prohibits political parties which are fascist or spread discord, but does not give any definitions. The law on the election of deputies allows parties outside the all-powerful People's Front to enter national tickets but does not provide the freedom of travel necessary for building a national organization. And the law on crimes against the state, by incriminating anyone threatening the "people's authority," gives the government carte blanche for the persecution of all critics.

This indictment verging on diatribe is not intended to impugn the greatness of the partisan struggle or the merits of the leaders, some of whom are of giant stature. As Kosanovitch said in the Parliament, explaining why his Independent Democratic Party is in the People's Front, "If there had been no Front and if the procrastination advocated by reaction had prevailed, we would be faced with unsolved Serb-Croat, Serb-Bulgar, and Macedonian problems and would be entering into civil war." The partisans revived and solidified the concept of a federative Yugoslavia. The ways, and factories, and increasing of production, relief for Balkan brotherhood. They have a vigorous program of internal reconstruction: land reform, building of roads, railways, and factories, and increasing of production, relief for devastated areas, and aid to the sick, the hungry, and the old. They are young and burning with enthusiasm for "people's democracy of the masses." And that's why they have no moderation and no charity for honestly critical opinion. The "people" are a closed corporation and membership therein is arbitrarily barred to too many.

I do not credit the accusations of many dubious patriots now crowding the correspondents' doors here (and speaking excellent French or German) that the Communists are greedy to retain and expand their personal power. True, they have the power. Other parties have many posts and the semblance of power, but the Communists possess it in reality because they hold the key positions. Subasich may be the Foreign Minister, but a Communist is the chief of his political department, and a Communist is director of personnel. Of the "Big Five" in a Cabinet of twenty-six, Tito, Kardelj, and Pijade are avowed Communists; Hebrang and Rakovich—the latter is chief of the OZNA—do not wear labels but aren't fooling anybody. During the occupation 25,000 Communists died, including eleven of the Central Committeemen, and also 50,000 from the Federation of Communist Youth. The party has too big a stake to leave much room for tolerance.

The opposition—minuscule in the Parliament but potentially weighty in the country—dreads the worst. A Democratic Party spokesman, Savko Dukanac, put it neatly: "The chief trouble with . . . your laws is that there is no confidence between us. You do not believe in our well-intentioned criticism, and we do not believe your people's authority will administer the laws impartially."

One measure of hope lies in the regime's sensitivity to foreign opinion. Even the small publicity given abroad to Dr. Milan Grol's resignation from the Vice-Premiership brought fervid denials of "totalitarianism" and hasty recognition of the opposition's right to speak its mind in the Parliament. Where previously the government, through Pijade, had threatened that "the people would go to war" against a future constituent assembly if it tampered with the prescriptions set down in advance for the constitution, the government now, through Kardelj, assures the country that the assembly may write any constitution it pleases. The bugaboo of the partisans is Allied intervention. They look across the frontiers toward Greece and Bulgaria and Rumania and shut their eyes defiantly to the spectacle of supervisory election commissions. They'll concede much to be spared further mention of this distressing subject.

THE FACE IN THE MOUNTAIN

BY JAMES GROSSMAN

THERE are certain resemblances that once seen cannot be driven from the mind. If, when you are looking at some rock formation on a mountain, it takes on the appearance of a human face, there is nothing to do but resign yourself to tracing its details. The unsought image once having come will not go away, and the more you reason with it the more persistent it will be. The only relief is to give yourself to it thoroughly and tell others about it, which is what summer visitors among the mountains always do.

There is at least a fascination, if of a low order, in finding faces in mountains; and the reverse, discovering natural scenery in faces—as crags in brows, pools in eyes—remains after centuries a standard practice of literature. The utter dissimilarity of the things compared excuses the attempt; it is at the worst likely to fall flat for having been done so often before. But where a superficial similarity exists, the attempt at further comparison is always dangerous. If one finds two faces alike or two authors, they had better be like with a vengeance; for because they already have in common the same number of features or the writing of books in the same language, there will be a peculiar irritation in the slightest failure of the claimed resemblance.

My own particular obsession of a haunting likeness came over me recently while I was reading again some of the stories of Henry James about writers and artists; I was reminded at almost every turn—although I was sure at the same time that it was some mere common humanity that was taking me in—of the plays of George Kaufman. Through all the bitterness of "The Death of the Lion" there came to me constant and unwelcome recollections—unwelcome, I mean, for the moment and for their seeming inappropriateness—of all of the gaiety of "The Butter and Egg Man" and "Once in a Lifetime."

One cannot argue with memory; it comes as it will or it will not come at all. My own argument was completely unsuccessful: next to Henry James I could think of no American who had written as much as George Kaufman—to include for convenience in his own name those of his various collaborators—about the arts and the life of the artist. There were the actor in "The Royal Family" and "Stage Door," the play producer in "The Butter and Egg Man," the movie director—the movies themselves in fact—in "Once in a Lifetime," the song writer in "June Moon," and the playwright in "Merrily We Roll Along." Nor would it do to say that these were practicers of the inferior arts, which as subjects are not quite the same as "art" itself. James had answered this very objection in his preface to "The Tragic Muse": "The late R. L. Stevenson was to write me . . . on the occasion of 'The Tragic Muse' that he was at a loss to conceive how one could find an interest in anything so vulgar or pretend to gather fruit in so scrubby an orchard; but the view of a creature of the stage, the view of the 'histrionic temperament,' as suggestive much less, verily, in respect to the poor stage *per se* than in respect to 'art' at large, affected me in spite of that as justly tenable."

Nothing could be scrubbier or more vulgar than Tin Pan Alley or shoestring producers or, for all its gaudiness, Hollywood, as Kaufman shows them; unless it be "all the stupidity and vulgarity and hypocrisy" of the conditions of the practice of literature in James's London of the 1890's. In this London world as shown in, say, "The Death of the Lion" are the female author with a man's name ("convenient, you know, for a lady who goes in for the larger latitude, . . . men are more naturally indelicate"); the male author with a woman's name ("because the ladies are such popular favorites"); the recording instruments of literary fame—one's portrait painted by the latest fashionable painter and one's "home life" described in the syndicated gossip column, "Smatter and Chatter," along with the latest divorcée; and, above all, the great social menagerie into which the captured Lion is brought by the proprietress and her noble friends, who do everything for him, including losing his manuscript and abandoning him to die alone, but who never, in all their admiration, read ten pages he ever wrote.

So many of the details of this story have their obvious counterpart in Kaufman's plays that one is tempted to press hard on those which do not at first glance seem to fit into his work. Even the death, and the manuscript so carelessly handed about unread from one admirer to another until it is lost by the servants, yield something very like under the gentlest pressure. For these symbols of an indifference to literature amounting to contempt and hatred we have in "Once in a Lifetime" the playwright Lawrence Vail, bafflingly and mystifyingly lost and the object of wide public search while he sits every day in the very center of the great studio, under the eyes of the efficient secretary, waiting to speak to someone about what his work is to be. The figurative references to cages and keepers and to the trapped and caught state of the Lion have become literal, if only off-stage, facts in the case of Lawrence Vail. Playwrights' rooms in Hollywood are locked ("Once they get out of their rooms nobody knows what becomes of them") and no one willingly goes there, "those padded walls and the bars over the windows" are so scaring. Vail does not die; instead, he has a breakdown and is cured in a sanitarium conducted solely for playwrights who have gone to Hollywood, by a playwright who was once there.

In Kaufman as much as in James the really good artist is acted upon by his environment but does not successfully act on it. If he has an effect on his environment it is an unintended one. Lawrence Vail's outburst to George Lewis against the fantastic waste of Hollywood is repeated to the great Glogauer by George in sufficiently garbled form to start his career of prodigality, magnificent mistakes, and boundless success. By much the same irony—but on a much more modest scale of conduct, for nothing can compete with Hollywood for lavishness of wasted effort—Hugh Vereker brings about the opposite of what he intends; his explanation to the narrator of "The Figure in the Carpet" that there is a central meaning in all his work sets the narrator off on an endless wild-goose chase to discover the secret by every means except the one of actually reading the work with attention and imagination.

The difference in stature between Lawrence Vail on the one hand and the Lion, Hugh Vereker, or Ralph Limbert on the other is necessary because of the difference in the point of view from which the two authors regard their central common fact, the public taste, which both with equal cynicism place at the same low level. James's major interest is in the greatness that fails with the public; Kaufman's is in the simple-mindedness that is essential for the greatest popular success. To show by how much one can miss on the high side and to measure the flatness of the scene around him by its imagined opposite, James has created in his novelists a whole school of literary giants, sensitive, perceptive, ironic, doomed. They tower if anything too much, and we search uselessly for their likeness in James himself, as if only fact and not the imagination could be the source of true greatness. The intelligent Lawrence Vail is made to tower over the world around him just enough to show how little talent is too much for it to take to itself and use. He cannot from his relatively easy heights—any more than could Ralph Limbert from his greater one in "The Next Time"—stoop low enough to come to the great popular level. In James's words, "It takes more than trying—it comes by grace."

The true grace, it seems to me, is in never having had to stoop, in having been there all along out of sheer innocence of any higher places. The successful ones all have it: the lyric writer who can rhyme "June" and "moon" in perfect good faith, without the slightest suspicion that it has ever been done before; the young butter and egg man from Chillicothe who cannot say "brothel" without blushing, but who produces so good a brothel scene in his play that the police will raid it; James's Greville Fane, the clergyman's spotless widow who writes of the fierce immoral passions of duchesses while she watches over her children in their cribs and pats their heads; and above all, George Lewis. All these have the lovable innocence of paradise, which is worth good hard cash in a world that has eaten the fruit of the tree.

George is the most perfect of them all. We are told of Greville Fane that she "couldn't write a page of English," but we are forever being surprised to find that George can read one. He is completely free of any complications of mind or even of rhetoric—he does not know that words can mean the opposite of what they say or in fact that they can be used figuratively—and has no entanglements of any kind with the world of ideas. He goes unswervingly through the production of the movie, like some intellectual Sir Galahad who, because he is unaware of their very existence, cannot be seduced by those twin enchantresses, art and reality.

The gift of being untouched by life cannot be found, but it can be lost in the course of living. We are certain that the ingenuous young man from Chillicothe will never be successful after his first production, because he thinks he knows now how it is done; and we are happy when he goes back to the hotel business. The musically illiterate composer in "June Moon" is slipping because he has become too self-conscious of the value of his ignorance, too aware that "it ruins a composer to play the piano too good"; only an infusion of naiveté—and his new lyric writer, the hero, has enough for two—saves him. Greville Fane can no longer write successfully about the glamour of a vicious aristocracy when she sees that she has created in her children two vicious aristocrats.

George's enduring incorruptibility represents, I suspect, an ideal rather than any merely likely state of facts. In our own experience there is often so great a disparity between the artist and his work that we can account for it, as James has pointed out in the fable of "The Private Life," only by the notion that the artist at his work is a different person from the one we meet. It is one of the most consoling functions of art to deny this common fact and to picture the ideal artist, in perfect and lasting correspondence to his work. Of course when the artist is portrayed as being exactly like his work, then we can see his work in him without having it exhibited to us at length. This is one of the reasons for the peculiar convincingness of James's dying novelists and of Kaufman's George. (It is a minor but probably unavoidable blemish in "June Moon" that we hear the song of that name; we can imagine, in fact we have heard, worse.)

The public as an abstraction has always been a faceless, nameless thing that consumes and destroys. Its individual members share the function but have none of the terrifying aspect of the monster; they have rather the naive simple-mindedness of the popular artist himself. As he creates, so they destroy, with the innocence and good faith of children. "The conscience of these people," the narrator observes of Lady Augusta and her friends, who have lost the Lion's manuscript, "is like a summer sea." Lady Augusta asks whether, if the manuscript shouldn't reappear for the occasion of its reading to the Princess, "the author wouldn't have something else to read that would do just as well."

Standing as she does for the public, she is in this question at one with the perfect popular artist, George Lewis. It is fitting that the mere notion of discrimination—there is surely some significance in the fact that the word has practically only a pejorative meaning now—should be alien to her, for it is to him. His very method of work is that of pure chance: by reaching into his wastebasket instead of his files for a scenario he makes the wrong movie.

Lady Augusta has a slightly more sophisticated sister in the telephone operator of "The Butter and Egg Man," who is at least aware of the great question of discrimination. When the tryout has gone miserably in Syracuse, the wise Broadway producers call on her, as on the public in human form, for "some good straight dope, a fresh viewpoint" on what's wrong with their play. She says, "Well, I'll tell you. . . .

Syracuse is a funny town. . . . You see, the people here are funny, sort of. If they *like* a show they'll *go* to it, but if they don't like it—they *won't*." I wonder, but it would take us beyond our present subject, if the most elaborate apparatus of statistical science for questioning the public on what it wants of the lively arts can do more than multiply her answer.

I have spoken only of successful works of James and Kaufman. They also have some resemblances in two unsatisfactory pieces, "The Lesson of the Master" and "Merrily We Roll Along." Both deal with the successful abuse of talents by the writer who is ashamed of his popular success because he "knows" he should have done better. Each has lacked the strength to resist the good things of the world, particularly a wife. Richard Niles's first wife nags him into worse; the Master's burns his best. The Master's fate is the less bitter of the two; his first wife is quite chic, and on her death he marries the charming girl whom his young admirer has given up on his advice. Niles's fate is sheer horror: his wives turn into hags at his touch.

Both works treat solemnly and with a heavy irony what appears to be the richest material in comedy. James and Kaufman in their separate ways have often snatched their brightest comic triumphs from situations that seen as we usually see them in life are ugly and drab: the publisher in "June Moon" who in order to sell his mistress buys the song; in "The Next Time" the hopeless struggle of Ralph Limbert to stifle his intelligence and good taste so that he may write something that will sell and keep his family from starving; in "The Tree of Knowledge" the lives that have been warped to form a protective circle around the fatuous sculptor and hide from him the total silliness of his work. It is odd that they should see the difficult so clearly and miss the obvious so completely.

The material of "Merrily We Roll Along" and "The Lesson of the Master" calls particularly for comic treatment. The tragic dilemma of Niles and the Master is our own and unbearably close. The awareness that we were meant for better things is so much the smug secret knowledge of each of us that for fear of self-betrayal we cannot publicly give ourselves to it with sympathy, unless at the same time we are allowed to laugh. Clean laughter denied, we make our own Philistine jokes. We snicker at the torture that comes from wearing a hair shirt made of the most expensive silk. We deny the high price of public favor and insist that the two characters come by it as cheaply as the divinely sponging Saltram in "The Coxon Fund" "accepts favors, loans, sacrifices—all with nothing more deterrent than an agony of shame." If his two friends advise Niles, and the Master the young man, from love, it is the love of the vulture for its prey; for our part we ask only to be saved from our friends who would save us from ourselves.

Because it is the point of both stories that the two writers are not the same as their work, its quality cannot be presented dramatically, through their character, but can only be baldly stated. In art bald statement makes us contrary. We decide that the Master's novels are much worse and Niles's Broadway comedies much better than they are said to be. This is ungrateful carping—even if it does help to keep our two authors a little longer in the same boat, or rather on the same hillside—for we would not have been able to detect the reason for this technical failure had we not seen their technical successes in the presentation of the artist in relation to his work. And for that matter, we would not have suspected that they could have forced the blessing of comedy out of these two stries had we not watched them on other occasions wrestle with death itself and all the vices, until so blessed.

Despite the example of James's own easiness—when he chose to be easy—in the presence of death, he is taking on every day so much of its stiff eminence that it is unfair and a disservice to any merely living writer to undertake a comparison of him with the dead master. I have not intended any such comparison, or any sort of judgment between Kaufman and him, for that would involve a consideration not only of their likenesses but also of their differences, which are so numerous and extensive as to make Coleridge's warning to the point: "A fondness for judging one work by comparison with others, perhaps altogether of a different class, argues a vulgar taste." ("I don't put them back to back that way," says Corvick, the intelligent critic in "The Figure in the Carpet.") The likenesses between the two men seem to me only the more valuable for being so outnumbered by the differences. We tend to forget the unity of art in the interest of the separate arts, and the relationship of artists in the interest of their separate methods and intentions. Whenever, for all their rich variety, they remind us of each other, they serve to remind us also of ourselves and of the common humanity, their various but single subject, which we share with them. If we can see the likeness of a face in a mountain, can't we see it also in another face?

The Dead Wingman

Seen on the sea, no sign; no sign, no sign
In the black firs and terraces of hills
Ragged in mist. The cone narrows, snow
Glares from the bleak walls of a crater. No.
Again the houses jerk like paper, turn,
And the surf streams by: a port of toys
Is starred with its fires and faces; but no sign.

In the level light, over the fiery shores,
The plane circles stubbornly: the eyes distending
With hatred and misery and longing, stare
Over the blackening ocean for a corpse.
The fires are guttering; the dials fall,
A long dry shudder climbs along his spine,
His fingers tremble; but his hard unchanging stare
Moves unacceptingly: *I have a friend.*

The fires are gray; no star, no sign
Winks from the breathing darkness of the carrier
Where the pilot circles for his wingman; where,
Gliding above the cities' shells, a stubborn eye
Among the coaled and ashen nations, achingly
Tracing the circles of that worn unchanging *No*—
The lives' long war, lost war—the pilot sleeps.

RANDALL JARRELL

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The Problem of Influence

FREUDIANISM AND THE LITERARY MIND. By Frederick J. Hoffman. Louisiana State University Press. $4.

FOR some time, one of the self-imposed tasks of academic research has been the investigation of the creative writer's debt to the systematic thinker. And all too often this investigation has proceeded on assumptions which are much too simple. It is usually believed that the creative writer *uses* in his work *the idea* which the systematic thinker *thinks up*, quite as if an idea were a baton that is passed from hand to hand in a relay race, remaining the same in each hand. But Frederick Hoffman, even though he writes as an academic research scholar, understands that the question of influence cannot be reduced to such simplicity. Dr. Hoffman's prose is perhaps not always so lucid as the intelligence which conceived and organized his book—I found myself questioning the formulation of certain statements which I nevertheless thought right in their intention—but his study of the relation of Freud's ideas to literary practice is a work that the student of modern literature will need to know. And every historian of literature and ideas will do well to ponder its theoretical chapter on The Problem of Influence.

Dr. Hoffman knows that an idea is not the unitary, irrefrangible thing that most historians take it to be. He knows that it is modified in its transmission by the kind of cultural environment into which it falls, by the response to the kind of technical or figurative language in which it is expressed, by the power of understanding of those who receive it, and by their own purposes and intention.

Certainly nothing could better illustrate the precarious existence of an idea and the precarious position of the historian of ideas than Freud's psychology. For no system has had to endure more misunderstanding—willed or unconsciously willed—or more intellectual braggadocio from people of normally good and modest intelligence, often while they are themselves making use of Freud's doctrines. It did not lie within the purview of Dr. Hoffman's work to observe that while the investigation of Shakespearean metaphor proceeds along lines that are closely analogous with the Freudian method, so precise a Shakespearean scholar as J. Dover Wilson contemptuously cites a certain *Sigismund* Freud; nor to point to the spectacle of the admirable biographer of Rimbaud and Baudelaire, Enid Starkie, who ritualistically knocks down a Freudian man of straw while she accumulates evidence for the Freudian case. But Dr. Hoffman does deal at length with the kind of understanding of psychoanalysis that was current in Greenwich Village in the days when Floyd Dell was the Freudian authority and friend "psyched" friend—what depths of the past lie in that lost, banal slang word! Those were the days when Ludwig Lewisohn warped Freud to the interests of Zionism and Waldo Frank understood psychoanalysis only when he chose to, misrepresenting it when that suited his doctrinal purpose of the moment, being in this rather like Arthur Koestler, who is a perfect intellectual coquette in the matter.

Of the writers Dr. Hoffman deals with—he wisely limits their number—perhaps only Thomas Mann really understood Freud with the ordinary intelligence we might reasonably expect of a writer, and also used him creatively in a large way and to the good advantage of his art. In this country, Conrad Aiken is notable for the seriousness of his interest; Aiken's understanding of psychoanalysis—not always unexceptionable—did his novels little good but it wonderfully informed certain of his stories and poems.

The case of D. H. Lawrence is interesting not only for Lawrence's inability to understand Freud, but for the light it throws on the methods of critics who lightly use the idea of "influence." Almost from the beginning of his career, Lawrence thought in an essentially Freudian way. Yet he reached his insights without having read Freud and when at last he came to deal with Freudian theory he was shockingly obtuse. Much the same can be said of Sherwood Anderson, who became distressingly coy whenever he spoke of Freud. Yet it is one of the clichés of criticism that both Lawrence and Anderson are the notable examples of Freud's influence on literature. LIONEL TRILLING

BRIEFER COMMENT

On Looking at Pictures

MOST BOOKS that propose to tell you how to look at pictures turn—usually very early—into expositions of how pictures get to look the way they do. Lionello Venturi's "Painting and Painters: How to Look at a Picture: from Giotto to Chagall" (Scribner's, $3.50) is no exception.

Professor Venturi's conclusion states: "The first impression of a picture is quite vague, and it is only after an analysis of all its components that we may really understand the meaning of each of them and of the picture as a whole." This statement seems to me highly misleading if not completely wrong. The process of looking at a picture is infinitely more complex in scheme than that; it cannot be analyzed into discrete, sequential moments but only, if at all, into logical moments (though logic as such has very little to do with the experience of art). Doesn't one find so many times that the "full meaning" of a picture—i. e., its aesthetic fact—is, at any given visit to it, most fully revealed at the first fresh glance? and that this "meaning" fades progressively as continued examination destroys the unity of impression? With many paintings and pieces of sculpture it is as if you had to catch them by surprise in order to grasp them as wholes—their maximum being packed into the instantaneous shock of sight. Whereas if you plant yourself too firmly before looking at a picture and then gaze at it too long you are likely to end by having it merely gaze blankly back at you.

Professor Venturi is one of the few competent living art critics, and his book gives an expert and philosophical, if sketchy, account of the development of Western painting until the present. Yet books telling you how to look at pictures should generally be read only after you have already learned how by patient experience.

The keystone of Professor Venturi's aesthetics is the somewhat Crocean axiom that "the only standard for . . . appreciation is the personality of the artist"—which is correct but open to serious misinterpretation. The chief difficulty of this book is that it constantly announces the truth in misleading or incomplete terms. There is an inability to round out expression that makes for a certain haziness and incoherence which do not, perhaps, characterize the professor's thought itself.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

The Free State Vindicated

D. W. BROGAN has written a searching analysis in "The Free State" (Knopf, $2) of the historical and ideological roots of the tragedy of Germany. And in his brilliant little book he compares the bases of representative governments with the authoritarian tenets of the Reich from Frederick William I to V-E Day. Brogan's political values are Jeffersonian—good equipment for a social philosopher.

He finds that the democratic faith with all its implications for a better life is indigenous to the free state while to the Germans it has always been a foreign importation, stunted by their spiritual climate. He shows further—he is always practical—that the free state is now and has always been more efficient. It can, for instance, wage a total war more successfully than the purely military state, for whereas the military state may be able to mobilize the resources of a nation for war it does not create new resources. "It is squeezing the orange, but there is only one orange." The free state, on the other hand, possesses reserves of material and moral power which provide the improvisation, the technical ingenuity, and originality that swing military tides. This war has shown that the balance is weighted by the non-military inventions of civilian technicians. As Brogan says, "the jeep is the child of the flivver, the corvette of the freighter." This section of his book should give pause to Germans and others who still envision the ultimate triumph of the war machine.

Brogan's book is a useful war-time polemic but to the political and social architects of a new Germany it could prove discouraging. For if the free state based on the democratic faith is for the Germans an unnatural concept the prospect for the future is bleak—Brogan argues in effect that a democracy by infusion is illusory. Yet that, it would seem, is our only choice. And an imposed free state would be, for all its imperfections, far preferable to the military state we have all but destroyed.

HARVEY J. BRESLER

Democracy in Triplicate

IN "REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY, an Interpretation of the British Civil Service" (Antioch Press, $3.50), J. Donald Kingsley makes a stimulating contribution to the growing discussion of administrative bureaucracy in relation to contemporary social change. About one-third of the book is a meaningful study of the evolution of the British civil service. In it Mr. Kingsley argues that the interests and ideology of the bourgeoisie, coming to dominant political power after 1832, reshaped the civil service from an organ primarily of the aristocracy into an organ of the "middle classes," and that limitations of the civil service are the limitations of those classes. The discussion makes the service come alive.

Out of the historical analysis comes Mr. Kingsley's main thesis: with the shift in effective power from the legislative to the executive branch of government the importance of administrative bureaucracy grows; hence the crucial need for our democratic future "is to develop and maintain representative bureaucracy." This representative character, according to Mr. Kingsley, "must be sought in a common world view and upon a derivative stability in institutional relations . . . in the strength of the officials' commitment to the purposes that the state is undertaking to serve. . . . Bureaucracies, to be democratic, must be representative of the groups they serve . . . must mirror the dominant forces in society." This contains, obviously, an important element of truth, and it is convincingly developed. But it seems to me a conditional and limited truth. Every bureaucracy, except in periods of deep-going class-political change, is representative, in Mr. Kingley's sense, even in a despotic state. It is true, as Mr. Kingsley argues in his incisive analysis of the administrative process, that conflicts between ministers and permanent officials "are not likely to be serious" if both accept the state's purposes. But whether that is democratic or not depends upon whether or not the state is democratic. The bureaucracies of communism and fascism are representative since they promote "the purposes the state is undertaking to serve," "mirror the dominant forces in society," and accept "a common world view." But how democratic are they? A totalitarian regime creates the dominant forces, decides and imposes the state's purposes and world view.

Democracy in the coming world will depend primarily upon the general institutional framework within which representative bureaucracy works—a limited-power state, grass-roots pluralistic economic democracy, checks and balances (which Mr. Kingsley, mistakenly, I think, limits to top-governmental separation of powers) in the form of a variety

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of autonomous social institutions, freedom. There are glimpses of this in Mr. Kingsley's analysis, but they are overwhelmed by his concentration on the administrative process. He dogmatically and disdainfully denies there is a danger of bureaucratic despotism. Ignoring the literature and ideas on this subject, he fails to see that a bureaucracy may develop interests and powers of its own, and he fails to see that where effective economic power is not wielded by classes outside the state but by the state itself the conditions for bureaucratic despotism arise.

Its limitations, as well as its merits, make this a book that should be read. It opens windows on a range of problems that must be understood and solved if the coming world is to be truly democratic.

LEWIS COREY

Apology to F. R. Scott

In reviewing F. R. Scott's book of poems, "Overture," in last week's issue, I called him F. R. Jones. The error is as unexplainable as it is inexcusable. My apologies to Mr. Scott.

F. W. DUPEE

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

A READER has written me from Germany an interesting comment on the paragraph from Einstein's "Mozart" that I quoted last May. The paragraph was about Mozart's relation to the intellectual currents of his time, and contained the statement that Mozart probably would have had no use for Rousseau, "whose call 'Back to Nature' would have meant very little to him. Mozart was on the side of Voltaire, in spite of the ill-tempered words he pronounced upon the sage of Ferney as an obituary." This leads my correspondent to observe: "I had just finished reading a collection of Mozart letters . . . [which] are astounding, aren't they? And after reading them Einstein's passage was just nonsense. The compulsion some people are under to try to fit literary or musical figures into *our* idea of their time seems so wasteful. These writers want their idols to be on what we now think was the right side of their century. (I recently saw an article in which the author seemed a little hurt that Balzac had 'completely misunderstood' the Paris Commune. Just because this writer does approve of the Paris Commune there is no reason to believe that Balzac didn't know what he was talking about when he said that he didn't approve.) Thus, since Einstein is on the side of Voltaire (good for Voltaire) it is necessary that Mozart be, too. And so the vicious letter he wrote on Voltaire's death becomes 'ill-tempered'—which is absurd. He was *not* on Voltaire's side; he hated Voltaire; his letter on Voltaire's death is really nasty. And why can't the man be given credit for some unpleasant qualities, or for some errors of judgment (if indeed they are errors of judgment)?"

Also, my recent analysis of the review of Einstein's book in the summer issue of *Kenyon Review* has brought this illuminating comment from another reader: "I should say that Mozart's music is rich in sentiment, but not sentimental as Beethoven occasionally is in the slow movements of his weaker works. Indeed I should say that Mozart's very expressiveness, his capacity to arouse the substantive feelings and passions of joy, sorrow, longing, gaiety, precludes the possibility of his being sentimental. Sentimentality is precisely the pose of feeling, the simulation or suggestion of it rather than the thing itself. Sometimes, in Beethoven, one feels that he is trying to create a mood which has no actual occasion or objective correlative (to use T. S. Eliot's phrase) in the music itself. The mood is suggested or 'called to mind' but not embodied. In Mozart one *can't help* being gay or exultant or whatever the music is at the time. In Brahms's serenades one feels that one 'ought' to be gay; in the finale of Mozart's E flat Symphony one *is* gay, deliriously so. That is why the Brahms is so terribly dull in the end, even though the tunes are often quite charming in themselves."

From the very beginning there have been readers of this column who have found it impossible to regard my dislike of much of Brahms's music as a product of rational judgment of experience; and the accusations of insufficient knowledge of the music and of prejudice against it have continued in the face of my statements to the contrary. I have pointed out that since I have expressed my love for certain works of Brahms my dislike of others cannot represent a prejudice against him; I have also pointed out that I acquired an exhaustive knowledge of his music during the dozen or more years when it was for me, every note of it, the greatest of all—until I began to be aware of something in some of the works that made me dislike them. What I began to be aware of was the pose of feeling that my correspondent speaks of which is to be heard in the ranting of the first movement of the First Symphony, the treacly sentimentality of the second movement, the archness of the third—all of which can be heard also in other of Brahms's pretentious large-scale works. And not only pose of feeling, but pose of the entire process of artistic creation—of feeling making itself articulate through the substance, procedures, forms of an artistic medium. The very first work that I disliked was the Sonata Opus 99 for cello and piano: here for the first time I became aware of a mere filling out of formal pattern by arbitrary manipulation of synthetic substance—of a form of expression without real expression. And in time I came to dislike the other works of Brahms in which pumped-up attitudes are communicated through synthetically contrived large structures—as against music which communicates something genuinely felt that has dictated the substance and its manipulation into a form.

Now that I think of it, that pose of feeling and of artistic expression of feeling is one of the things I have heard and disliked in the music of Shostakovitch, of Villa-Lobos, of Roy Harris, of William Schuman, and of others like them.

After all this had been written Einstein's book came up once more. This column's favorite correspondent, returned from war, listened with me to Mozart's String Quintet K. 515; and when we were talking about the things that were so astounding in the minuet

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movement—the somber strangeness of the Minuet, the first part of the Trio, the violent intensities of its middle part —I showed him what Einstein had found important about it: "The following Minuet is more of a *tempo di minuetto*, with a Trio in the subdominant, which itself grows into complete song-form." Later we listened to the last few minutes of "The Marriage of Figaro," leading up to and ending with the *Contessa, perdono* passage; and when I lifted the pickup off the record after the solemn octaves that gently ease us from the superearthly exaltation of that passage down to this earth again, he sat silent for a long time; then, beginning to laugh, he said: "Let's see what Einstein has to say about it." So we looked, and found that Einstein had nothing to say about it. And looking further we found that he did have things like this to say: "It has been observed with truth that in Susanna there is a bit of Colombina left, in Figaro of Arlecchino; that Don Bartolo and Marcellina are pure *buffo* figures. But the Countess? The Count? Cherubino? The tiny roles of Barbarina and her father, the gardener Antonio? Basilio the schemer? It took courage to see the *opera buffa* possibilities in this work and to realize them—courage that Mozart and da Ponte can have gathered only from pieces like those of Bertati and Casti." At which point we shut the book with a bang—for good.

CONTRIBUTORS

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Nazis Still in Command

Dear Sirs: Yesterday we were relieved of the job of running a P. O. W. enclosure with 7,000 P. O. W.'s of which we had been in charge for two weeks. The camp had been running for a week or so when a German lieutenant expressed the wish to be brought to the Russian authorities. Well, P. O. W.'s had come to us with the oddest and craziest requests; this one, too, could have been dismissed with a laugh. But something in that man demanded confidence and respect. He opened our eyes to a lot of things in the camp that didn't agree with the principles for which so many Allied soldiers had given their lives. As in most P. O. W. camps the German officers still retained their grip upon the rank and file, a lot of "cliques" had been set up, and an honest anti-Nazi didn't have a chance. In addition to the guards there were only seven of us, all German-speaking, N. C. O.'s to carry on the administration of a camp of 7,000; and we would have saved ourselves a lot of work if we had decided to leave things as they were. However, there was that German lieutenant P. O. W. with the single-track mind, whose one purpose was to wipe out fascism in whatever form it appeared. And there was also our conviction that we mustn't let these things happen if we could change them.

So we seven non-coms, our officer, and that man had a talk one evening. This is what we decided and we carried it out the following morning. At 7 o'clock we gave orders to the officers to stand by with their baggage. At the same time the men were told to stand by for an important announcement. Well, the officers who, as we had found out, were instigating subversive activities, were led away. Those who had tried hard to have the men do close-order drill and those who had stolen rations from their own men were locked up in the cage. Now we had 7,000 men without officers, without leaders, and you know what a German is without a leader. These 7,000 men were now broken up into seven separate groups, and every one of us had 1,000 men staring at him waiting and wondering what was going to happen next. Well, here is a rough idea of what each of us said to his group:

> This morning we have freed you from your officers. For six years these men have mistreated you. For six years or longer they have stolen from you and from every decent German and now, when they shared your fate of captivity, they thought they could continue that life. . . . That has changed as of today. I have taken over the battalion of 1,000 men. Together we will choose ten Company Commanders who have your confidence and mine. Neither I nor these ten men have been to the War Academy in Potsdam, nor to any S. S. Oberfuehrerschule. But I am sure we'll be able to run the battalion as efficiently as if we wore those silver epaulettes.

Never had I seen so much satisfaction as in those men after I gave them the news. Every company was asked whom they would suggest. In addition I asked who felt capable of leading a group of 100 men and I found out all the men who had ever been in trouble with the German Army for "crimes" like "Zersetzung der Wehrkraft," listening to foreign radio stations, etc. I picked my ten men from these groups and today I can say that none of them has let us down.

But here's the payoff. While I was writing these lines I was told to report to a meeting. The orders from Army HQ were in. Everything we did in these last two weeks will have to be undone. We will have to put German officers back in charge of the companies. We will have to appoint German Battalion Commanders in our own places. We are supposed to supervise them only. But this is impossible. Here every one of us is up against eleven politically indoctrinated Nazi bastards who should be shot rather than put in charge of German people. Now the old game of intrigue and fake and forgery will be continued. German officers laugh about "these silly Americans." And the men who were company commanders and who cooperated with us, what can they expect from these officers? In a few days these company commanders had uncovered 182 former members of the Waffen S.S., 12 former members of the Allgemeine S.S., some members since 1932 and 1933.

SERVICEMAN

Somewhere in Germany,

[This letter reached us through the Newsletter for a Democratic Austria which also sent us the following information: The June 8 issue of the *Kaertner Neueste Nachrichten*, a newspaper published under the auspices of the British Occupation Authorities, reports that the Military Government is directing men in agricultural work in Carinthia. These men, Austrian P. O. W.'s, will be commanded by their own officers, who are mostly German, and "who are responsible to the Allied Command for the conduct of their men." This means that Austrian P. O. W.'s, on Austrian soil, are often being officered by Germans and owe them obedience.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

The Errors of Weimar

Dear Sirs: I wish to take exception to your editorial note on Dr. Gerhard Anschuetz in *The Nation* of August 11. Unintentionally, I trust, you have done a grave injustice to an honest and fearless man.

Let me first correct two major errors that you (and the source of your information) committed in your short note. Dr. Anschuetz never was—nor ever claimed to be—the author of the Weimar Constitution. Its real father was the late Dr. Hugo Preuss, a democratic scholar-politician, who was the first Minister of the Interior of the German Republic. Dr. Anschuetz's claim to fame rests with the facts that he was the leading expert on constitutional law of pre-Hitler Germany and that he wrote the outstanding commentary on the Weimar Constitution.

Your second error concerns the paragraph of the Constitution which Anschuetz is said to have criticized. It characterizes the reliability of the newspaper interview on which you base your remarks, that it speaks of paragraph 54, although anybody who ever read a book on modern German history knows that it was paragraph 48 which conferred the fateful emergency powers on the President of the German Republic. It is unthinkable that Dr. Anschuetz would have misquoted the most frequently discussed article of the Constitution.

In general, I hold no brief for scholars and politicians who remained in Hitler Germany. But there are exceptions, and Gerhard Anschuetz is one of them. I always considered him the clearest constitutional thinker I ever encountered in Germany and one of the rather few university professors who did not hesitate to stand up for their democratic convictions. As you say, he spent ten years of Hitler's reign in a Nazi prison. I do not think that he deserved a slur from you. Your note would have made more sense, if it had ended with the words: ". . . That there were a few other things wrong with Weimar Germany besides paragraph 48, and that one of them was too *few*—far, far too *few*—Dr. Anschuetzes." FELIX E. HIRSCH

Annandale-on-Hudson, N. Y.,
August 14

[When *The Nation* said that one of the things wrong with Weimar Germany was "too many—far, far too many—Dr. Anschuetzes" we did not intend a slur on his character. Nor do we doubt that he stood up for his democratic convictions. What the comment tried to say, perhaps too obliquely, was simply that too many honest democrats in pre-Hitler Germany thought you could sweep back the Nazi tide with a broom made of constitutional provisions and other legal formulas. If more of them had realized from the start that what they faced was not legitimate political opposition but a fascist revolution, to be met by the united forces of all the left and democratic elements in Germany, Hitler would not have come to power and Dr. Anschuetz would not have spent ten years in a Nazi prison. As for our other errors, they are inexcusable. We relied on a dispatch in the New York *Times* instead of turning to several available reference books in *The Nation's* library. We should have learned by this time that even the *Times* is not infallible. —EDITORS THE NATION.]

Would Conscription Pay?

Dear Sirs: Conscription or Enlistment? by Militaris seems to me the most reasonable discussion of the subject that I have seen. My opinion may be largely personal; but the article emphasizes most temperately what I would emphasize. If we are to have another war within five years after this one ends, we may well continue conscription. If we are not to have another war for fifteen or twenty years, conscription would be largely futile. Unless there is a rather immediate prospect of war, it is almost impossible to keep up the necessary interest in military training, for large numbers of conscripts.

GUSTAVUS S. PAINE

Southbury, Conn., July 15

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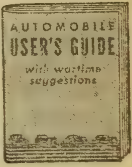

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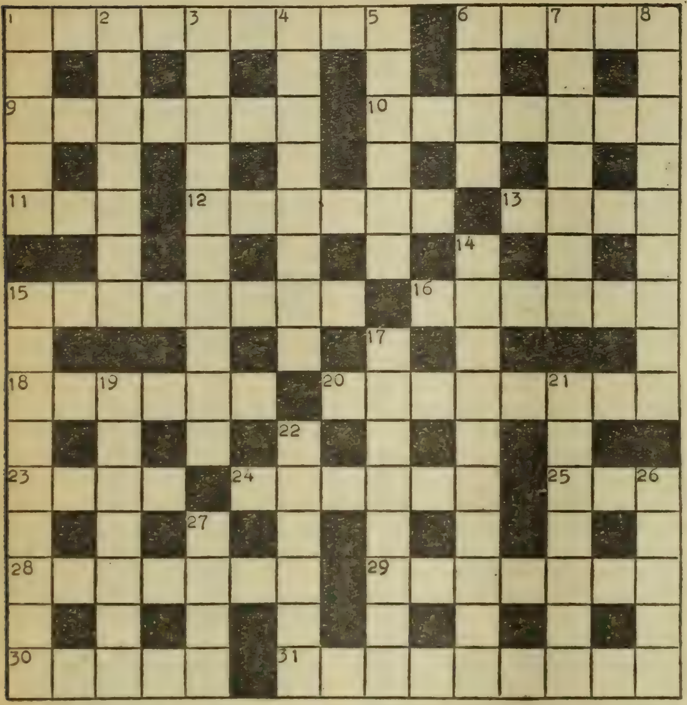
Crossword Puzzle No. 125

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Choose to be grateful for someone in *Vanity Fair*
6 Sir Walter Scott's black one had several aliases
9 Is a lass (anag.)
10 Part of a car worn 'round the neck?
11 This Japanese fish is nearly all tail
12 Chant in harmony
13 Edible part of an alligator
15 Poem whose second half is spoken
16 Hole in favor with golfers who hit a long ball (hyphen, 3-3)
18 Punctual (two words, 2 and 4)
20 A topping thing for one's retirement
23 Not an odd-sounding Russian
24 Spanish wine shop
25 A big fellow
28 Tyrannical schoolmaster in *David Copperfield*
29 A little fellow
30 Sonya appears in a medieval peasant's jacket
31 A game bird

DOWN

1 "Fixed like a ----- on his peculiar spot, To draw nutrition, propagate, and rot"
2 He of the lean and hungry look, in *Julius Caesar*
3 What the Scotsman had inscribed on his tombstone (four words, 4, 2, 2, 2)
4 A police dog, perhaps
5 "O.K. I'm on!" (anag.)
6 Take off
7 Hal and Lila join in an old salutation (hyphen, 3-4)
8 Bright and companionable, if a little unsteady about the room
14 One who ascends by this is likely to have sway (two words, 4 and 6)
15 Parts from capital
17 Guide to the North
19 *Gorboduc*, by Thomas Sackville, was the first regular one written in English (It was a bit dull)
21 Tagged
22 Not an outstanding success as a shepherdess (hyphen, 2-4)
26 "O sleep, O gentle sleep, Nature's soft ----- !"
27 He and his brother miller, Bone, were more than Flesh and Blood could stand

◆

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 124

ACROSS:—1 MOUTH; 4 BLAST; 7 INCLUDE; 10 GAMIN; 11 EIDAM, 12 DREAMER; 13 TEND; 16 HERR; 18 ASIDE; 20 WHEEZE; 21 ENTRAP; 22 RELIEF; 24 BOWERY; 25 CAIRN: 26 TSAR; 28 TURF; 31 BAILIES; 33 POKER; 34 PHLOX; 35 AMASSER; 36 YAWED; 37 YATES.

DOWN:—1 MIGHT; 2 UNMAN; 3 HIND; 4 BEER; 5 ADDLE; 6 TAMAR; 8 CREASE; 9 UNMADE; 14 EDWARDS; 15 DWELLER; 16 HERBERT; 17 REPAYER; 18 AZTEC; 19 END ON; 23 FATIMA; 24 BRAINS; 26 TIPSY; 27 ASKEW; 29 UNLIT; 30 FOXES; 31 BRAD; 32 SPRY.

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The Shape of Things

PRESIDENT TRUMAN HAS WISELY TAKEN THE initiative in demanding a Congressional investigation of the Pearl Harbor disaster. Through Senator Barkley the Administration has forestalled the Republicans and offered its own resolution for such an inquiry. This had passed the Senate before we went to press and will probably have passed the House before this issue appears. It is a pity the terms of the resolution did not cover that other "Pearl Harbor" at Manila, where MacArthur lost virtually his entire air force to the Japanese, on the ground and without a fight, ten hours after the surprise attack on Hawaii. There are many gaps in the army-navy reports on Pearl Harbor—notably the omission, from the published version of the army report, of fifty-two pages on the activities of an army lieutenant and a German contractor in charge of airfield construction on Oahu. The full story of the diplomatic maneuvers which preceded the outbreak of war with Japan has yet to be told, and we hope the joint Congressional inquiry will find out whether it was opposition to further appeasement or an ultimatum from Chungking which led the State Department to insist in November, 1941, on the withdrawal of the Japanese troops from China as a condition of peace. Senator Taft said that he wanted to be sure the resolution provided authority to go back as far as the days when we were selling scrap iron to Japan. It does, and we hope the Ohio isolationist and corporation lawyer will feel the same way when investigators expose the part that oil and iron interests played in the appeasement of Japan.

*

THE DEPARTURE OF GENERAL MACARTHUR AND the end of army control in the Philippines open the way for much-needed changes in the islands. Under the army no long-range plans for rehabilitation and economic reform could even be started, and the Commonwealth has kept itself afloat chiefly on the artificial business activity generated by the presence of a large military establishment. Now it must tackle the job of preparing for independence, and under present conditions independence looks more like a threat than a long-desired goal. For the islands are shattered, materially and humanly. The chronic ills of a feudal colonial system have been multiplied by the corrupting effect of enemy occupation and the destruction of war. As for the political situation, it is even more deplorable. Under the shelter of MacArthur's military control a government of collaborationists has firmly intrenched itself, as the article by Captain X on page 255 of this issue clearly reveals. Civilian administration cannot alter the picture overnight, but President Truman's appointment of a High Commissioner is a move in the right direction. Mr. McNutt held this post once before, from 1937 to 1939, and he recently headed the Commission on Health and Rehabilitation of the Philippines. He is a good administrator, if not a person of great social or political imagination, and he should be able to set in motion the civilian agencies that have been stalled since the liberation of the islands. We hope he will also reverse the MacArthur policy of supporting political reaction and discouraging the weak and poorly organized advocates of Philippine democracy.

*

EDWARD R. MURROW, WRITING FROM LONDON to the New York *Post,* expressed his horror that certain New York night-club entertainers were making jokes and rhymes about the atomic bomb and suggested that since it was likely more people would die of starvation in Europe than were killed by the two bombs, here was a topic that would tax the ingenuity of entertainers in search of a jest. Murrow's grim suggestion may not be too far-fetched. Recently the New York *Times* ran a joyous editorial in praise of the return of the abundant life—reduced ration points, 20 per cent increases in meat supplies, a bumper turkey crop "with the promise that carries for heavily laden Thanksgiving tables." Apparently, said the *Times,* "the situation remains tight only for fats, oils, and sugar." (The restoration of whipping cream was announced a day later.) The same issue of the *Times* carried first-hand reports of Europe's food outlook. Herbert Lehman, returning on the Queen Elizabeth, said Europe was in for a grim winter. Roy C. Hendrickson, deputy director of UNRRA, said that while shipments of relief supplies were being increased, there were acute shortages that could only partially be met. In the matter of fats and oils UNRRA has been able to do nothing to improve a European diet of eight to twelve pounds a year compared with an American level which never fell below forty-five pounds even in the "tight" period to which the *Times* referred. It seems to us that our authorities are misjudging the American people if they assume we are eager to return to bountiful living while Europe and the rest of the world starve. Let's keep rationing strict if thereby Europe can get more meats *and* fats. Let's be quick about advancing credits if it means food supplies to France, Belgium, Great Britain, and other countries not serviced by UNRRA. Let's give UNRRA promptly the appropriation Mr. Lehman is asking for.

*

PREMIER FERUCCI PARRI HAS REFUSED TO HOLD elections in Italy until a peace treaty has been signed. He may resign rather than yield to the Allies on this point. Parri's resignation might well mean the dissolution of the Committee of National Liberation. Meanwhile the Italians are looking forward to holding a Constitutional Assembly. Actually, no free choice can be made between republic and monarchy while foreign troops occupy the country and a pro-monarchist Allied Commission circumscribes the authority of the government. Premier Parri said to Donald Downes, ONA representative, in a recent interview: "You cannot manufacture democracy without democracy or perform the most significant right of freedom without true freedom; nor is it possible to do either without national autonomy." Under AMG each Italian ministry has its counterpart in the Allied Commission. Recently the commission required the hated Carabinieri to increase its numbers and modernize its equipment. These henchmen of monarchy would supervise the polls if an election were held now. In the north, mayors and provincial administrators have been required to take an oath of allegiance to the King—an oath not required of the Prime Minister himself. Without the bolstering of their position by Allied authority the monarchists would stand little chance: even the Christian Democrats, the largest party in Italy, have publicly acknowledged "the outspoken republican preference in the party ranks." Unless the elections are forced before the signing of the treaty and the departure of AMG, the right would like to see them delayed until "recovery and tranquillity" return. The left, on the other hand, wants the elections immediately after the signing of the treaty.

*

THE FORMULATION OF A PEACE TREATY FOR Italy will present a severe challenge to the statesmanship of the Foreign Ministers of the Big Five now meeting in London, involving as it does an escapable clash of interests. Russia will undoubtedly back Tito's claim to Trieste, while Britain is reported to favor a free port available to all the landlocked Balkan states. A particularly ticklish problem arises in connection with the former Italian colonies. The anti-Soviet clique in the State Department is said to favor returning the colonies to Italy rather than creating a four-power trusteeship in which Russia would be represented. Although the United States has not hesitated to demand a voice in the internal affairs of Bulgaria and Rumania under the terms of the Yalta agreement, this group is strongly opposed to permitting Russia to gain a foothold on the Mediterranean, even in an international arrangement. From Russia's point of view, the whole question may well be viewed as a test of Anglo-American sincerity toward the United Nations Charter. That document clearly provided for trusteeship for former enemy territory, and any effort to hedge on that obligation in the first post-war territorial settlement would threaten United Nations unity.

*

THE SCANDALOUS BEHAVIOR OF THE FASCIST Bavarian government under the noses of the Allied military authorities is new proof that we are far from having won the fight against fascism in Europe. *The Nation* will start publication shortly of a series of articles on this vital subject by Saul K. Padover, a distinguished American writer who has just returned from Germany. Mr. Padover is an expert on government administration, and it would be difficult to find anyone better equipped to tell the American people the truth about American-occupied Germany. But even without his evidence it is plain enough that the fascists in the Bavarian administration, from Minister President Friedrich Schaeffer through Minister of Economics Lange and the acting head of the Ministry of the Interior, August Fischer, are running things to suit themselves. A headline on a recent story by Victor H. Bernstein in *PM* announced that the situation was one which "even the AMG can't stomach." Can Bernstein, who has done such excellent work, really believe that there would be a fascist government in Bavaria if the American government objected? But unless the American government does object, its policy is not "the destruction of the fascist tyranny," as President Roosevelt proclaimed at one of the most crucial moments of the war.

✶

THE GOVERNOR OF TEXAS HOLDS A MAN'S LIFE in his hands. Unless he intervenes, L. C. Akins will be put to death on October 6 because his skin is black. A factual study of the case is set forth in an article by George Clifton Edwards, a Dallas attorney, on page 253 of this issue of *The Nation.* The procedure of the Texas courts in bringing about a conviction for murder and imposing the death sentence is, unfortunately, not exceptional. What is almost impossible to understand is the action—with the honorable dissent of Justices Stone, Black, and Murphy—of the United States Supreme Court in attesting that no grounds existed for throwing out the conviction on the basis of special discrimination. It would almost appear that the court's predilection for permitting the states freedom to experiment in social legislation has been broadened to include freedom to experiment in refined forms of depriving United States citizens of their lives. We appeal to Governor Coke Stevenson to use his prerogative to free the state of Texas from the imminent guilt of legal murder. And we urge our readers, after they have carefully studied Mr. Edwards's analysis, to act in their capacity as American citizens committed to a belief in equal justice and wire the Governor. A man's life may yet be saved and the traditions of American justice vindicated.

✶

PROSPECTS FOR A JOBLESS INSURANCE BILL THAT will see war workers through the reconversion period without severe hardship appear to be slight despite President Truman's urgent plea for such legislation. Since it is obvious that the federal government has a responsibility to the hard-working men and women whose jobs were suddenly terminated by the cancelation of war orders, the opponents of the bill have been careful not to oppose the principle of the proposal. Instead, they have raised the hoary slogan of states' rights to sabotage the Administration's plan for increasing unemployment benefits by federal grants-in-aid. One state official, testifying before the Senate Finance Committee, said that forty states have restrictions preventing them from increasing their unemployment benefits even if they receive federal aid. Behind this technicality—which could easily be removed by the state legislatures—lies the concerted opposition of the state bureaucracies to any move which challenges their political domination. Since the plan would be of great benefit to the persons they are supposed to serve, as well as to the nation as a whole, their attitude provides the strongest argument yet advanced for the abolition of state control over unemployment insurance and the creation of a unified federal system. If it is impossible under the present law to provide equitable benefits for our war workers regardless of the state in which they happened to work, no time should be lost in changing the law. Surely the country does not want to repeat the experiences of the early 1930's, when the states held out against the use of federal funds until millions faced starvation and the states themselves were on the brink of complete economic collapse.

✶

THE DEATH OF VICE-ADMIRAL JOHN SIDNEY McCain within a few hours of his return home is tragic testimony to the terrible effects of modern war on the men who fight it. McCain did not die from a sniper's bullet or a battleship's salvo, but war killed him as surely and as mercilessly as it killed any man who fell in the front lines. Reporters at Pearl Harbor who interviewed him on his way home from Japan remarked the strain and fatigue in his face, and those who knew what ceaseless effort of concentration he brought to his job of commanding the fast carrier force cannot have been too surprised that the sudden release from enormous responsibility and overtaxing work was followed by the stopping of a very stout heart. McCain was one of those extraordinary men who can master a new trade late in life—he received his wings at fifty-two—and go on to become a leader in the field. His sinewy, calculating mind and his enthusiastic embracing of the new potentialities of the naval air arm made him an ideal commander of the spearhead of our Pacific power. An unusual and imaginative command arrangement allowed that power to be applied almost continuously, Halsey and McCain alternating with Spruance and Mitscher as heads of the great Pacific fleet and its fast carrier force. Halsey and McCain carried the fight from Leyte to Tokyo Bay, through the harrowing days of Kamikaze to the triumphant days of searing attacks on the Japanese home islands by our carrier-based aircraft. McCain's planes in the last three months of war sank more than a million tons of enemy shipping and destroyed nearly three thousand enemy aircraft. The strain of that performance cost McCain his life; its brilliance has won him a high place in the annals of American military leaders.

Baruch on the Veterans

THE country has now been given a most comprehensive, detailed, and thoughtful report on the problems of veterans' readjustment to civilian pursuits by Bernard M. Baruch. In the endless stream of articles, books, lectures, and radio programs devoted to the subject, the Baruch report shines like a bright deed in a naughty world. It should become a sort of bible for government officials, Congressmen, and all authorities charged with responsibility for carrying out this most important of America's immediate reconversion tasks. It should serve as a guide to all citizens interested in straight thinking about a subject which has hitherto been befogged in a high incidence of nonsense.

Mr. Baruch strikes to the heart of the matter when he says:

> The solution of the veterans' problems does not—cannot—proceed alone. During the period when our soldiers and sailors will be shedding their uniforms, six to eight million workers in strictly war industries will be shifting jobs or homes. The ultimate goal of any veterans' program must be to restore the returning soldier and sailor to the community—socially, economically, and humanely. This cannot

> be accomplished except as part of the larger program embracing the whole of human demobilization.
>
> One terrible danger of failure may be to set the veteran off from the rest of the nation, cherishing the grievance of having been wronged, at odds with fellow-Americans, his feelings an explosive fuel ready to be ignited by some future demagogue.

These two paragraphs should be pasted in the hats of all who deal with veterans. They set forth the essential objective of veterans' demobilization and the devastating cost of failure.

Implicit in the whole Baruch report is the author's understanding of the central objective of an intelligent program for veterans: "to restore the returning soldier and sailor to the community." He discards the nonsense of attempting to "reward" men who have done deeds for which there can be no adequate reward except in terms of a healthy nation and a peaceful world. He rejects the sentimental theory that we must "do something for veterans" in favor of the sound theory of helping ourselves to achieve our national objectives by making sure the veterans will take their places in the community as productive citizens, not as professional ex-servicemen who are set apart from non-veterans by walls of false distinction—walls which may be built either by disproportionate preference for veterans or by inadequate or faulty assistance.

Central to the success of Mr. Baruch's plan is the appointment of a "single, unforgetful mind" to the post of work director in charge of the entire "human side of demobilization." This post, first suggested in the original Baruch-Hancock report on demobilization eighteen months ago, was formally created in an executive order of a year ago establishing a Retraining and Reemployment Administration. General Frank T. Hines, who was appointed to the post, was prevented by his duties as Veterans' Administrator from doing much in this broader field. General Omar Bradley, to whom the new Baruch report is addressed, has replaced General Hines in the Veterans' Administration, and Hines has now been appointed Minister to Panama. No successor is in sight for head of the Retraining and Reemployment Administration; presumably President Truman is looking for a man of the required caliber for the job. It is a vital appointment, for General Bradley, as Mr. Baruch said, cannot do his own work to best effect without this unifying force outside the Veterans' Administration.

The Baruch report contains six more major recommendations: a clean-cut division between medical and non-medical affairs in the Veterans' Administration, with the creation of a new veterans' medical service under an outstanding director; the establishment of an independent committee to survey every aspect of veterans' medical care and recommend changes to modernize that outdated system; substantial increases in salaries of medical personnel with promotion on the basis of professional ability as opposed to the current initiative-killing system of seniority, closer links with civilian medical centers, and encouragement of research; another committee to recommend simplification of non-medical routines in administration; amendment of the G. I. Bill of Rights to make loan provisions effective over ten years instead of two; and an incentive tax of 25 per cent less than the normal rate to veterans starting new businesses.

All these recommendations seem to us sensible and to the point. They are not entirely original with Mr. Baruch: reporters such as Albert Deutsch and Albert Q. Maisel, whose exposés contributed to General Hines's replacement, have suggested similar reforms in the medical field, and the American Veterans' Committee has proposed action paralleling Mr. Baruch's in all these fields for the past six months. But it is encouraging to have the voice of such a widely respected elder statesman add its authority to the views of a group of veterans of this war, and it is devoutly to be hoped that the President, General Bradley, Congress, and common citizens everywhere will listen to these voices.

Cross-Currents in Japan

DESPITE continued revelations of inhuman Japanese cruelty toward American prisoners of war, the first week after formal surrender passed without any notable stiffening of General MacArthur's policies toward the defeated enemy. Perhaps it is too soon to expect a drastic change. The occupation has been proceeding very slowly. Ten days after the first landings we still had only 32,000 men in Japan. The entry into Tokyo came nearly a week after the formal capitulation. The Japanese have played their cards skilfully to persuade MacArthur to leave their governmental and economic structure intact. No incident has marred the progress of the occupation. The Japanese government appears to have faithfully, if at times tardily, carried out all MacArthur's orders. In an obvious effort to prepare the people for the hardships of the occupation, Premier Higashi-kuni has finally told them that it was Allied power rather than the magnanimity of the Emperor that brought about the sudden end of the war. In his speech before the Diet he frankly admitted that the Japanese had been defeated even before the dropping of the atomic bomb and Russia's entry into the war, and that these events had made their situation impossible.

MacArthur appears to have attacked his new job with more zeal than understanding. He has shown a clear intention to crack down on the Japanese so as to impress upon them the fact of their defeat. He has imposed a curfew on Japanese civilians in the occupation areas, forbidden the sale of alcoholic beverages, announced severe penalties for the acquisition or use of American food or supplies, and ordered Japanese civilians to show a respectful attitude toward Americans. Tokyo Rose, the notorious radio propagandist, has been arrested. But in sharp contrast to these indications of a tougher policy, the Allied High Command has announced that it will use several thousand members of the Kampei-tai, the Japanese counterpart of the Gestapo, to assist the regular police in maintaining order. Presumably they have been chosen because they have police experience and can lift a heavy burden from the limited American occupation forces. Yet as Andrew Roth points out elsewhere in this issue, the chief function of the Kempei-tai has always been the suppression of liberal and democratic groups within Japan. Only if the secret police are wholly suppressed and their documents destroyed can we expect the progressive groups within Japan to gather courage enough to emerge as an effective political force. Under present circumstances it is not surprising that there has been little evidence of the existence of a political movement opposed to the militarists. Kagawa, the noted Christian pacifist, has, however, turned up in Yokohama with the information that some labor unions have reappeared after fourteen years of suppression.

While MacArthur's actions indicate no change in American occupation policies, some hope may be found in the State Department shake-up announced last week in Washington. Eugene Dooman, who has long served as Mr. Grew's right-hand man in determining policies toward Japan, has resigned. His place as chairman of "Swink"—a joint State, War, and Navy Department committee responsible for occupation policy—has been taken by John Carter Vincent, head of the China Division. The importance of this change can hardly be overstated. Dooman and Grew have long urged a lenient policy toward the Emperor and the Japanese industrial and financial leaders so as to preserve "order" within Japan. They were chiefly responsible for the decision to retain the Emperor. Many others in the department, including Under Secretary Acheson and Mr. Vincent, were strongly opposed to the Grew-Dooman policies. Even after Grew's resignation many observers predicted that he would show up in Japan as chief adviser to MacArthur. That danger has apparently been averted. Both Grew and Dooman are definitely out, and an old China hand, George Atcheson, Jr., has been appointed acting adviser to MacArthur. Little is known of Atcheson's views on Japan, but at least he has none of the social ties with the *Zaibatsu* that Grew and Dooman possessed. So far as we have been able to learn, no one with a thorough understanding of the Japanese social and economic structure has been appointed to a high policy-making position either in the State Department or on MacArthur's staff. Even men who have served in China cannot be expected to possess the detailed knowledge that is necessary to guide our policies in Japan unless they have made a special study of the subject. Real knowledge is needed if Japanese militarism is to be eradicated and the first, hesitant shoots of democracy are to be wisely nourished.

The State Department Reorganization

PRESIDENT TRUMAN, with three new appointments, seems to have completed the reorganization of the State Department hierarchy. By far the best of the three is that of Benjamin V. Cohen as Counselor of the department, a post which has been vacant since the death of the respected R. Walton Moore in 1941. Cohen was one of the original "brain trusters"; he and Tom Corcoran made an able team in the early years of the New Deal. We know of no man in public life who has served his country with greater devotion or more selflessness than Cohen. He is a man of scholarly attainment and philosophic insight; his intellectual horizons, and his sympathies, are quite unlike those to which we have been accustomed in this traditionally bloodless and bureaucratic agency. To have a progressive of Cohen's caliber in the No. 3 position—he will rank next to Under Secretary Acheson—will be a real change in a department which has had so many meaningless "reorganizations."

We cannot record the same satisfaction with the other two new appointments announced by the President on the recommendation of Secretary Byrnes. Neither man is known or tested. William Benton succeeds Archibald MacLeish as Assistant Secretary in Charge of Cultural and Public Relations. Little is known of Benton's views on foreign policy except that, unlike MacLeish, he was rather isolationist-minded before Pearl Harbor. Benton was formerly a partner in Benton and Bowles, the advertising firm, and has since been vice-president of the University of Chicago. At the university he distinguished himself chiefly by trying to inject big-business methods into education, to the detriment of education. Less is known of the other Assistant Secretary, Donald S. Russell of Spartanburg, South Carolina. He was a law partner of Byrnes and is expected to handle the department's relations with Congress.

How would one size up the new State Department? At the top, under Byrnes, are four able men—Under Secretary Acheson, Counselor Cohen, Assistant Secretary William L. Clayton, and the new Assistant Secretary for Latin America, Spruile Braden. *The Nation* was critical of Clayton on his appointment but must in all fairness note the fact that he has been making an excellent record in the department. Braden's vigor at Buenos Aires promises well for his work in Washington. Acheson and Cohen are old friends and close associates; they seem to agree on basic questions of policy, and one suspects that Clayton and Braden will also be in general agreement with them. These four are the nucleus for a department really equipped to handle foreign policy with understanding and efficiency.

Elsewhere one sees unknown quantities and one leftover from the striped-pants era. The leftover is Cordell Hull's old croquet partner, "Jimmy" Dunn, who is Assistant Secretary in Charge of European, Far Eastern, Near Eastern, and African Affairs (no less). The unknown quantities, in addition to Russell and Benton, are Frank McCarthy and Walter Brown. McCarthy succeeded Julius Holmes as Assistant Secretary in Charge of Personnel; any successor to the reactionary Holmes would probably be a change for the better. Brown, a Spartanburg, South Carolina, radio-station operator, is confidential adviser to Byrnes on public relations. Like Russell, he is quite new to foreign affairs.

Thus even at the top the "reorganization to end reorganizations" is only partially satisfactory. And in an old-established agency like the State Department shake-ups must extend deep down into the permanent bureaucracy if they are to have any substantial and wholesome effect. The news that Eugene Dooman has resigned as our principal adviser on Far Eastern affairs indicates that some changes at least are planned on the lower levels. Such changes are essential if the department is adequately to fulfil the new obligations it has assumed in fields formerly handled by the Office of War Information, the Foreign Economic Administration, and the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.

The Truman Program

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, September 9

I HAVE been out of Washington for most of the summer, and there is much I have to learn. But I would like to venture a few observations in the wake of the President's message to Congress.

1. To understand the message and what is happening here one must keep in mind that Administration utterance, thought, and action reflect three diverse approaches to post-war problems. On what may best be termed the *theological* level the Administration bows the knee to "free enterprise"; the message invokes "free enterprise" fervently, as do the backers of the full-employment bill. A psychologist might say that the fervor of the worshipers increases in direct ratio to the volume of their secret doubts, for on the *practical* level the White House and its progressive allies are asking for a legislative program based on the belief that without extensive government intervention at many points in the economy full employment is unattainable. One would not need a full-employment bill if "free enterprise" were as magical as it is represented to be in the current liturgy. But there is more to the picture than these contrasting "theological" and practical attitudes. On the *emotional* level still another attitude is visible. The mood of the White House and of Democratic Party leadership generally seems to be as optimistic as that of the Republicans. The President remains, as he has always been, a New Dealer. It is the momentum of the New Deal, the logical consequences of its basic assumptions, the experience of the past, and the pressure of organized labor rather than any feeling of impending emergency which underlies the President's program. Basically, the President, like most Americans at this moment, feels that "everything is going to be all right." There is a mystic faith in "pent-up" demand. There is an all too human failure of the imagination. We have been enjoying a fully employed economy for almost five years and find it hard to imagine any really drastic change. It is this mood which accounts for two facts, one about the Administration, the other about the President's program. The President has a New Deal program, but his Administration, in its actual operating personnel, is less New Dealish even than Roosevelt's was after 1940: no one with a sense of urgency would bring so many mediocre politicians and conventional minds into posts of crucial importance. It is this which gives so many people here the feeling that the New Deal is over, though the President's program calls for its extension. The optimistic mood of the moment also explains why Truman recommends an immediate large-scale public-works program. The works on which immediate action is asked—public buildings and highways—are minor. The major projects—regional TVA's and housing—are presented in long-range terms. Should coming unemployment be as severe as some of the ablest economists on lower Administration levels believe, we shall be caught unprepared, and the jobless will have to rake leaves again.

2. The President in his message has gone all out for a progressive program. He is for higher unemployment compensation and an increase in minimum wages under the Fair Labor Standards Act. He is for the full-employment bill and for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee. He is for slum clearance and for a federal research agency, as long advocated by his friend Senator Kilgore. He asks for repeal of the Johnson Act, for interim lending power to fill the gap left by the sudden cessation of Lend-Lease, and for an additional contribution of $1,350,000,000 for UNRRA. He wants a system of crop insurance, and he recommends only limited tax reductions. The little man from Missouri has courage.

But it will take more than courage to put this program over. Even the leader of a party newly come to power, with a full range of patronage at his disposal, could hardly hope to overcome all the special interests and prejudices sure to be antagonized by this program. Without an economic crisis and the public awakening it brings, little of this program can be enacted. If a large volume of unemployment develops quickly, Truman has a chance to put it over. If the crisis comes later, he must gamble politically on the advantage of having had a concrete program. He can blame the opposition for having defeated measures that might have prevented the crisis. The advantage of his politically bold message is that it clarifies the issues for 1946 and 1948, and behind this strategy is the sound observation that the Democratic Party nationally has never got anywhere except as a left-of-center party.

The Republicans will fight. The honeymoon is over. The reaction of the GOP Congressional leaders was curiously 1920-ish. They put their research experts to work estimating how much the Truman program *would cost.* They are thinking in terms of fiscal economy and "normalcy," and their statements bristle with the old horrid words that failed so signally against Roosevelt—"boot-strap legislation," "deficit financing," "regimentation." They are staking their hopes on a quick and fairly successful reconversion, with enough employment and business activity to keep the middle classes fairly content and thus to make possible a successful campaign on—as Chairman Halleck of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee expressed it—"the old-fashioned issue of conservatism."

But this is not the whole of their strategy as it seems to be developing in Congress. The fight against higher unemployment compensation indicates that they will let conservative Southern Democrats take the leadership and the blame on the more unpopular issues. And Taft's amendments to the full-employment bill show that they will not risk frontal attacks on the basic measure but will seek instead to confuse the issue and accomplish their purpose by indirection. Last winter Taft sounded like a cross between Martin Dies ("with a Communist plot") and a sectarian Soviet ideologist (full employment can be made possible only by the socialist construction of society) when he discussed the full-employment bill. Now he claims to be all for its purposes but wants some "clarifying" amendments. The most important of these would take the right to work and clarify it as existence. Unfortunately for Taft, the demand for full employment is too fundamental to be sidetracked by the kind of legalistic trickery one might use successfully in wringing a mortgage or bond indenture.

3. The fundamental issue shaping up here is between those who want a fully employed economy and those who think they can get along profitably even if there is a large volume of unemployment. That a full-employment economy is the more profitable is demonstrated in the new War Production Board report on the effect of the war on the industrial economy. Despite high wages and high taxes, low costs per unit of output under conditions of all-out production boosted profits, after taxes, by 120 per cent over 1940 and to a point far over 1929. The basic question raised by the WPB report is whether our expanded metal-working and chemical industries will shrink back to fit our pre-war economy or whether our economy will be expanded to fit these enlarged productive possibilities. The question is already being answered: capacity and output are being reduced in many of these industries. In part this is due to habitual patterns. "The modern industrial economy," the WPB report says in a sentence which deserves immortality, "has always been characterized by the low degree of utilization of its existing plant." The individual enterpriser operating on his own is safest when working within a comfortable margin of scarcity, including scarcity of jobs; thus prices are held up and wages down.

On paper, partial employment seems to have its advantages. The September 1 issue of *Business Week* estimates that if the excess-profits tax is repealed, business during the coming year can earn higher net profits than the war-time peak, even with 9,000,000 unemployed. "Why, then," the average business man may ask himself, "sail out on the uncharted seas of economic planning?" But what if the economy declines to stay neatly poised at a level profitable to the owners of industry, though miserable for many millions of jobless? What if a deflationary spiral sets in? Wouldn't the average business man be better off in an economy planned for full employment, however painful that might be to the sacred cow of "free enterprise"? It is on the answer to these questions that momentous changes will depend in the not so distant future of the U. S. A.

Palestine—a World Responsibility

BY ROBERT F. WAGNER

(United States Senator from New York)

PALESTINE should no longer be discussed dispassionately. The period of inquiry, investigation, and calm debate is long behind us. Detachment has ceased to be a virtue. Today Palestine cries aloud for indignation. In Palestine international promises have been broken, loyalty and fidelity have been unrequited, hostility has been appeased, and human life has been subordinated to the mysterious demands of imperial policy. The miracle is that, despite all this, Jewish Palestine has throughout the war been a bastion of security to the United Nations and is today the most successful pioneering effort of modern history.

The war is over. The military considerations which have restrained official expression of America's views on the Palestine issue are no longer germane. Plain speech and forthright action are prime essentials in the peace-making era we have now entered. The problem of the Jewish National Home will not indefinitely hang on the vine. It is overripe for action now.

In 1917 the Jews of the world were assured of the opportunity to establish a national home in Palestine. This assurance was formally announced by the British in the Balfour Declaration. This declaration was not a secret commitment. It was an open covenant, openly arrived at. It was not the product of a sentimental whim on the part of Lord Balfour but the result of long negotiations with Britain's allies, the United States and the Arab leadership. It was a solemn undertaking by the British government designed to help win the war and to contribute to the solution of the age-old problem of Jewish homelessness and insecurity. The Congress of the United States in 1922 expressed its approval of the Balfour Declaration. In 1923, by the grant of the League of Nations and Britain's acceptance, Great Britain became the mandatory for Palestine. By the terms of the mandate Great Britain assumed responsibility "for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home," as provided in the Balfour Declaration.

It seemed as if at last, after long centuries of suffering, persecution, and wandering, the Jews were to attain one objective on which they were predominantly united, the establishment of a national home, legally secured and publicly recognized. Since that time no political party and no responsible statesman, either in Great Britain or in the United States, has ever publicly questioned the wisdom of the high decision taken in 1917. Every American President since Wilson has reaffirmed American approval and support of the grand undertaking. In 1944 both the Democratic and the Republican National Convention adopted platform planks advocating the fullest opportunity for the establishment of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. Before the recent British elections the Labor Party was unequivocal in its advocacy of the Jewish National Home.

And, indeed, no one can question either the wisdom or the success of the enterprise. The opportunity which was extended to them was embraced by the Jews with unanticipated ardor. They have poured their blood and sweat, their toil and treasure into the neglected, physically and spiritually desecrated land. In twenty-five years the Jewish population of Palestine grew from 80,000 to over 500,000. They introduced modern agriculture and industry. They have literally caused the desert to bloom. Out of their efforts has come a higher standard of living for both Jew and Arab, a standard above that of any of the surrounding countries. Tremendous progress has been achieved in health and sanitation—between 1929 and 1940 the Arab death rate in Palestine declined 33 1/3 per cent. A great university has been founded. Education is widespread. The ancient tongue of the Hebrew Prophets is today the vernacular of the shopkeepers of Tel Aviv.

Most heartwarming has been the transformation effected in the bearing and morale of the once poverty-stricken, hopeless, and despondent pioneers who rebuilt themselves even as they replenished the land with their sweat. No one who shares my faith in the inherent capacity of the human soul to flourish under conditions of peace and freedom can fail to experience a high sense of elation.

Thus it has come to pass that, despite all manner of obstacle created by man and nature, the foundations of a Jewish commonwealth have been established. One would suppose that such success, exceeding the most ardent expectations, would enlist an ever-growing measure of support from the mandatory power. Such has not been the course of history. This is not the place to explore the overt and covert motives which diverted Britain's policy from its publicly assumed obligations. Indeed, they are irrelevant. The facts themselves are of record. The whittling-down process began almost at the birth of the enterprise. The mortal blow was struck in 1939. In that year, when European Jewry was undergoing martyrdom at the hands of Hitler, when refugees fortunate enough to escape the torture chambers and crematoriums were naturally turning toward Palestine as a sanctuary and a haven, the Chamberlain government issued the infamous White Paper. This pronouncement limited Jewish immigration into Palestine to an aggregate of 75,000 over the succeeding five-year period—thereafter it forbade Jewish immigration altogether except with Arab consent; it severely restricted the purchase of land by Jews; and it consigned the Jewish community of Palestine to a permanent minority status in its own national home. By thus yielding to Nazi propaganda Great Britain hoped to win Arab support. It succeeded only in losing the Arabs' respect.

The new policy was adopted unilaterally without consultation with the League of Nations—the source of Britain's rights in Palestine—or with the United States, and it was put into effect over the express disapproval of the Mandates Commission. As recently as March 9, 1944, President Roosevelt declared that the American government had never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939.

The new regulations were a barefaced breach of Britain's obligation "to *facilitate* Jewish immigration . . . to encourage close settlement on the land . . . to secure the establishment of a Jewish National Home." Their passage has fittingly been called by one of Britain's foremost statesmen an act of "moral bankruptcy." These words may sound harsh, especially when applied to a great and brave ally with whom we have just fought shoulder to shoulder in a war to save civilization. But the words are true, and they are pale and mild in comparison to the stout language used by Winston Churchill in 1939 when he scornfully dissociated himself from the White Paper.

Only one circumstance explains, though it does not excuse, the issuance of the White Paper. It was written as part of that sad chapter in the history of England when its government counseled its people to stray after false idols in the groves of appeasement. Nothing, however, explains the continuance of that policy. By common sacrifice we have repudiated Munich. Appeasement is everywhere discredited. Only the Chamberlain White Paper survives, the sorry souvenir of former folly.

Time and again in this last frightful decade Jewish spokesmen have pleaded for something more than professions of sympathy. More than a year ago Senator Johnson of Colorado pointed out that Hitler was murdering more Jews each day than Britain was admitting into Palestine in a year. But today, when there are no military considerations to obscure the cruelty of this illegal policy, the gates of Palestine are still barred to Jews. The officials who today keep the doors of Palestine locked are British officials; the regulations which obstruct Jewish land purchases are British regulations; the power which is preventing the development of the Jewish National Home is British power.

It was Mr. Churchill who said before he attained the Prime Ministry, "Either there will be a Britain which knows how to keep its word on the Balfour Declaration and is not afraid to do so, or, believe me, we shall find ourselves relieved of many overseas responsibilities other than those comprised within the Palestine mandate."

So far I have said very little about the Arabs. A wag is reported to have declared that if the Arabs hadn't been in Palestine, the British Colonial Office would have invented them. Internal division is reputed to be a useful tool in the hands of colonial administrators. If by Arabs we mean the inarticulate masses, we can judge their opinion by their conduct. In the twenty years from 1920 to 1940 the Arab population of Palestine has increased from 650,000 to over a million. Within Palestine there has been an internal migration from Arab districts into Jewish districts. The Arabs came because in the Jewish communities they received higher wages, enjoyed better health and sanitation, and received a fair opportunity to educate their children. Their alleged hostility to the Jews did not keep them away. A different attitude is prevalent among the feudal masters, who look with understandable suspicion upon the lifting of the Arab's standard of living and the awakening of his self-esteem.

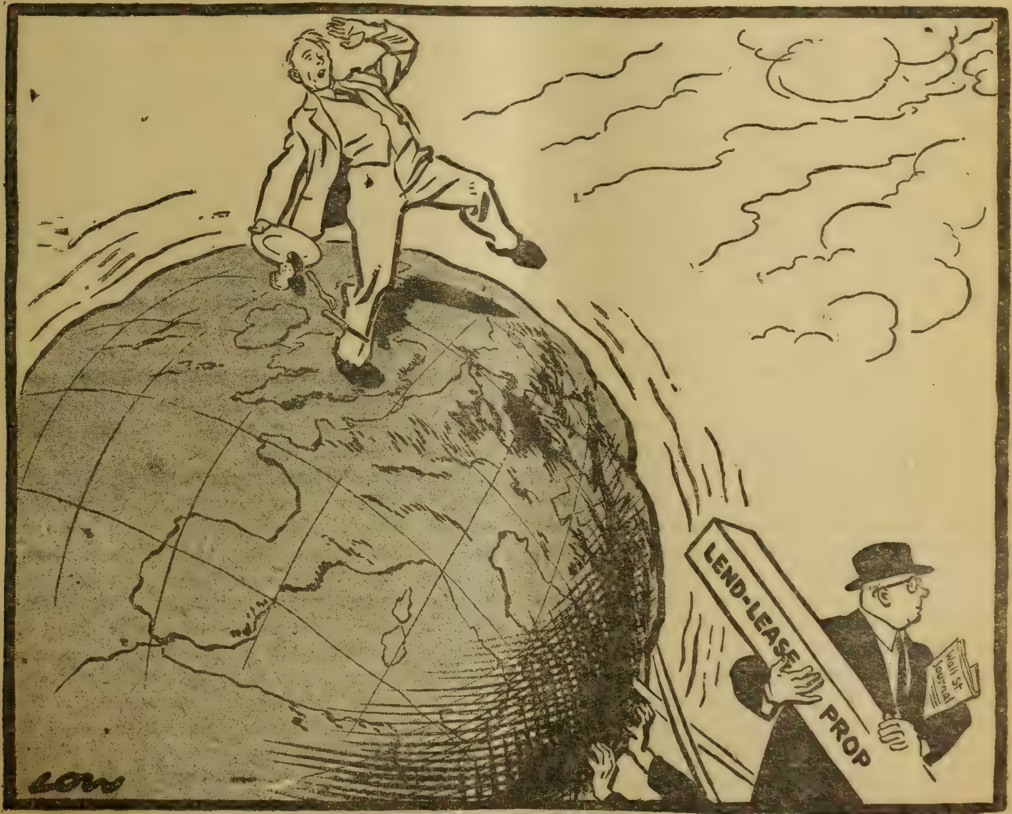
It is true that there has been a birth of nationalism among the Arabs which is entitled to find a peaceful expression. As a result of World War I the Arabs obtained a magnificent opportunity for such expression. An Arab empire was created of more than a million square miles, comprising the states of Iraq, Syria, Transjordan, and Saudi Arabia. These states are underpopulated, undeveloped, and afford more than ample room for growth for centuries to come. It should not be forgotten that at the Peace Conference following World War I the Arab delegation through its leader, Emir Feisal, approved the Zionist proposals. A Jewish Palestine with an area of 10,000 square miles, as Feisal well said, in no way interferes with the growth of a healthy Arab nationalism. On the contrary, by the renascence of the Near East which Palestine promotes it accelerates the attainment of Arab aspirations.

Some of these facts have become obscured in Arab political thinking as a result of the discovery that England was disposed to falter on the Palestine obligation. Undoubtedly it will take greater effort for Britain to retrieve its position than if it had adhered firmly to the true course from the beginning. Regardless of difficulty, however, is it not time by deed to demonstrate to the whole world, including the Arab leaders, that statecraft has returned to its faith in the sanctity of the plighted word and that the tragic era of international gangsterism is at an end?

I am sure that our British allies are not in doubt concerning the attitude of the American people in this matter. Undoubtedly they know that only the strongest and highest suggestions of military necessity restrained the Congress from expressing its views in the midst of war. Now that hostilities are over, America's conviction is all the stronger that the Balfour Declaration should be executed fully, expeditiously, and faithfully. That means, in the words of Lloyd George, "that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a national home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish commonwealth."

It is heartbreaking to consider how many human lives might have been saved had Palestine remained wide open. At least the tragedy which is behind us ought to spur us to more responsible action with respect to the small remnant of European Jewry which has escaped. The lot of these Jews is deplorable beyond description. They have been despoiled of their possessions and uprooted from their homes and associations. They have been physically starved and spiritually crushed. All about them is the poison of bigotry, with which Hitler drenched the minds of their neighbors. The summary fact is that Palestine is indispensable not only to the rehabilitation of these human beings but to the health of Europe. Without Palestine the problem almost defies solution.

Palestine is a world problem in a more elevated sense than that it is the crossroads connecting the world's great empires. Palestine is the crucible in which will be tested the ability of the powerful to deal faithfully with the weak. The Christian world has Palestine on its conscience. If it would regain its moral self-respect, it must promptly do justice to Palestine.



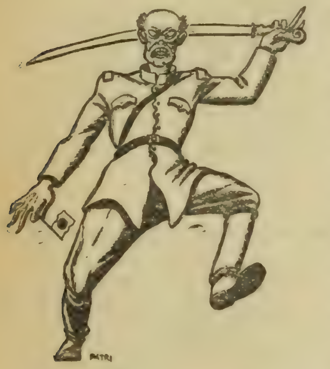
OI! TAKE IT EASY!

Japan's Police Terror

BY ANDREW ROTH

(Author of the recently published "Dilemma in Japan" and of other books on the Far East; intelligence officer in the Navy during the war. Owen Lattimore says of Roth, "He represents the younger school of American experts who are not blinded, as are so many older experts, by myths which even the Japanese do not believe.")

AS AMERICAN forces move into Japan for occupation duties the question of the hour is: Are we taking over or are we being taken in? Some of the more obvious plans of the Japanese oligarchy for a future comeback have already been spotted. The launching of officially sponsored "sound" political organizations with a variety of labels, including "liberal" and "socialist," was an amateurish and heavy-handed move. Similarly, it is plain that the Emperor institution, perhaps the most effective instrument of internal suppression and external aggression ever devised, is being exploited by Japan's real rulers to shield them from blame for defeat and to enable them to keep control of the populace in the turbulent months ahead. But little attention has been paid to their preparations for reorganizing and buttressing Japan's Gestapo-like police, which will have a key role in the oligarchy's efforts to subvert the Potsdam terms and prevent the emergence of any authentic democratic and anti-fascist elements.



Informed political scientists have frequently referred to Japan as the "absolute police state." Even before its modernization the government had a wide network of secret political police. In the course of the modernization this police force was expanded by the addition of many former samurai and streamlined for greater efficiency. It then set to work to suppress peasant uprisings and to cripple the liberal movement of the 1880's, which threatened to broaden the Meiji reformation from an industrial and governmental facelifting into an authentic democratic revolution.

In the 1920's this police played an even more nefarious role. After World War I the influence of the democratic idealism of Wilson and of the economic radicalism of Lenin, added to economic dislocation and distress, aroused a considerable section of the population to demand democratic reforms. A broad movement developed which favored universal suffrage, democratic government, and freedom of speech, press, and assembly. A wave of illegal strikes proclaimed the demands of industrial workers for higher wages, legal trade unionism, the right to strike, and social security. Share-cropping farmers organized peasants' unions and agitated for reduction of the feudal rents, the usurious interest rates, and the monopoly-swollen price of fertilizer. Women of all classes demanded an end to their serf-like status.

These movements were strong enough to force concessions from the oligarchy. But each concession was virtually nullified by increased police repression. Industrial workers were permitted to strike, but if they availed themselves of this right they were beaten up by jingoist thugs encouraged by the police, or jailed and beaten by the police themselves. Universal male suffrage was reluctantly granted in 1925, but almost simultaneously the so-called "Law Against Dangerous Thoughts" was passed granting the police complete freedom of action to arrest anyone who desired or even discussed changes in the autocratic state structure.

Wave upon wave of police raids decimated the leadership and terrorized the following of the groups desiring democratic reforms. Yukio Ozaki, the veteran democratic spokesman, has for some years had several policemen stationed in front of his house scrutinizing and harassing all his visitors. Even before her arrest in 1937 Baroness Ishimoto, the courageous feminist and social reformer, was under constant police surveillance. Once when she spoke to the copper miners at Ashio three police inspectors stood behind the fragile noblewoman to make sure she said nothing "dangerous." Yuki Ikeda, one of the Baroness's coworkers, was handled less gently. The police jailed her repeatedly and on one occasion broke all her fingers in an effort to stop her from agitating for decent conditions for working women. Wataru Kaji, leader of the Japanese Anti-War League, based at Chungking, was so frequently jailed and beaten that it became advisable for him to leave Japan and continue his anti-fascist activities from China.

Since all forward-looking political movements in the past have been crippled by police action, it is particularly distressing that the recent moves of the Japanese ruling groups to increase police terror have gone unchallenged. There was no public comment on Prince Higashi-kuni's appointment of Iwao Yamazaki to the strategic post of Home Minister, where he controls some 200,000 government employees, including the police, and is charged with the supervision of elections. Yamazaki is an authoritarian bureaucrat with extensive experience in police work. He has served as director of the Police Bureau and of Tokyo's Metropolitan Police Board and was ruthless enough to qualify as Vice-Minister of Home Affairs under General Tojo. His appointment was hailed by Japan's totalitarian press, which also called upon the government to enlarge the already swollen police force so as to enable it to suppress any "internal friction" or "clash of divergent opinions" and maintain "unification and solidarity." In broadcasts to the United States glib Japanese propagandists explain that an increased police force is required to hold down fire-eating nationalists. It is much more likely that the fire-eaters are being recruited into the police force to suppress democrats and leftists, as was done in Germany at the end of the last war. Military fascist officers, no longer able to commit atrocities against Allied prisoners and conquered peoples, can now devote their grisly talents to torturing the inmates of Japan's crowded political prisons.

It is to be feared that during the past few weeks the police have been slaughtering these political prisoners as a means of depriving the anti-fascist movement of experienced leadership. There is a notable precedent for this. Under cover of the great earthquake of 1923 nine leftist labor leaders were stabbed to death in jail and their bodies secretly burned by the police. Two weeks after the earthquake Saka Osugi, the intellectual leader of the Anarchists, together with his mistress and nephew, was strangled in a Tokyo jail by a captain of police. And just recently Russian troops entering the Japanese half of Sakhalin Island discovered the bodies of political prisoners who had been slashed to death with knives.

Unless strong Allied measures put an end to such police activities, forward-looking forces in Japan may be crippled at precisely the most propitious moment for their growth. All the evidence at hand indicates unrest and dissatisfaction in wide sectors of the population. If the dam of police suppression were broken, the currents of unrest might very well be combined into a broad movement to democratize Japan's political and economic structure and dig out the roots of aggression.

It is within our power to give Japan's democrats the opportunity they have earned by their years of battling the ruthless brutality of the police. The liquidation of the existing police organization should stand as high on our agenda in Japan as the elimination of the Gestapo did in Germany. The Potsdam terms call for the removal of "all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people." Anything less than complete reform of the police system will make a mockery of our victory.

The Hollywood Incident

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

ON DECEMBER 2, 1944, the Hood River, Oregon, Post of the American Legion removed the names of sixteen Japanese Americans from the honor roll of the community. With scarcely a single exception, the newspapers of the nation condemned the action as essentially un-American. A minor chorus of protest developed within the Legion: Wolverine Post No. 360 in Detroit, Captain Belvedere Brooks Post No. 450 in New York, Cheney Post No. 72 in Seattle, Justice Department Post No. 41 in Washington, D. C., David Latkin Post in New York, and Don E. Brown Post No. 592 in Los Angeles passed resolutions condemning the action as being contrary to Legion policy and practice. The incident placed the Legion officials in an extremely embarrassing position. They feared that it might turn many veterans of World War II against the Legion. Largely with this consideration in mind, the National Commander of the Legion issued a statement repudiating the action of the Hood River Post and suggesting that the stricken names be restored to the honor roll.

Among the Legion posts most deeply concerned was Hollywood World War II Post No. 591, with a membership of approximately four hundred. As the first World War II post, it had been carefully watched and especially encouraged by the Legion hierarchy in California. In December, 1944, in the second bulletin issued by the Americanism Committee of Post 591, its chairman, William Kent, had published a vigorous statement against intolerance toward Japanese Americans and in defense of the principle of racial equality. Following the issuance of this bulletin, Post 591, at a regular meeting held on January 9, 1945, unanimously adopted a strong resolution condemning the action of the Hood River Post, and admitted into membership an honorably discharged veteran of World War II, Harley M. Oka, a young Nisei with a spotless record and an excellent reputation. Both actions were hailed by many newspapers as proof that the Legion, as an organization, did not condone racial discrimination.

William Kent felt rather proud of the good work his committee had done in furtherance of a policy which apparently had the approval of the National Commander. But on January 16 he received the following communication from the Commander of the 24th District (of which Post 591 is a part):

> Dear Comrade Kent:
>
> You are hereby removed as a member of the Americanism Committee of this district; for the good of the Legion.
>
> A careful investigation of your activities, speeches, and writings reveals your criticism of the mandates, policies, and programs and that your tactics too closely resemble the "plan" of those rabble-rousers and un-American groups which are so hostile to the ideals of the American Legion.
>
> We cannot permit such activities to be cloaked with the respectability of membership on the Americanism Committee of this district.
>
> P. A. Horton, Commander
> 24th District, American Legion

Needless to say, Kent was amazed. He later asked for, and received, an overwhelming vote of confidence from Post 591. To indicate its further disapproval of Horton's action, Post 591 withdrew all its members who were serving, as Kent had been serving, on committees of the 24th District.

On January 23 Post 591 held a regularly scheduled meeting. Commander William Schneider was in the chair, and the meeting was about ready to transact its regular business when District Commander Horton, without prior notification or announcement, entered the hall with six men who were not members of Post 591. After having marched up to the platform, Horton motioned William Schneider, commander of Post 591, away from the microphone and curtly announced: "Comrades, as District Commander, it becomes my unpleasant duty to take over this meeting." He was immediately challenged by the adjutant and other members of the post, who raised a point of order. Attention was called to the fact that Horton was not acting in accordance with the constitution of the California Department of the Legion or with its national constitution. He was also pointedly reminded of the fact that he had not been invited to attend the meeting, much less to address the assembled members of Post 591. Commander Horton's reply to the point of order was: "You are members of the 24th District whether you like it or not."

Over continuing objections Horton then began to lecture the members of the post. "This program of the Japanese," he said, "is one with which you are not familiar. You could not be familiar with it." After some more in the same vein, he introduced John R. Lechner, B.D., LL.D. Dr. Lechner was not a member of Post 591, nor had he been invited to speak. Born in Innsbruck, Austria, he is a naturalized citizen. He received the degree of doctor, however, not from the University of Innsbruck, but as an honorary degree from the "Metropolitan University" of Los Angeles, with which, as a resident of Los Angeles for over twenty years, I am not familiar. The United States Office of Education seems not to be familiar with it either, for it is not listed in its Educational Directory. Dr. Lechner operates through an organization known as the Americanism Educational League, which is his *alter ego*. Long known as a violent Nisei-baiter on the West Coast, he is the author of a pamphlet entitled "Playing with Dynamite," full of old wives' tales about the resident Japanese. Although Lechner had been expressly repudiated as a spokesman for the Legion by the California Department (see the *California Legionnaire*, January 14, 1944), Horton apparently felt that he was just the person to lecture the members of Post 591 on "Americanism."

Disclaiming any prejudice against persons of Japanese descent, Dr. Lechner proceeded to tell the members of Post 591 that "the Japanese colony in the United States was guilty of things that no other racial group in America would have been guilty of." "If I hold a glass of cream in my hand," he said, "what would happen if I put water in it? It was yellow cream, rich cream, and if I put water in and kept pouring water into that cream there would be nothing left but a glassful of dirty, inky water that looked like dishwater. Comrades, you can talk American citizenship and Americanism, but if you put all the rot and dirt of the world in it you will have little left that is clean and pure and like the citizenship that our fathers had." (Official transcript, page 26.)

After Dr. Lechner's mess of metaphors Commander Horton stepped to the microphone again and charged the post with having been *intolerant* in admitting Oka to membership! Basing his remarks on an Americanism Manual of the Legion, he made this strange statement:

> We know full well in the Legion, and we insist in the Legion, that totalitarian nations have a right to maintain the form of government they want. It is none of our affair. We are not interested. But we are determined that they are not going to force their form of government on us, and any battles we have against communism, fascism, Nazism, or any other form of ism are for the protection of our American way of life, not from any particular animosity to any particular group, but the Communist Party has infiltrated into every organization, *and the method and manner of your handling this whole situation smells to high heaven of the tactics pursued by the usual Communist group.* (Transcript, page 31, italics mine.)

Horton then marched out with his escort. After he had left, William Kent got the floor. "I have not done any speaking or writing outside my own post," he said. "I am a business man, not a politician, not one who wants to impose his opinions on anybody else. I have given you factual reports, and I repeat again that I stand behind every word I said. . . . I want to know this, is backing up the United States Constitution and precepts un-American? Am I a rabble-rouser or not?" The answer was a vote of confidence from the post.

After this meeting the Los Angeles *Herald* of January 25 carried a story with the headline: "Blame Legion 'Radicals.' District Chief Explains Row on Hollywood Jap." In this story Horton was quoted as having said that Post 591 had "kidnapped" Oka from Santa Ana to induct him into membership as a publicity stunt. (Oka had not lived in Santa Ana for six years.) The Los Angeles *Examiner* of the same date carried a similar story. Following the appearance of these stories Post 591, on January 29, wired E. W. Bolt, Department Commander for California, requesting an immediate investigation of the conduct of Commander Horton and an apology from Horton to the post and its officials.

In the meantime, so I am informed, the national officers of the Legion had become thoroughly concerned over "the Hollywood Post incident." Here was a District Commander who had insulted the officers and members of a post made up of veterans of World War II over a matter in which the post had, in effect, merely followed the lead of the National Commander. Seeing in this incident an issue that might possibly alienate thousands of World War II veterans from the Legion, the National Commander, so I am reliably informed, urgently requested the State Commander to heal the breach between Post 591 and Commander Horton. Unfortunately, the State Commander felt that the issue was "too hot" for him to handle and appointed a five-man committee to investigate the charges filed by Post 591.

Eventually the committee came to Hollywood and held hearings on the charges. At these hearings Commander Horton, through his counsel, denied that the admission of Oka to membership in Post 591 was even an issue in the dispute! On the contrary, it seems that what he really objected to were "certain irregularities" in the post's bookkeeping procedures and the fact that Oka's membership had not been "processed" as required by the by-laws. It was established at the hearings, however, that Oka had been admitted to membership along with thirty other applicants and by precisely the same process; that he had not been "kidnapped"; that his application had been secured in the normal routine of recruiting new members; that he was a bona fide resident of the community; and that his application had been regularly checked, investigated, and cleared.

Before these hearings took place, however, something rather extraordinary occurred. One day late in January two deputy sheriffs from the "subversive detail" of the sheriff's office called at the place of business where Commander Schneider was employed and stated, in the presence of his employers and coworkers, that they were there for the purpose of "interrogating him in regard to the taking into the post of an American citizen of Japanese descent." They also volunteered the information that the investigation was being conducted at the request of the Department Commander. An hour later the same investigators appeared at the home of Kent, made similar statements, and demanded the address of Oka—which Kent refused to give them. Upon investigation, Ben Beery, attorney for Kent and Schneider, discovered that on January 30 Commander Horton had gone to George Contreras, head of the "subversive detail," complained that a "radical or Communist influence" had infiltrated Post 591, and requested that a criminal investigation be launched. At the hearing Horton explained this extraordinary request by saying that he and Contreras were members of the same Legion committee on "radical research" and that he had asked the latter to make the investigation as a member of this committee rather than as the head of the "subversive detail" of the sheriff's office!

The committee finally submitted a report to the state Commander. In general, the report was a complete whitewash of the incident. As originally submitted to the Department Commander, however, it sharply criticized the District Commander for his lack of tact and for some of the remarks he had made. But when the report was approved by the state executive board even these reprimands were deleted. Upon the issuance of the final report, William Kent, William James, Commander Schneider, Sergeant Leo Shibley, and Harley M. Oka resigned from Post 591. The report was published in full in the *California Legionnaire* under the caption, Hollywood Incident Now Over.

But is the Hollywood Incident really closed? Does the National Commander propose to submit this record to the veterans of World War II as a test of the American Legion's attitude on racial issues? Does the Legion intend to let this kangaroo trial stand as an example of the democratic character of its procedures?

The final board of appeal has not yet passed judgment on the Hollywood Incident. That board will be made up of 11,000,000 veterans of World War II, whose attitude was indicated in another West Coast "incident." Recently Spokane Post 51 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars rejected the membership applications of two wounded Japanese Americans. Upon hearing of this action, Sergeant Edward P. Salsich and 457 other overseas veterans at the army's Baxter Hospital in Spokane formed a "veterans' anti-prejudice committee." To Sergeant Salsich, Colonel V. R. Miller, commanding officer of the Nisei 442nd Infantry Regiment in Italy, wired: "To say that we are shocked by the reasons given by the post in rejecting one of our own men for membership is to put it mildly." He added that in 240 days of fighting in the front lines his Nisei regiment sustained 4,349 battle casualties, 2,300 of which were suffered during a three-week battle in the Vosges Mountains of northeastern France. "As the commander of these Japanese American troops," he said, "I can say that no finer soldiers, no finer Americans are in the United States Army. These men are entitled to the same treatment accorded other Americans, for we can win the war only to lose the peace because unthinking Americans violate the principles for which we live and die."

White Justice in Dallas

BY GEORGE CLIFTON EDWARDS

(A Dallas attorney who has had no connection with the Akins trials)

Dallas, Texas, September 4

ON SEPTEMBER 15, 1941, a young Negro, L. C. Akins, left his work as porter in a garage in North Dallas to go to his home across the river, where he had a crippled wife—she had lost both feet in an accident—and one child. He took an Oak Lawn car downtown and about eight o'clock reached his transfer point, intending to take a west-bound car on Commerce Street for Oak Cliff. He got his transfer and with a number of other persons walked toward the entrance of the car he wished to take. He reached the car and mounted the step. In so doing the young Negro either actually brushed ahead of and jostled a young white woman who was also entering the car, or her husband, who was at her elbow, thought he did. At any rate the young white man grabbed the Negro from behind and jerked him from the car to the street. Words, blows, and a fight followed instantly.

The white man, Morris, was a policeman who had been on the force only a short time. He was about six feet tall and weighed 169 pounds. He was not in uniform and displayed no badge, but he carried a pistol. At the beginning of the fight he drew his pistol, struck Akins on the head with it, and then shot him through the body. The two men were close together, fighting desperately, the Negro trying to guard against the pistol and to seize it and the white man trying to strike him with the pistol and to shoot him. In the struggle the white man dropped his pistol. The Negro, Akins, snatched the gun from the ground or out of the air and fired one shot; that shot killed Morris. Akins then walked two blocks to the City Hall and calmly surrendered himself and the gun.

The fight took place in a space about twelve by fourteen feet, between the curb and the car step. Only a few moments elapsed between the alleged jostling and the final shot. The shot that killed the white man came from his own gun, the gun which he had dropped after he had shot the Negro.

Akins was put in jail, denied bail, tried, and given a life sentence. The verdict was reversed, he was tried again, and this time given a death sentence, which has been affirmed. He was to be executed on September 7, 1945, but has obtained a stay of execution to October 6.

If the wounded survivor of the fight had been a white man, it is doubtful whether, anywhere in Texas, he would have even been indicted. It is certain that the white survivor of such a fight would not have been prosecuted for murder with malice. And if he had been indicted and put on trial, it is absolutely certain that he would not have been convicted and given a death sentence. This being true, it is clear that Dallas and the state of Texas are about to put this man to death because he is black. And everybody in Dallas knows it. Twice I have made this statement publicly before the Dallas Bar Association, and many times privately to other lawyers. Not one lawyer has denied the truth of the statement. One assistant district attorney refused to take part in the case because he said the Negro ought never to have been indicted. One appellate judge, off the bench, in conversation, which he will deny, said, "Of course the nigger ought not to be executed, but there was not an error in the record."

In Texas the law justifies killing in defense of one's life. In Texas also there can be no murder without malice. In Texas, finally, with countless instances of fights and killings, no court and jury have ever convicted and given death to a white man who in deadly combat had killed his antagonist, with the antagonist's gun, after that antagonist had already shot him.

It makes no difference that instead of being lynched Akins has been given the customary delays of Texas courts. It makes no difference that he was indicted by a grand jury specially selected with his indictment in mind and specially provided with one eighty-one-year-old, humble, "good" Negro member to prevent a reversal by the higher court. This man is to be executed solely because he is black.

The United States Supreme Court has granted certiorari in this case "because of the importance in the administration of criminal justice of the alleged racial discrimination which was relied on to support the claim of violation of constitutional rights." Justice Reed and the majority upheld the decision of the Texas Criminal Courts, but the Chief Justice and Justices Black and Murphy dissented, Murphy filing a written opinion. The general setting of the case—that the slain man was white, that he was a white policeman (there are no Negro policemen in Dallas), that the alleged jostling was of a white woman by a Negro, the white witnesses, the exclusively white jury, the white judge and court officials, the white prosecution—all this frame of racial inequality was before the court only as incidental to one narrow point. The grand jury that indicted the Negro was attacked as having been selected with discrimination against the Negro race, in violation of the principle expressed by Chief Justice Stone in *Hill* v. *Texas* (86 Law Ed. 1559), when he said that the commissioners who selected the grand jury were bound by their duty "not to pursue a course of conduct which would operate to discriminate in the selection of jurors on racial grounds."

Earlier Justice Frankfurter had said in *Lane* v. *Wilson* (83 Law Ed. 1281-7) that "the amendment nullifies sophisticated as well as simple-minded modes of discrimination." And Justice Reed in his majority decision against Akins admitted that "a purpose to discriminate may be proved by the systematic exclusion of eligible jurymen of the proscribed race or by unequal application of the law to such an extent as to show intentional discrimination" (*Akins* v. *State* 89 Law Ed. 1210). Here "discrimination" against the Negro race means simply "dealing unequally with" the race of which Akins was a member, in the selection of the grand jury. The grand jury had to be selected legally, and without discrimination, if it was to furnish any authority for the trial and conviction.

Under the Texas law the grand jury is selected by three commissioners appointed by the judge; they pick out sixteen men as a panel, of whom twelve are finally chosen as grand jurors and become the indicting body.

The first conviction of Akins, resulting in a life sentence, was reversed by the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals in an opinion based on the United States Supreme Court's decision in *Hill* v. *State* (86 Law Ed. 1559), which the Texas court followed with sullen reluctance. In the Hill case no Negro was on the grand jury, and it was shown that none ever had been selected, though there were numerous Negroes in Dallas County qualified to serve. After the reversal, the judge who had presided in the trial court told the commissioners who were to select a new grand jury that in view of the appellate court's decision it would be well to include a Negro. The general public and the commissioners knew from the judge's remarks that Akins was to be indicted again. The commissioners followed the judge's suggestion and chose a barely literate Negro farmer from a remote part of the county.

When motion was made to quash the indictment because of the discrimination alleged, a hearing was held at which the commissioners expressed themselves frankly. W. H. Wells said, "We had no intention of placing more than one Negro on the panel. When we did that we had finished with the Negro." Ernest R. Tennant testified, "I did not have any intention of putting more than one on the list." Roy E. Douglas, the third commissioner, agreed. "We liked this one," he said, "and our intentions were to get just one Negro on the grand jury."

There is, of course, nothing complicated or difficult in the idea of "discrimination." It means simply "dealing unequally with." And if the statements of the commissioners have any meaning whatever, they show very clearly that the commissioners did deal unequally with the Negro race. From their own testimony it seems impossible to deny that they allowed one Negro only on the grand jury. Yet Justice Reed, on page 1212 of the Akins decision, could say that the evidence "leaves us unconvinced that the commissioners deliberately and intentionally limited the number of Negroes on the grand jury list." And the majority voted with him to affirm the death sentence.

To the average citizen in this state, where discrimination against Negroes is commonplace, the judicial killing of Akins comes as no surprise. The average policeman, prosecutor, or juror says simply, "When a nigger kills a white man, death to him." Akins never had a chance in Texas. But it is shocking that the United States Supreme Court should have consented to this death sentence, should have tolerated the evasion of its own previous decisions by the deliberate subterfuge of putting one eighty-year-old Negro on the grand jury as evidence of "no discrimination."

I repeat that I know, and the judge who tried the case knows, and everybody else in Dallas knows that no white man would have been convicted of murder in a case like this, that Akins was condemned to death because of the color of his skin. Every citizen who approves or condones this death sentence shares the guilt of this Negro's death.

Who Bosses the Philippines?

BY CAPTAIN X

(An American army officer who fought in the Philippines)

Manila, P. I., August 9

THE Philippines are seething with political unrest. There are plots and deals and maneuvers, of reactionaries against liberals, collaborationists against resisters, fascists against democrats, rich against poor. There is growing dissatisfaction with the Roman Catholic church because of its extensive property holdings and its pro-Franco leanings both before the war and at present. Every sector of life in the islands simmers in the boiling political pot, and a scum of reaction is rising to the top.

The Nacionalista Party—the government party—is controlled by big economic interests. It is the home of collaborators and reactionaries. It is rapidly losing all its progressive members, but there is no comparable organization for them to join. Andrés Soriano, Manuel Roxas, and Sergio Osmeña are the key men in the party around whom the struggle rages.

Soriano, a Spaniard, is probably the largest single economic power in the Philippines and wields immense political influence. He is owner and operator of the huge San Miguel Brewery and has interests in breweries in the United States. In addition he is a great mining magnate, owning the IXL, the San Mauricio, and the Masbate Consolidated mines. He also owns ice-cream interests and has the Coca-Cola concession.

Before the war he was an avowed fascist. He was the honorary consul in Manila of the Franco government. He was also president of the Casino Español, the Falangist club, a position that made him the recognized leader of the Falangist movement in the Philippines. During the war in Spain he collected large sums of money from local Spanish business firms for use in "the cause." No one supposes that he has had a political change of heart, though he doesn't talk or operate openly as a fascist now.

The story of his acquisition of Philippine citizenship is a scandal. He applied shortly before the war, during the days when the United States government was freezing the assets of all Axis nationals and when it seemed expedient not to be too closely identified with an Axis ally. The law office of Roxas filed the petition for Soriano's appearance in court. His sponsor was General Basilio Valdes, chief of staff of the Philippine army. His counsel were Claro M. Recto, who later became Secretary of Foreign Affairs in the puppet government and a signatory of the Pact of Alliance with Japan, and Benigno S. Aquino, a rabid anti-American orator. Aquino, formerly campaign manager for the Nacionalista Party, became assistant head of the Japanese-sponsored Preparatory Commission for Philippine Independence, speaker of the puppet Assembly, and director of the Kalibapi—the sole political party during the Japanese occupation. He is now in Tokyo with José Laurel, former head of the puppet government.

Soriano was a resident of Manila, but in order to avoid publicity he filed the application in Rizal Province. This was a violation of the law which requires that citizenship petitions be filed in the place of residence. The Philippine Civil Liberties Union formally opposed the application, filing a written protest. Before the case came to court the union offered its help to the Solicitor General in opposing the application for citizenship of a known fascist. The Solicitor General accepted the offer *pro forma* but declined the assistance of the Civil Liberties Union when the case came up. This Solicitor General was Sixta de la Costa, who remained in office during the Japanese occupation. The Civil Liberties Union attempted to present its case but was refused recognition by the court, and Soriano's application was approved. The union promptly appealed the decision to the Supreme Court, but while the appeal was still pending, and before the required thirty-day period between the court's approval and the administration of the oath elapsed, Soriano took the oath—a second violation of the law. In fact, the law was violated on three counts, for Soriano took the oath in Manila before another judge, and the statute requires that it be taken in the same court and before the same judge who approved the application. This slippery business could not have been carried through successfully without the approval of high political circles.

Soriano is thus not legally a citizen. How, then, could he be an officer in the army and an aide-de-camp to General MacArthur? How could he occupy a position in the Cabinet? He was commissioned a captain in the Philippine army on January 1, 1942, and after he went to the United States was made a major. Furthermore, he was Secretary of Finance under Quezon in the refugee government. After he resigned this post he went to Australia and was commissioned a colonel in the United States army. Shortly before the return to Leyte he turned up on MacArthur's staff. He is said to have more influence than anyone else with MacArthur.

In passing it may be noted that Soriano's brewery was the first business to be reopened after the liberation.

The recent history of Manuel Roxas is equally interesting. First it must be said that he is a collaborator—both because he supports collaborators now and because he behaved as one himself during the occupation. In the first fighting against the Japanese he was a brigadier general and acted as liaison officer between the Philippine army and General MacArthur. Early in the war he went to Mindanao, where he surrendered to the Japanese after the other officers, with his knowledge, had decided to continue the fight. Shortly after this he sent formal letters to the guerrilla commanders urging them to surrender for the purpose of speeding the return of peace and order. Tomas Cabili, later Secretary of National Defense in the Osmeña Cabinet, received such a letter. He and others rejected the idea, but many accepted it and surrendered. Roxas was then taken to the Capas internment camp, from which he was released conditionally after a short time. He returned to Manila and became a member of the Preparatory Commission for Independence and helped draft the constitution of the puppet government. Some time during April, 1944, Roxas became chairman of the Economic Planning Board, and shortly afterward Secretary without Portfolio in Laurel's Cabinet. During this time he campaigned vigorously to induce rice growers to deliver their grain to Biba, the Japanese-dominated rice pool, though he knew the guerrillas were doing everything possible to prevent Japanese seizure of Filipino rice through Biba.

On September 21, 1944, after the American bombings, martial law was declared. On September 22 a joint meeting of the Council of State and the Cabinet was called for the purpose of declaring war on the United States. Roxas did not attend, pleading illness. Upon inquiry by one of the members as to why Roxas was absent, the President made it a matter of record in the minutes that Roxas had already approved the declaration of war. The following is a direct quotation of the statement written to Laurel by Roxas: "Compadre: If our allies [the Japanese] ask for a declaration of a state of war, sign it. If they ask for a declaration of war, sign it also." Afterward Roxas pleaded that he had made this and many other statements under duress. However, it is a matter of record that two men at the joint meeting voted against the declaration. They were Ramón Avancena, of the Council of State, and José Yulo, the Chief Justice, who claimed that under the puppet government's constitution a declaration of war or of a state of war would be valid only with the concurrence of two-thirds of the Congress. And Miguel Unson, who voted for the declaration of war, nevertheless objected that the reasons stated were false. The Americans, he said, were coming to retake what was their own and to offer independence to the Philippines. In view of the fact that none of these men was punished or molested, it is difficult to accept Roxas's plea of duress.

After war was declared, several guerrilla groups offered Roxas escape and safekeeping. He declined, giving as his reason the fact that his wife, who was accustomed to the facilities of the city, could not live in the mountains. Some time later the guerrillas returned and advised Roxas that they were now prepared to offer Mrs. Roxas the comforts to which she was accustomed. He again declined, saying that he knew the proper time to join the guerrillas. The time never came.

After the American landing on Leyte Roxas went to Baguio with the Cabinet for safety instead of joining the guerrillas. The Cabinet was captured, but a distinction was made in the case of Roxas. The other collaborators were sent to Iwahig Prison on Palawan. Roxas was "liberated," with the personal guaranty of General MacArthur. His first statement was, "Most of the acts of the puppet government were done under duress." He referred to Laurel as a "patriot."

Shortly after his "liberation" Roxas returned to the political scene, though he had previously made a public statement that he would not seek or accept any office until after the war. He was promptly elected president of the Senate by a collaborationist majority. One of his first speeches was a declaration that he was generalissimo of the guerrillas! As a publicity stunt, and to give his claim verisimilitude, he submitted a list of men who he said deserved decorations.

Among the first acts of Roxas was a vicious attack on Secretary of the Interior Tomas Confesor, one of the outstanding progressives in the Quezon government, who had lived with the guerrillas for three years. This is the background of the attack. During August or September, 1943, a rift developed between Confesor and Colonel Macario Peralta, Jr. Both were guerrilla leaders in Panay. The quarrel reached such proportions that Confesor had to be rescued by Colonel Edwin Andrews on instructions from General MacArthur in order to prevent his assassination. At this time, it is claimed, General MacArthur did not know what the disagreement was about. In any case, Confesor immediately returned to Manila and opened an attack on Roxas. A plane was then sent to Panay for Peralta. Upon his arrival the first person he conferred with was Roxas. Then many statements came out attacking Confesor. Shortly afterward Peralta was sent to the Command and Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, whence he sent word to Roxas praising him for his inspiration to the guerrillas. Confesor and Cabili have since been kicked out of the Cabinet, though officially they "resigned in order to serve their country better as members of the Rehabilitation Committee in the states." Now there are no more real anti-collaborators in the Cabinet and very few in the Congress.

The following incident indicates the character of the Congress under the leadership of Roxas. On June 9, 1945, a resolution was passed supporting United States Congress Joint Resolution No. 93 granting the Philippines complete independence before 1946. While the resolution was before the Philippine Congress a motion was made to include President Roosevelt's statement that collaborators should not be permitted to occupy positions of political or economic power and influence. This motion was defeated on the remarkable ground that it "might commit Congress to that policy."

Roxas no longer takes much trouble to hide his real intentions. He is openly fighting for the reinstatement of all members of the puppet government. He claims there were no collaborators among them. He is powerfully supported by the big economic interests, the majority of whom played ball with the Japanese and many of whom made large sums during the occupation. He has the support of all former and present Falangists and other fascists.

Roxas must not be underestimated. He is extremely clever and a smooth talker: he captures the imagination of people who know nothing about the issues involved. In this connection it should be noted that three-quarters of the Manila newspapers are collaborationist and support Roxas. He has recently begun to publish his own newspaper, whose editorials seek to wash away the sins of the collaborators. Roxas is not an ignorant or naive man. He knows what grave problems the Philippines face. He is aware of the terrible plight of the peasants and the city proletariat. Therefore he courts them with excellent speeches. His promises mean nothing, but they sound wonderful.

There has been a split between Roxas and Osmeña. How deep it goes would be hard to say. It may be a political maneuver. But this much is clear: Osmeña's popularity among all classes of people is rapidly declining. He is old, hesitant, and slow in reaching decisions; he has no popular appeal, and the people do not feel that he is really interested in complete independence. He has won the disgust of all progressives because of his many compromises with collaborators and because by his inaction he has become the dupe of the reactionaries. It is not true that Osmeña has taken a vigorous anti-collaborationist stand. He has constantly tolerated the return of collaborators and has yielded to pressure to get rid of progressives in his government. He has supported or permitted a rapid return to the pre-war economic order dominated by private industrialists and big landowners. For all these reasons Osmeña will probably lose the November election. On the other hand, there is still the possibility of a deal between Roxas and Osmeña. Various persons, from various motives, are urging them to "unite." What the deal would involve no one can say. It might mean "uniting" around Roxas. It might mean Roxas as the running mate of Osmeña, who would resign after the election, leaving Roxas to succeed him. These are some of the many current speculations.

In this situation what will the progressives do? They are faced with a difficult choice. The Democratic Alliance, representing most of the liberal opposition groups, is in its infancy. Among its leaders are brilliant men, many of them lawyers, who are enthusiastic and sincere although perhaps more adept in political theory than in the revolutionary action the present situation calls for. Many are former Nationalists who have bolted the party on account of the collaborationist policies of its leaders. Several, notably Vicente Lava, who gave himself whole-heartedly to the efforts of the Hukbalahap, fought for three years as guerrillas. But the Democratic Alliance cannot possibly wage an effective campaign this fall. Its resources are slim and it has no leader who could compete with Roxas and Osmeña with any chance of success. Even without these handicaps the time before the election is too short to allow the progressives to do more than create a certain consolidation of their forces. The alternative to an independent campaign is to support Osmeña as the lesser evil in the probable event that the Nacionalistas divide and the President runs against Roxas. The choice must be made soon. But whatever the Democratic Alliance may decide, its main task is to organize a long-range fight against the collaborators and other reactionaries who now rule the Philippines under the protection of the American military authorities. In this struggle it desperately needs material and moral support from progressives in the United States.

In the Wind

SOCIETY NOTES: *Ad age*, official publication of the San Francisco Advertising Club, carried the following advertisement by the San Francisco *Examiner* in its issue of August 29: "We never claimed to be 'the newspaper that reaches the war workers' because our field is on the right side of the railroad tracks year in, year out."

REVOLUTION: That radical consumer publication, the *Wall Street Journal*, offered this advice in its Commodity Letter of August 28: "Start jumping on the butcher when he leaves a lot of fat on the steak or roast. There will be more animals coming to market, and it won't be a case of taking the steak with the tallow on or doing without another week."

TRICOTEUSES: R. H. Markham, in the *Christian Century* of August 15, gave this analogy of conditions in Bulgaria today: "If the Communist Earl Browder, Ruth McKenney, William Foster, and Robert Minor, with the cooperation of *The Nation's* Miss Kirchwey and *PM's* Isadore Stone, should set up a court to hang, after a day's trial, Hoover, Landon, Vandenberg, Dewey, the *Times's* Sulzberger, and the *Tribune's* McCormick, with photographers filming the dangling victims, we would have a picture in American terms of Bulgaria's 'people's justice' in the grand new order."

WAR: *Editor and Publisher* of September 1 reports that an unidentified news photographer who appeared in shirtsleeves at a formal ceremony in Halifax, N. S., recently, was berated by a high-ranking officer. "Dammit," the officer roared, "your paper ought to provide you with morning coats for occasions like these—it's disgraceful!"

REDS: Charles Ventura, society columnist of the New York *World-Telegram*, turned labor columnist on September 4. "Echoes of hunger cries now reverberating throughout the fashionable residential colony of Redding Ridge, Connecticut," he said, "are being heard in New York salons. Certain of the feminine members of the colony have gone on a sit-down strike by refusing to whip up a meal for their businessmen husbands. They say they're fed up with having to do their own domestic chores and demand a new deal now that the war is over."

MAGIC: Ralph Blodgett, of the Meneough Advertising Agency of Des Moines, Iowa, wrote an article entitled We Need Those Depressions in the August 25 issue of *Opinion and Comment*, a quarterly published by the College of Commerce and Business Administration of the University of Illinois. "It is to be hoped that depressions are never abolished," he said, "for they have many desirable features. Those who learn to 'ride the business cycle' can find as many advantages in depressions as in booms. . . . That very name 'depression' is inappropriate. It horribly maligns those great periods so full of splendid opportunities. . . . Let us keep those periods but abolish only the name. . . . Some economic research foundation might well offer prizes for suitable names and select the best one."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

HARVARD PONDERS EDUCATION

BY IRWIN EDMAN

THE Report of the Harvard Committee, "General Education in a Free Society" (Harvard, $2), is not, as brief newspaper accounts have led the public to suppose, simply a recommendation that the elective system be dropped in Harvard College. The book—for it is one—is concerned with a far wider question, of which the suggested revision of the Harvard College program is one chapter. The report is occupied with the central issue of "the general education of the great majority of each generation in the high schools"—not that of "the comparatively small minority who attend our four-year colleges." The document raises more basic issues still: What are the common purposes to which education in a free society may be said to be directed? How far does the cultivation of individuality, acknowledged to be one of the aims of education, consort with more obviously social purposes? What common standards, what basic values, can a democracy agree upon? What is freedom? What is the good citizen in a free society? The good man? The good life?

President Conant, in his introduction to the report, asks to be "permitted . . . to issue a solemn warning: any judgment based on an incomplete or fragmentary reading is not only unfair to the authors but almost certain to be false. The book must be taken as a unit." The authors, almost to the point of tedium, repeatedly ask the reader to hark back to Chapter II, Theory of General Education, upon which their whole analysis depends. That chapter, they say, will consider "what can, perhaps overformally, be called a philosophy of American education, and especially that part of it which is general education." The substance of that philosophy is indicated in the chapter subheads: Heritage and Change, General and Special Education, Areas of Knowledge, Traits of Mind, The Good Man and the Citizen.

Like Plato's writings on the subject, to which the committee makes frequent obeisance, this report turns out to be not only a discussion of education in the narrow sense but a theory of human nature and civilization. Plato's views on these matters were derived from his observation of Athens; this committee considers human nature and civilization in America as seen from Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The terms of this survey of the basic questions raised by educational practice in the United States are very general. They are so general and, often, so genteelly balanced that it is impossible to do more at times than to express a somewhat bored acquiescence. There is never any question of the earnestness of the authors and of their desire to give a good account of the subject and of themselves and of Harvard. But they turn up some egregious truisms: "Education can . . . be wholly devoted neither to tradition nor to experiment, neither to the belief that the ideal in itself is enough nor to the view that means are valuable apart from the ideal." "Democracy must represent an adjustment between the values of freedom and social living." Such vanilla-flavored homiletics are not likely to shock the reader into absorbed attention.

There is a considerable amount of such banal good sense, expressed too often—albeit without jargon—in the bleak anonymous style of a committee. But there is a good deal more. Every committee has some strong minds whose views, expressed with clarity and enterprise, become eventually the "unanimous" beliefs of the committee. The Harvard report is not quite so innocent of tendentiousness as at first appears. One repeated assertion of the committee is that American education has lost the unifying principles it had in the nineteenth century, when appeal was predominantly made to "the Christian view of man and history as providing both final meaning and immediate standards for life." "And certainly," the committee adds, "this impulse to mold students to a pattern sanctioned by the past can, in one form or another, never be absent from education." The committee apparently feels deeply the necessity of finding a unity which may be the common heritage and the common possession of all members of a democratic society. There must be "some over-all logic, some strong, not easily broken frame within which both college and school may fulfil their at once diversifying and uniting tasks." It is clear that the committee is not willing, like the Chicago Thomists, to adapt an ancient unity in some degree of assumption and detail irrelevant to our age, our knowledge, or our problems. They recognize that in a diverse society any unity is hard to find. They come up with a very modest suggestion indeed as to the unity possible in twentieth-century America—"the ideal of cooperation on the level of action irrespective of agreement on ultimates. . . ." Translated from this bland abstract doubletalk, how much, one wonders, is left of "unity, of over-all logic, of some not easily broken frame"? During the war we had, it is true, "cooperation on the level of action." What corresponds to it, one wistfully wonders, during the peace? The committee seems wistfully to wonder, too.

The writers of this report give plenty of evidence themselves, in their admirable historical summary, of the degree to which American education has ceased to exhibit unity of purpose almost in direct proportion to the larger number and greater variety of groups reached by the enormously expanded high schools and colleges. They seem agreed that "cooperation on the level of action" is not enough. They appeal to something beyond, to "common beliefs and common commitments," which, they suggest, it is the function of general education—as over against special education—to provide. But about anything beyond faith in the "dignity of

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man" and in "mutual responsibility" they are not very specific. General education is concerned with nurturing the individual into a good citizen and a good man. It is not made clear what these common beliefs and commitments are, nor is it shown how, even were they less vaguely specified, their teaching would be distinguished from indoctrination. It is a nice point, and the committee with characteristic judiciousness reminds us that we must have minds open but not *too* open. "If toleration is not to become nihilism, if conviction is not to become dogmatism, if criticism is not to become cynicism, each must have something of the other." Isn't it true?

The appeal throughout is one that well-intentioned academic minds have always made, to the standard of "reason." The authors admit that "human nature involves instincts and sentiments as well as the intellect." But men may, they say, be educated to reasonableness, to the art of life, to wisdom. There is a little passing reference made to the social and psychological basis of ideals, but the Harvard report does not seem to be very aware that psychology and anthropology have thrown a great deal of light on human nature of late. There is no anthropologist or psychiatrist on the committee, nor do these sciences seem to have greatly influenced the ultimate conclusions. There is almost too much mention of Plato, and none of Malinowski or Freud.

Within the limits of abstract, debatable, and often merely debating philosophy, the practical suggestions for education are sensible enough, and whatever one thinks of ultimates, these pages are illuminating. There is a suggestive account of the way in which high schools may, and indeed must, be used if there is to be a basic and general education, as contrasted with merely technical and special training, for the citizens of our democracy. On the college level, at least for Harvard College, there is proposed a basic system of courses in the humanities, in the social sciences, in the natural sciences, designed to serve as parts of a general education. (Such a group of courses has, by the way, long been in operation at Columbia and elsewhere.) There are illuminating suggestions as to the way in which even certain "special" courses may be used for the purposes of general education. There is a sensible but skimpy discussion of the present status and the important possibilities of adult education, and of the new media of radio and movies. There is good sense about the "human" college and the "Olympian" university, and about the individual who is at the heart of the college, the advancement of knowledge which is at the heart of the university, and the connection between the two.

These chapters are worth the attention of anyone, and particularly of educators. But the report challenges consideration as a whole, as a theory of education in America. Even its failures are instructive. To ask what education is for in our, or in any, time is to ask what society is for, what life is for, what gives meaning to experience. It is not surprising that in our day a group of distinguished Harvard professors, when they do come to agreement on such issues, should have achieved only a formal unity. A genuine philosophy of education requires a coherent and compelling philosophy of society and life, and nothing like that has ever come out of even a sixty-thousand-dollar committee. Plato was a Committee of One.

The Great Choice

AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD. By Nathaniel Peffer. The Viking Press. $2.75.

AMERICA: PARTNER IN WORLD RULE. By William Henry Chamberlin. The Vanguard Press. $3.

FOR a few years at least, two powers will hold undisputed sway in the world: the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. For a few months at any rate, our supremacy cannot be challenged; and these months will be decisive. We can stand for liberty through justice; we can put our trust in force alone. The choice is more pressing than most of us realize. We cannot, without disaster, drift "in the middle of the road."

The purpose of these two fine studies is to awaken in the American people a sense of their responsibility. Closely parallel, they are complementary. Nathaniel Peffer's is the more philosophical; never abstract and vague, it is chiefly concerned with general issues and guiding principles. Chamberlin's work is not lacking in thought, but it is mainly a survey of concrete instances. It is dangerous to deal in a book with the problems of the moment: the results of Yalta had just been—darkly—released after the main part of Chamberlin's study was in print. But even in these swift-moving days we should think in terms of decades, not hours. The ideas of Peffer and Chamberlin are valid today because they were valid twenty-five years ago. Neither could foresee the atomic bomb; yet, in his very first paragraph, Chamberlin ascribes to the blockbuster the symbolic significance which we now attach to the deadlier weapon. Human nature remains more important than its instruments. There is more difference between the stone ax and nineteenth-century artillery than between that artillery and atomic warfare. If man remains a primitive with two-billion-dollar gadgets, we shall have war factories buried half a mile underground; that is all.

Chamberlin and Peffer agree on a capital point of history: that our refusing to join the League was *not* responsible for World War II. I beg to dissent. I know that England and France made a mess of the League, but that was because we had already killed the world's confidence in its success. Geneva with America at the head of the table would have offered a totally different picture. There were minor objectionable features about Versailles, although it was sweetness and light compared with the coming peace. But we, with malice toward none, and free from entanglements, could have invoked the wisest provision in the Covenant, Article XIX for the peaceful revision of treaties. It remained a dead letter: the victors clung to a crumbling peace; the defeated sought to destroy or elude it, but not to amend it. Although our joining the League was blocked by a minority in the Senate, we as a people are responsible for not making the will of the majority prevail. The trouble was that the majority had good intentions but no will power. Counting heads is not enough; the bewildered many, even if they are right, are no match for the fanatical few, even though perverse. I still believe that our rejection of Wilson was "the great refusal." There are far more reasons for our walking out of the United Nations now than there were for staying out of Geneva.

Both Chamberlin and Peffer are extremely definite in their condemnation of the Big Three principle. It is sheer power politics, and I am appalled at the fact that alleged liberals are toying with it. Even the "realists" who support it do not believe it will last (Fox, Dallin), or that it will be able to preserve peace. We are lazily accepting as a normal method the first condition of strategy—secrecy and the massive use of power. Chamberlin may be too gloomy when he says that the peace was lost at Teheran. I prefer the De Gaulle spirit: yes, the cause of peace suffered a severe setback at Teheran, another one at Yalta, and possibly the worst at Potsdam. But it is not lost, any more than the war was lost at Warsaw, Dunkirk, Singapore, or Manila.

We must reverse that tendency, and work for the faith we profess: democracy among men and nations, liberty inseparable from equality, force only in the service of the law. This raises the central point in both books: the necessity of abolishing the crying contradiction between our words and our deeds. I am not afraid of brave words like the Four Freedoms: but we should make a clear distinction between remote ideals and definite aims. These should be forthright commitments, effectively implemented. If we keep proclaiming principles and acting against them, we may call such confusion realism; the world will call it hypocrisy. On that shifty and cynical basis there can be no peace. Even we feel increasing uneasiness about our inner contradictions. We want to give Russia (and England) the full benefit of the doubt; but we are conscious that we are yielding in essentials for the sake of an alliance. This is appeasement, not peace. To quote Chamberlin's closing words: "The fruits of Munich are known. Those of Yalta remain to be gathered." It is plain that Chamberlin has an anti-Russian bias; but I, whose sympathies are on the other side, can see the force of his argument. We shall not remain friends with Russia for very long if we condone high-handed methods contrary to her principles as well as to our own.

We should therefore, as Sir Bernard Pares advises, stand up to Russia, provided it be as a fearless but generous friend. In this respect Peffer's chapter The New Holy Alliance? is all-important, one of the most cogent pieces of political writing I have read in a long time. If it were felt that we were the rallying point of an anti-socialist crusade, Russia would be justified in taking precautions against us. It is time to realize that there is a certain amount of collective activity, or collectivism, in this scientific-industrial world. Our task is to preserve the permanent values of American life, and first of all liberty, under collectivism; certainly not to turn collectivism into a source of profit for the few.

Both Chamberlin and Peffer are appealing to the American people to carry on an American, that is, a democratic policy. It is for the people to make their will manifest, and their will must prevail. Even liberal-minded scholars like T. A. Bailey believe in the necessity of secret diplomacy. This ancient fallacy must be exploded. In their general lines international problems are broader and simpler than purely national ones. The common people are more competent to say whether they want peace or war, anarchy or law, than they are to pick out the site of a power dam. Every secret deal implies a crooked deal among the profiteers, and a raw deal for the rest of mankind. Let us have "open covenants openly arrived at."

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Both also are conscious that only union, and union now, can prevent the Balkanization of Europe, and an Anglo-Russian conflict, into which we shall inevitably be drawn. Peffer merely alludes to the subject; Chamberlin mentions it over and over again, in his own words and in fine quotations from Churchill and Voigt. But, he adds in a despondent mood, "this last development cannot reasonably be anticipated until the hates aroused by the present war have subsided." I demur. It is the hates that make the union imperative. Saints could live in holy anarchy; snarling sinners need a common discipline. The union's first duty will be to curb violence; ultimately, it will allay hatred and foster good-will. ALBERT GUÉRARD

BRIEFER COMMENT

Beware of the Zaibatsu

A FACTUAL AND DETAILED HANDBOOK of Japanese society, such as "The Japanese Nation," by John F. Embree (Farrar and Rinehart, $3), has long been needed for popular use in this country. It is unfortunate, however, that many of the emphases in this study, at times incidental but more often repeated several times over, are not of a nature to further a discriminating insight into the workings of the Japanese oligarchy. The villain of the piece appears here again as the military leaders (though they are also shown as favoring apparently good "national socialist" measures), while an explicit effort is made to play down the political importance of the *Zaibatsu.* The danger of such an approach, in a period when the *Zaibatsu* will be carrying the ball for the military in preparation for a war of revenge, is too great to be permitted to pass unnoted. Much too tender a regard is also shown for the bureaucracy, the "respected" landowners, and the generally totalitarian elements of the old regime. The police system of Japan, for example, is qualitatively different from that in the United States, even though third-degree methods are practiced by "some American city forces." The role of the Emperor, though denounced at one point, is held capable of gradual modification toward a "constitutional monarchy"—an interpretation which is open to serious question. And it smacks of a justification of Japanese aggression to speak of "the situation of a newly industrialized independent nation in the midst of an area dominated by Occidental colonial and economic interests—a situation which was bound, sooner or later, to a lead to a war of survival."

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If proper allowance is made for these dubious emphases, the reader will find much of interest and value in many chapters of the book. There are intimate glimpses, filled out with much fascinating detail, into the Japanese family and household, and interesting discussions of culture patterns, education, and newspaper and radio developments. The long chapter on Japanese religion, moreover, contains a recapitulation of the Shinto mythology and a brief summary of the modern practices of state Shinto which are sufficient to disclose their threat to a peaceful world community.

T. A. BISSON

Marc Chagall

LIONELLO VENTURI has provided the short text to an excellent book of reproductions of paintings and drawings by Marc Chagall (Pierre Matisse Editions). Chagall's personality is very well understood here, but his art is taken too unqualifiedly to afford us the illumination we have the right to expect from such a mind as Professor Venturi's. The fault may lie with what I detect to be an unconfessed or unconscious hostility on his part to most of modern art since impressionism. The book perpetuates the banal and widespread misconception of cubism as essentially intellectual and "scientific." And by implication Chagall is counterposed to Picasso—which is just as unfair to Chagall as it is to Picasso.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

Continental View

THE MAIN POINTS of Roland Hall Sharp's "South America Uncensored" (Longmans, Green, $3.50) have been made by other books recently reviewed in *The Nation.* There are, however, a frankness and a fulness of information about Brazil and Paraguay which give the book a special utility. There is, too, considerable treatment of Latin American imperialism, particularly Argentine imperialism, a matter which has received less attention than it deserves. But the special quality of "South America Uncensored" is that its political and social analyses, which are unencumbered with statistics and over-rigid formulations, are accompanied by a very interesting and vivid description of the continent itself. The resources of South America are related to the existing state of affairs and to the potentials of the countries concerned. Popular illusions about the unbounded natural wealth of the continent are corrected, so that the largeness and importance of the tasks confronting democracy are clearly seen. There is a quiet sincerity about Mr. Sharp's writing and a sobriety of judgment that are very persuasive. RALPH BATES

Great Men of Africa

IN 1870 Africa was the "forgotten" continent; during the next thirty years its wealth became known and important to all the world. Stuart Cloete, popular novelist of South Africa, has told the history of that period through the lives of three men: Cecil Rhodes, financier and imperialist; Paul Kruger, Boer farmer, statesman, and soldier; and Lobengula, King of the Matabele and last great native chieftain.

"Against These Three" (Houghton, Mifflin, $3.50) demonstrates a nice sense of historical continuity in addition to Mr. Cloete's acknowledged narrative and descriptive powers. It is fascinating biography and essentially accurate history. RALPH ADAMS BROWN

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

SHAW did no concert-reviewing after his resignation from the *World* in 1894; but the death of Verdi in 1901 elicited from him the superb article on Verdi's work, and an atrocious performance of "Il Trovatore" in 1917 provoked the equally fine article on that opera, that are included in the volume of his music criticism published by Dodd, Mead in this country. In the general article, having refuted the contention that Verdi had been influenced by Wagner, he proceeded, as he said, to "take Verdi on his own ground. Verdi's genius, like Victor Hugo's, was hyperbolical and grandiose: he expressed all the common passions with an impetuosity and intensity which produced an effect of sublimity." And concerning "Il Trovatore" he observed that it is "unique even among the works of its own composer and its own country. It has tragic power, poignant melancholy, impetuous vigor, and a sweet and intense pathos that never loses its dignity. . . . It is absolutely void of intellectual interest: the appeal is to the instincts and to the senses all through." Which led him to this statement about performance: "Let us admit that no man is bound to take 'Il Trovatore' seriously. We are entirely within our rights in passing it by and turning to Bach and Handel, Mozart and Beethoven, Wagner and Strauss, for our music. But we must take it or leave it: we must not trifle with it. He who thinks that 'Il Trovatore' can be performed without taking it with the most tragic solemnity is, for all the purposes of romantic art, a fool. The production of a revival of 'Il Trovatore' should be supervised by Bergson; for he alone could be trusted to value this perfect work of instinct, and defend its integrity from the restless encroachments of intelligence."

And now imagine this music sung by a singer about whom Shaw wrote in 1894: "Whoever has not seen Miss Eames as Charlotte has not realized the full force of Thackeray's picture of the young lady who, when she saw the remains of her lover

> Borne before her on a shutter,
> Like a well-conducted person,
> Went on cutting bread-and-butter.

I never saw such a well-conducted person as Miss Eames. She casts her propriety like a Sunday frock over the whole stage. . . . Never, since Miss Mary Anderson shed a cold radiance on the rebuked stage, have virtue and comeliness seemed more awful than they do at Covent Garden on 'Werther' nights. How I envy Miss Eames her self-possession, her quiet consciousness of being founded on a rock, her good looks (oh, those calmly regular eyebrows!), and, above all, that splendid middle to her voice, enabling her to fill the huge theater without an effort!"

That combination of music and singer was what I heard recently from an old record on which Eames sang the impassioned *Mira d'acerbe lagrime* duet in her cool lady-like fashion with de Gogorza; and it was sheer farce which reduced the music to nonsense. Fortunately another record in the pile enabled me to hear the music restored to impressive sense by Gadski and Amato, singing with superb style as well as the beautiful voices they had in their prime. And these two records illustrate an important point, which I would like to state before I go on to speak of some of the other records in the pile—namely, that the talk about the Golden Age of Singing has been undiscriminating: not all the tenors were Carusos, not all the sopranos Hempels. The passage about Eames is one of many in Shaw in which he discusses the now legendary figures who for him were living day-to-day Covent Garden realities; and if he confirms what we have heard about the powers of Calvé he also convinces us that her Carmen was horrible, and reveals that Jean de Reszke shirked his performances except when he had the competition of a Van Dyck to fear, that Edouard de Reszke bawled his head off, that Tamagno did the same, and other things of the sort.

In this connection I might speak of two of the records of the famous soprano Lilli Lehmann that I had heard about for years, and that I was at last able to hear recently through the kindness of Mr. William H. Seltsam, an enthusiast who before the war reissued a large number of early vocal records. In certain respects Lehmann's performances—of *Casta Diva* from "Norma" and *Abscheulicher!* from "Fidelio"—lived up to what had been said about them: she had recorded them around 1907, when she was sixty or more, and the beauty and steadiness of the voice in the long opening phrases of *Casta Diva,* its security in the florid passages, were remarkable; and she sang, moreover, with the style of a great artistic personage. On the other hand it was astonishing to hear what liberties in tempo and phrasing — which today would be considered excessive, and even in bad musical taste—were possible within the limits of good musicianship in 1907. In *Casta Diva,* for example, after the first two beautifully inflected phrases, Lehmann suddenly rushed up to the climactic high point of the passage, stopped to take breath, and then descended very slowly.

But whatever the liberties that prevailing standards allowed, Hempel had her own unerring feeling for phrase that produced musical as well as vocal perfection. Among the great treasures in the pile of old records that I mentioned before were several of her performances; and it was not only the effortless agility and accuracy but the musical style of the florid passages that made *Vien, Diletto* from Bellini's "I Puritani" breathtaking. Indeed what moved us all to tears was rather her exquisite inflection of the simple opening statement of *Ah, vous dirai-je, maman,* and her wonderful extended phrasing of *Dite alla giovine* from "La Traviata," which she sang with Amato.

These, I repeat, are performances which Victor ought to reissue on a subscription basis; and if you agree with me tell Victor so.

Films

JAMES AGEE

A Great Film

WILLIAM WELLMAN and the others who are responsible for "Story of G. I. Joe" obviously did not regard their job as an ordinary one. They undertook a great subject. It is clear that they undertook it in a determination to handle it honestly and to make a masterpiece. A wonderful amount of their achievement measures up to their intention. If their picture had been made under the best of circumstances, in a time when everyone who had the heart and the talent was free to make the best pictures possible, it would still be among the best. Coming as it does out of a world in which even the best work is nearly always compromised, and into a world which is generally assumed to dread honesty and courage and to despise artistic integrity, it is an act of heroism, and I cannot suggest my regard for it without using such words as veneration and love. Many things in the film itself move me to tears—and in none of them do I feel that I have been deceived, or cynically seduced or manipulated, as one usually has to feel about movies. But not even the finest of the picture's achievements are more moving than the angry, bitter nobility of the intention which is implied behind the whole of it.

The authors of the screen play, Leopold Atlas and Guy Endore and Philip Stevenson, have not only avoided writing a story, in any traditional sense; they have also developed a rather original narrative style, dry, keen, sober, and visually very imaginative. This style seems to be based to some extent on that of Hemingway; but it is freer than some of Hemingway's less good writing of self-pity, over-insistent masculinity, and the musical gift which sometimes blurs even the most beautiful things Hemingway observes into one kind of Irish croon. Many of the scenes end abruptly; some are deliberately deflated or interrupted or made to end flat or tonelessly. All these devices are artful or, if you like, artificial, but on one seeing, anyhow, not one seemed dishonest either aesthetically or morally. It is about as taciturn a picture as I have seen; but not a verbal or speechless stretch in it seems forced or ineffective. Much use is made of a commonplace of good movie making which most American studios reject: that you can show a wave of action, even very complex and cryptic action, more excitingly and instructively rather than less if you don't pause continually to explain it to the audience, and if you don't delete the inexplicable. There is a wonderfully discreet and powerful use, for that matter, of purely "meaningless" bits—such as a shot in which Ernie Pyle (Burgess Meredith) sits by the road while some soldiers straggle past—which have as great meaning as anything could have, being as immediate and as unlimited by thought or prejudice as what the eye might see on the spot, in a casual glance. And visually there are some of the most eloquent and simple things ever put into a movie—the scene, for instance, in which the worn-out captain and the wretched young replacement private, silently and in great tension and shyness, watch and approach each other, and are interrupted by the sudden violent mental breakdown of a third soldier.

Many of the best things in the film are done just as exactly and unemphatically. With a slight shift of time and scene, men whose faces have become familiar simply aren't around any more. The fact is not commented on or in any way pointed; their absence merely creates its gradual vacuum and realization in the pit of the stomach. Things which seem at first tiresome, then to have become too much of a running gag, like the lascivious tongue-clacking of the professional stallion among the soldiers (Wally Cassell) or the Sergeant's continual effort to play the record of his son's voice, are allowed to run their risks without tip-off or apology. In the course of many repetitions they take on full obsessional power and do as much as anything could to communicate the terrific weight of time, fatigue, and half-craziness which the picture is trying so successfully to make you live through. The characters are just as unobtrusively introduced and developed—so quietly, in fact, that it is misleading to speak of "development" in any traditional sense. One of the most terrible things in the movie is the silent uninsistent notice of the change in the face of the youngest of the soldiers, after his first battle, from that of a lonely, brave, frightened boy to something shriveled and poisoned beyond suggesting by words. And the development of the character of the Captain is so imperceptible and so beautifully done that, without ability to wonder why, you accept him as a great man in his one open attempt to talk about himself and the war, and as a virtual divinity in the magnificent scene which focuses on his dead body. This closing scene seems to me a war poem as great and as beautiful as any of Whitman's. One of the glories of the over-all style and tone of the film is its ability to keep itself stopped down so low and so lucid, like a particularly strong and modest kind of prose, and to build a long gently rising arch of increasing purity and intensity, which, without a single concession to "poetic" device, culminates in the absoluteness of that scene.

In a film so excellent there are so many things to honor, and to comment on, that I feel incapable of clearness even on a few, much less of completeness or order. The picture contains, for instance, the first great triumphs of the kind of anti-histrionic casting and acting which I believe is indispensable to most, though by no means all, kinds of greatness possible to movies. It would be impossible in that connection to say enough in praise of the performance of Bob Mitchum as the Captain and Freddie Steele as the Sergeant, or of Wellman for his directing and, I suppose, casting of them. It is also the first great triumph in the effort to combine "fiction" and "documentary" film. That is, it not only makes most of its fiction look and sound like fact—and far more intimate and expressive fact than it is possible to record on the spot; it also, without ever inflating or even disturbing the factual quality, as Eisenstein used to, gives fact the constant power and meaning beyond its own which most "documentors"—and most imaginative artists as well—totally lack feeling for. I don't insist on the word if you feel it is misleading, but most of this film is good poetry, and some of it is great poetry, and all of its achievements, and even most of its failures, are earned in terms purely of moving pictures. The sudden close-up, for instance, of a soldier's loaded back, coldly intricate with the life-and-death implements of his trade, as he marches away from his dead captain, is as complete, moving, satisfying, and enduring as the finest lines of poetry I know.

This is not a faultless movie. Most of its scenes are perfectly and often originally fitted together, but one of the major transitions—between Africa and Italy—is diffuse, generalized, and conventional, and another—the fight for Cassino—remains rather a disappointing and somewhat leaky transition, not the climactic release of energy that was needed and I believe intended. Indeed, though I am aware of my limited right to an opinion, it seems to me that the movie does fail in one important thing: to give adequate direct impressions—indirectly, it gives any number—of the individual's experience of combat. Even when shots from "San Pietro" are used, in the last fight, the reality to the individual does not come through; and when the Captain and the Sergeant outwit German snipers in a ruined church, the episode seems brilliant, highly specialized, and almost literary, rather than something common to the experience of many infantrymen. If people as good as these can't communicate that experience, I am about ready to believe it has been proved inexpressible; but I still wonder what might have been done if during one combat sequence the camera had worked inside some individual as well as outside. Much of the picture is very somber in lighting and slow in movement—it has drawn as intelligently on Mauldin as on Pyle—but some of this darkness seems a little sumptuous and studioesque; and some of the outdoor sets, diligent and good as they are, seem over-prepared, with nothing left to chance, like the groundwork of a first-rate diorama—as if the mud had been churned up inch by inch by union labor, before the actors took over. But these are about the only faults worth mentioning; and if by any chance "Story of G. I. Joe" is *not* a masterpiece, then however stupid my feeling is, I cannot help resenting those films which are.

I imagine that some people, better educated than the infantrymen in "Story of G. I. Joe," will wish to point out that for all its courage and intelligence "as far as it goes," the film is not, in the sense they understand it, "an indictment of war." Nobody is accused, not even the enemy; no remedy is indicated; and though every foot of the film is as full an indictment of war as I ever expect to see, it is clearly also demonstrating the fact that in war many men go well beyond anything which any sort of peace we have known, or are likely to know, makes possible for them. It seems to me a tragic and eternal work of art, concerned with matters which I know are tragic and which I suspect are as eternal, anyhow, as our use of recent scientific triumphs will permit. Both the film and I may be wrong about this, but I am afraid the burden of proof rests with the optimists.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Veblen vs. Grew

Dear Sirs: As Japan now has the center of the world stage it is worth recalling what a master mind had to say of its leaders and governing class a generation ago. In 1917 Thorstein Veblen referred to Japanese government leaders as "these shrewdest, most callous, and most watchful of all adepts in unashamed statecraft." Compare this with Mr. Grew's statement, on the eve of Pearl Harbor, about the naivete and ingenuousness of the Japanese. Who is the "realist," the scientific scholar or the salon diplomat?

In "The Opportunity of Japan," written in July, 1915, Veblen said: "Japan must strike for domination, if at all, within the effective lifetime of the generation that is now coming to maturity. . . . The imperial government must throw all its imperial force, without reservation, into one headlong rush; since in the nature of the case no second opportunity of the kind is to be looked for." In "Essays in Our Changing Order," Veblen wrote as follows:

> To the Japanese government, or "state," the country, with its human denizens, is an estate to be husbanded and exploited for the state's ends; which comes near saying, for the prestige of the Mikado's government.
>
> In the material respect, the division of interest as between the people at large and the governing class is particularly well marked and well maintained; being indeed a division after the same fashion as that which holds between servant and master in any community that is organized on a servile footing. So that the people at large, the common man, has no appreciable share and no substantial concern in the measures taken by the government agencies, or even in the deliberations of that advisory board of nobility and gentry that has, under the constitution, been installed under the rubric "parliament." In effect, the people at large are the government's chattels, to be bred, fed, trained, and consumed as the shrewd economy of dynastic politics may best require. . . . The government established by the revolution (against the Shogunate) or "restoration" of Meiji (i. e., the supersession of the Shogun by the Emperor) is of the nature of an autonomous co-optative bureaucracy, made up of certain lines and cliques of the nobility (to some extent of a bureaucratic origin) backed by the loyal adhesion of a large body of gentry which differs from the displaced samurai in its work-day avocations rather than in its spirit of aristocratic fealty or its substantially parasitic livelihood. . . . Power vests in a self-appointed, self-authenticating, aristocratic cabinet—under the mask of a piously nourished monarchical fiction—with the advice, but without the consent, of a "parliament" endowed with advisory power.

THOMAS J. BARNUM

New York, August 14

Not at All "Blighted"

Dear Sirs: Under the heading Northwest Recaptured, in your August 18 issue, Jerome Mellquist refers to Superior, Wisconsin, as "that blighted ore port at the head of the Lakes."

"Blighted" is a most inaccurate description of the largest iron-ore shipping port, with the largest iron-ore dock, in the world. These are the facts: approximately one-third of the iron ore shipped annually on the Great Lakes is from Superior, Wisconsin; 25,939,951 tons were shipped in 1944, and that was not a record year. The largest grain elevator and the largest briquet plant in the world are also located at Superior. We hope that your contributor's reckless use of an adjective reflecting on an American city will be properly corrected.

A. J. WENTZEL,
Superior Association of Commerce
Superior, Wis., September 1.

The Spanish Opposition

[*The document printed below was wired from Mexico City with the request that it be published in* The Nation *so that the position of the groups which supported Dr. Negrín in the recent political crisis might be clearly understood by the friends of republican Spain in the United States.*]

THE parties and organizations signing this document were astonished at the statement in which Señor Giral, Premier of the Spanish Republic, announced the formation of his government. At a moment of such vital importance to the Spanish Republic we would have remained silent—although silence is sometimes itself a form of collaboration—if Señor Giral's statement had not contained an assertion that demands immediate clarification.

Señor Giral placed the responsibility for his failure to form a true national coalition government, the first task with which he had been charged by the President of the Republic, on certain persons, parties, and groups.

First of all we must reject the insinuation that the only republican elements that remained outside the new government are "Negrín and the Communists." If the statement was made by Giral only because of his anxiety to offer a "satisfactory" explanation simultaneously with the release of his list of new Cabinet members, we can only regret the lack of serenity that motivated this action. If, however, the underlying motive was to identity Dr. Negrín with the Communist Party position, the insinuation is as false and unjust as the analogous assertions circulated through the world by the enemies of the Republic during the Spanish War.

The groups that refused participation in the Cabinet did so with a full sense of responsibility. As Spaniards and Republicans they have been inspired by the imperative necessity of continuing the policy of resistance that has characterized the heroic struggle of the Spanish people for freedom and democracy. This policy is represented in the person of Negrín. As head of the last republican government in Spain, he maintained his policy of resistance both during and after the war. The person who gave and the person who received the commission to form the government [President Martinez Barrio and Señor Giral] acknowledged the need of that policy by their efforts to secure the participation of Dr. Negrín in the new Cabinet.

The signatories of this document declined to collaborate with a government not headed by Dr. Negrín because of this major consideration. According to the Spanish constitution it is the Prime Minister who directs the entire policy of the government. It is not a question of individual ministries but of the head of the government. Therefore it was our firm belief that Dr. Negrín's political significance would have been neutralized had his name appeared with those of the persons now in the Cabinet—very honorable men but some of them representing a policy utterly different from and even contrary to those we consider indispensable at this moment. The conjunction of such different policies would have served no purpose and would have nullified and rendered fruitless any government action. That is why we decided to remain outside the Cabinet. As Spaniards and republicans we shall applaud any success that the new government can achieve for the benefit of the Republic. We shall not share responsibility for its failures.

(Signed) Spanish Socialist Party — Ramón Lamoneda; Communist Party—Vicente Uribe; Unión General de Trabajadores de España—José Rodriguez Vega; Republican Federalist Party—Eugenio Arauz; Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia—José Moix; Federation of Socialist Regional Groups—Angel Galarza; Basque National Action—Tomas Etxabe; Workers' Alliance of Asturias — Jesús Ibañez.

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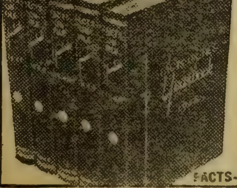

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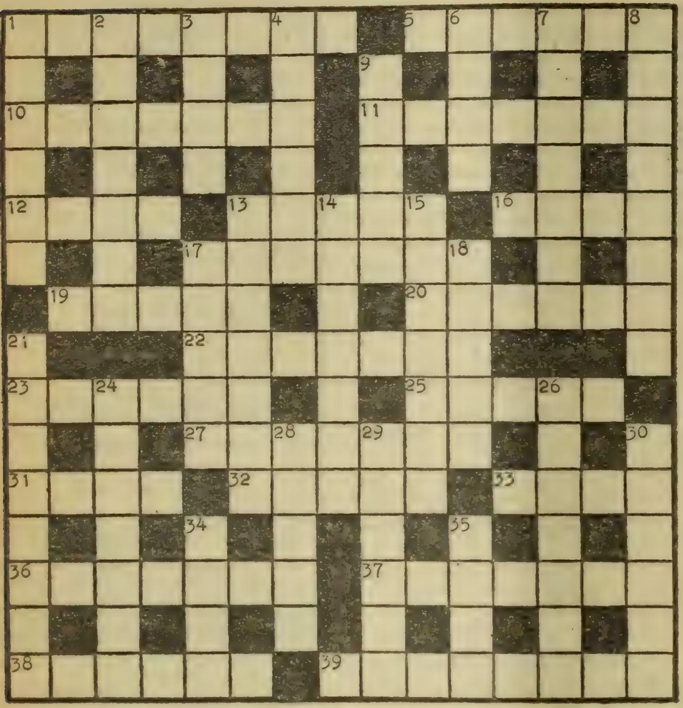
By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Object of De Soto's quest
5 Wall plaster
10 A redoubtable warrior
11 "As large as life, and twice as - - - - - - -"
12 Key to where the notes are to be found
13 Though feathered they are not birds, but usually belong to birds
16 Associated with a book and a candle in literature
17 Sure!
19 Grotesque caper
20 Floating, like water-lily pads
22 He reduces the number of hide-bound animals
23 She wrote *Little Women*
25 Taffy's nationality
27 Waldteufel waltz
31 Sculls, or their users
32 Donkeys definitely are
33 Penang-lawyer
36 Thinks up
37 Frame of a table
38 Mr. Hemingway, perhaps
39 They are always moaning about their troubles for our entertainment

DOWN

1 Draw charmingly
2 Underground prison cell
3 Underdone
4 Ball-player who should keep the catcher busy
6 Drams of spirits
7 The "Ambling Alp" of the prize ring
8 Not what seamen's waterproofs are made of
9 Feminine name
13 Not the sort of party we should want to attend as the guest of honor
14 Delightful surprise which would affect the hardest heads
15 Muscled
17 Tombs
18 Nostrils
21 One unsympathetic to Esau?
24 A house on wheels
26 Mr. Attlee's in the U.S.A.—in Washington, to be precise
28 Lift up
29 Found only in flowers and heaven
30 Takes the edge off
34 Not all of them are taverns
35 Leading man

◆

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 125

ACROSS:—1 PICKTHANK; 6 DWARF; 9 ASSAILS; 10 MUFFLER; 11 TAI; 12 INTONE; 13 TAIL; 15 PASTORAL; 16 DOGLEG; 18 ON TIME; 20 COVERLET; 23 IVAN; 24 BODEGA; 25 BEN; 28 CREAKLE; 29 TODDLER; 30 SAYON; 31 PARTRIDGE.

DOWN:—1 PLANT; 2 CASSIUS; 3 THIS IS ON ME; 4 ALSATIAN; 5 KIMONO; 6 DOFF; 7 ALL-HAIL; 8 FIRELIGHT; 14 ROPE LADDER; 15 PROVINCES; 17 POLESTAR; 19 TRAGEDY; 21 LABELED; 22 BO-PEEP; 26 NURSE; 27 SKIN.

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The Shape of Things

EVERYONE KNEW THE LABOR POT WAS BOILING under the lid of war-time controls. Now the lid is off, and steam is pouring out in the form of wage demands and strike threats. Those who pretend to be shocked might remember that labor has never accepted the justice of the Little Steel formula, however modified, and that strikes were inhibited for patriotic reasons rather than reasons of self-interest. What should have been done was to anticipate the troubles that are now about to explode. Labor's own proposals for orderly reconversion in major war industries should have been considered instead of being brushed aside. The Full Employment bill should have been pushed through so that plans to take up the slack of jobless workers would now be ready to apply. Federal legislation for unemployment insurance to tide war workers over the reconversion period should now be on the books instead of in committee. Today the country is unprepared to meet the industrial crisis precipitated by the abrupt ending of the Pacific war. The result is likely to be a new war, this time a domestic industrial one. As we go to press, the coming conflict in the automobile industry is still in the sparring stage. The 30-per-cent wage increase demanded by the United Automobile Workers will almost certainly be rejected by General Motors, which has been selected as the first battleground. The union will thereupon demand a strike vote in accordance with the provisions of the Connally act. Then the issue will be clearly joined, and an attempt will be made to win a decision through pressure, bargaining, and an appeal to public opinion.

*

IN MANY WAYS THE TIMING OF THE FIGHT is unfavorable for the workers. With hundreds of thousands of men being laid off in war industries all over the country, a wage demand faces enormous obstacles. But it is important, none the less, for the union to attempt to establish its position before wage-and-hour standards crumble and union ranks are hopelessly depleted by unemployment. That position has been effectively stated by officials of the U. A. W. and also by Philip Murray, speaking for the steel workers. Both insist on the enormous profit margins achieved by the war industries as contrasted with the savings possible, at war-time price levels, to the workers. The U. A. W. points out, in defense of its demands, that the companies are already cushioned by price increases granted in 1941 and 1942 against the impact of new wage rises. Rejecting management's claim that if the 30-per-cent increases are allowed the price of cars will have to go up accordingly, the union is prepared to show that the increase can be absorbed and still leave the companies a good profit. It recommends, in fact, stricter price controls in order to stimulate car buying and thus keep up production levels. These claims and counterclaims will be thoroughly aired during the weeks of controversy that lie ahead. But if they are to result in a workable program of industrial development, it is essential that the government take the positive measures already under consideration to build a full-employment economy and mitigate the effect of temporary dislocations.

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GENERAL WEDEMEYER'S PLAN FOR EMPLOYING American troops to garrison several important Chinese cities—including Peiping and Tientsin—"to assist in bringing order to the occupied areas" implies direct intervention in China's civil conflict in behalf of Chiang Kai-shek. While Chiang has been able to reassert his authority in the Yangtze valley and the Canton area of South China, he has no troops and little influence north of the Yellow River. Peiping is reported to be still in the hands of Japanese puppet troops. The entire area both north and south of the former Chinese capital has long been under the control of the resistance forces organized by Yenan. General Wedemeyer has already announced plans to ferry Kuomintang troops to Peiping in American planes; his desire to use American troops as an additional occupying force apparently arises from the discovery that Kuomintang troops alone cannot stand off the resistance forces. Presumably well-equipped American troops could hold the city, much as the Japanese have held it, despite the numerical superiority of the guerrillas. The impropriety of using American men drafted to defend their country against Axis aggression for bolstering Chiang Kai-shek's unpopular regime does not seem to have occurred to General Wedemeyer or Ambassador Hurley. Washington, however, is reported to be still "studying" Wedemeyer's request for additional troops. We wonder how much study would be necessary if the parents, wives, and friends of the men selected for this assignment would begin asking their Congressmen questions about this new "Archangel" expedition.

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THE NAVY HAS ANNOUNCED ITS INTENTION of setting up a magnificent target for whatever new engines of destruction may beset us in future years. Through the chairmen of the two Congressional committees on naval affairs, navy planners have set forth their objectives: a peacetime fleet of 1,079 vessels, including 18 battleships, 3 42,000-ton aircraft carriers, 24 Essex-class (27,000-ton) carriers, ten light (11,000-ton) carriers, 79 escort carriers; permanent personnel of more than half a million officers and men; progressive replacement of obsolescent ships and equipment; and—oh, yes—research in and development of new weapons. One may be pardoned for feeling that the program is perhaps a little grandiose; one might inquire gently, "Where, gentlemen, do you propose using this Gargantua? Against whom? In what cause? And had you heard of the atomic bomb? The pilotless explosive missile? The radar-directed explosive? The land-based high-altitude bomber with the 5,000-mile range, already obsolete?" As I. F. Stone pointed out in another connection recently in these columns, the brass hats remain undaunted. The mentality which could produce such a plan was neatly reflected in Admiral McCain's remark just before his tragic death: "Give me the fast carrier force and you can have the atomic bomb." The same mentality produced the Maginot Line and the disaster at Pearl Harbor. It is the mentality which always plans for the next war in terms of the last, the mentality which says aloud, "Good enough for pappy, good enough for me," the mentality which, if unchecked, will produce in a decade or two a disaster of far greater consequence than Pearl Harbor.

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SECRETARY ICKES'S WARNING TO THE PHILIPPINE government that it had better purge itself of collaborationists before it gets on with elections comes just seven weeks after *The Nation* carried the first story of the post-liberation role of reactionaries and collaborationists in Manila. It seemed quite apparent that this undemocratic development was taking place with the approval, if not the open sponsorship, of the American army authorities; in fact, many active guerrilla leaders who had fought the Japanese throughout the occupation but whose opinions happened to be left were languishing in jail. Mr. Ickes's sharp challenge has already had its effect, and the elections are to be postponed. But Mr. McNutt, as the newly appointed High Commissioner, will have no easy task in assisting in the rebirth of Philippine democracy. The collaborators have worked their way back into positions of high authority, they have the active support of the Islands' economic feudal overlords, and the democratic forces are weak and scattered. A beginning has been made, however, and we are glad to see that our scrappy Secretary of the Interior has shown where Washington stands in this basic fight for independence.

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THE SECRECY THAT SURROUNDED THE POTSDAM Conference may explain how an interesting item of news failed to reach the correspondents. *The Nation* has just learned that before the resolution on Spain was finally formulated by the Big Three, Stalin asked that the United States and Great Britain completely break off diplomatic relations with Franco: this seemed to be called for by the resolution presented to San Francisco by Ambassador Luis Quintanilla of Mexico, which barred Spain from the United Nations organization. Such a course would have established in fact a united policy on Spain among the major powers, since Russia has consistently refused to have anything to do with the puppet fascist regime that somehow has survived the general débâcle of fascism in Europe. Apart from wanting a united policy based on the San Francisco statement, Stalin is said to be motivated by a concern over the activities of the Nazis who have found refuge in Franco's sanctuary. Recently American correspondents have reported that the German exiles, now fully recovered from V-E Day shock, have been arrogantly boasting in the coffee-houses of their plans for the future. There are reliable stories of the reorganization of German espionage and propaganda serv-

ices in Spain, of agents in constant touch with South America, particularly Argentina, and of newly built terroristic groups operating over a wide area between Barcelona and Lisbon. The Germans are also pressing for the reopening of their schools, which had been fully Nazified during the Hitler period. Apparently the old teachers are at their posts, ready to take up where they left off. Stalin was obviously fully justified in demanding a complete diplomatic break with Franco. It would be interesting to know who was responsible for substituting words for action.

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MEANWHILE, THE SPANISH REPUBLICAN GOVERNment in Exile, through the secretary of the Basque delegation in London, has submitted a note to the Council of Ministers formally requesting recognition in place of the Franco government. Obviously, this must be the primary objective of the new Republican Cabinet; it must win substantial diplomatic support or relinquish power to a more effective and representative group. But the action in London was at least partly neutralized by an astonishing statement made at a press conference in New York by Fernando de los Rios, the new Foreign Minister. Dr. de los Rios did not support his government's request for recognition. Instead he urged the Big Five to demand that Franco release political prisoners, allow a free press, and recognize democratic rights in Spain. Does this mean that if Franco acceded to these demands, à la Argentina, the Republican Foreign Minister would be prepared to forgo restoration of the Republic? If not, what does it mean? In view of his government's action in London we can only suppose that Dr. de los Rios spoke carelessly and out of turn.

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BUT WHILE DIPLOMATS WRANGLE OVER SPAIN'S political fate, the human fate of thousands of Spanish democratic fighters is left to the uncertain mercy of voluntary relief. In France there are still perhaps 150,000 Spanish Republican veterans and their families stranded without any kind of organized support. Many of the men have been fighting in the democratic ranks since 1936—actively, as part of the French, British, and American armies, or in the FFI. Today they are men without a country; not even the UNRRA is permitted to help them. They and their civilian compatriots are without clothing, medicines, food, jobs. More than 20,000 ill Republican soldiers, recently returned to France from German war-prisoner camps, are on the waiting list of a hospital in Toulouse, which can do nothing for them unless it receives money and supplies. On Monday, September 24, the Spanish Refugee Appeal is holding a mass-meeting at Madison Square Garden in New York to raise funds for the Spanish Republicans in France; these funds will be distributed by the Unitarian Service Committee. We urge all readers who can possibly do so to attend the rally and those who cannot to contribute directly to the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee at 192 Lexington Avenue, New York.

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ARGENTINA, LIKE SPAIN AND OTHER SATELLITES of the defeated Axis, will not benefit from the lifting of export restrictions recently announced by the FEA. It will, in effect, be ostracized from the post-war trade expansion upon which it had counted to strengthen its shaky economy. Nor is the political situation any steadier. Last week Foreign Minister (for less than a month) Juan Isaac Cooke resigned because of "ill health"—possibly induced by a conversation with Spruille Braden which the latter termed the most constructive one he had during his stay in Buenos Aires. Less heartening was the fact that the Supreme Court, which many Argentines had hoped would serve as an interim government, has declared itself lacking in authority to withdraw recognition from the Perón regime and to govern the country itself. It had been petitioned to do so by the presidents, deans, and faculties of leading universities and by other pro-democratic groups. Accordingly the Argentines will have to find some other way of removing Perón, and it may be less pleasant. The nation-wide lawyers' strike, the resumption of classes in the University of Buenos Aires by secondary-school teachers dismissed last month on account of pro-democratic activities, the strike of transportation workers in Buenos Aires, and the defection of several powerful unions from the government-dominated C. G. T. to the pro-democratic U. O. L. (Local Labor Union) show the rising temper of the people. Last week the government closed U. O. L. headquarters and arrested six members in a desperate effort to stem the flow of unions into that organization, which has declared it will call a twenty-four-hour general strike "when circumstances advise."

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OUR NATIVE FASCISTS HAVE PLANS FOR veterans and are busy setting out the bait. They count on doing a rushing business if and when mass unemployment builds up among veterans a mass resentment against society. Some of these plans were brought to the attention of the House Committee on Un-American Affairs last week in a letter signed by Edward J. McHale, executive secretary of the American Veterans' Committee. He wanted certain organizations looked into because of their sponsorship and, in some cases, their stated aims. Here are a few:

- The Servicemen's Reconstruction League, sponsor Joe McWilliams;
- The Nationalist Veterans of World War II, sponsor Gerald L. K. Smith;
- The Protestant War Veterans, sponsor Edward J. Smythe;
- The American Order of Patriots, Houston, Texas, labeled for Gentiles only;
- The St. Sebastian Brigade, sponsor Father Charles E. Coughlin;
- The Military Order of the Liberty Bell, anti-Negro, anti-foreign.

Mr. McHale suggests that "unless their true aims are exposed to public scrutiny, many service men may unwittingly fall prey at home to the same principles and forces they fought against abroad."

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IN A RECENT DECISION THE UNITED STATES Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, by extracting the fangs of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association of Los Angeles, has finally concluded a fifty-year struggle for industrial democracy in Southern California. Founded in 1894, the M & M has for years been one of the most powerful open-shop organizations in the nation. It was the enactment of an anti-picketing ordinance, drafted and sponsored by the M & M, that precipitated a period of industrial violence in Los Angeles which culminated in the dynamiting of the Los Angeles *Times* on the evening of October 1, 1910. Indeed, the M & M has a long and ugly record. It has engaged in extensive industrial espionage, financed anti-labor employers, imported strike breakers, employed professional gunmen, trained employees to resist the trade-union movement, and inspired the formation of countless company unions. Under the terms of the decree upheld by the Ninth Circuit Court, the M & M and its affiliates, Southern Californians, Inc., The Neutral Thousands (TNT), and the Employers' Advisory Service, are permanently restrained from interfering with the formation of labor unions or contributing support to labor organizations, and the M & M is required to notify all its members, contributors, and supporters that it has terminated these and similar activities. The decision closes one chapter in industrial relations in Los Angeles and opens another. Los Angeles will never again be the "white spot," "the open-shop citadel," of America. The hearings in the M & M case, embodied in a transcript of twenty-one volumes with a thousand exhibits, consumed seven months. The trade-union movement of Los Angeles owes a deep debt of gratitude to David Sokol, formerly attorney for the National Labor Relations Board, for his vigorous prosecution of the government's case against this bastion of reaction.

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DEATH TO UNION ORGANIZERS HAS BEEN threatened by the mayor of Reform, Alabama. He recently told J. F. Hynds, executive council member of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, that "someone would be found dead" unless the union were broken up at once. The local police chief has served notice that he will take the law into his own hands and do the job himself if the union is not disbanded. For some time the union has been sending its members to work on seasonal jobs outside the town. Apparently the mayor and some local employers object. For on August 23, shortly after several members left to work in a New Jersey canning plant, a union officer was summoned by the police chief to appear in the mayor's office. When he did so, threats of violence were made by the mayor and the police chief. A sawmill operator who was present joined in, saying, "If any more Negroes leave here, we are coming after you." The good white folk of the town are understandably attached to their low-paid Negro workers, and naturally they don't want them coming home with fancy ideas about freedom and decent wages. Since federal and state laws protecting unions apparently don't operate in Reform, the Workers' Defense League has urged United States Attorney General Clark, to restore civil liberties there.

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FOR SOME MONTHS THE MEXICAN COMMITTEE Against Racism, with headquarters in Mexico City, has been conducting an aggressive campaign to expose discrimination against persons of Mexican descent in the state of Texas. Recently the committee charged that insultingly discriminatory practices had been found to exist in 150 Texas towns, notably in New Braunfels, Pecos, Snyder, Spur, and Melvin. The reaction to these charges in Texas has been amusingly ambivalent. After making a blanket denial of them, the New Braunfels *Herald* explains that "the so-called discrimination practiced in Texas is based not on race but on cleanliness and behavior; segregation is not discrimination." And the manager of the New Braunfels Chamber of Commerce is quoted by the San Antonio *Light* as saying: "We do not have discrimination for reasons of race or religion. The only discrimination which we practice is for social reasons and for reasons of healthfulness." It would seem that Texas has unwittingly entered a plea of "guilty" to the charges and should now be sentenced. Perhaps the United States should send an army of occupation to the Texas border counties and annul, by proclamation, these odious Nürnberg practices which deny persons of Mexican descent, many of them citizens of the United States, access to stores, restaurants, and places of amusement. The disingenuous defense entered by the state of Texas to the charges constitutes the best proof that segregation is per se discriminatory. While continuing to press its charges, the Committee Against Racism has tactfully announced that it "knows very well that the North American people are not racists and that only the most backward sections of the United States have a mentality like that which predominated in Europe during the Nazi domination."

Why Help England?

IT SEEMS to us that the first point to be kept in mind in the current Anglo-American conference on a substitute for Lend-Lease is that the cost of reconstructing the homes and economies of our allies must be counted as part of the cost of the war. Ethically, as the one member of the United Nations coalition which was enriched by the war, we ought to shoulder a large share of that cost. Politically, we have as big a stake in the reconstruction of Britain as in that of Western Europe and the U. S. S. R. In the long view their return to health is essential if they are to play their respective roles in a coalition strong enough to prevent a German *revanche* until we have had time to bring a new generation and a new point of view to birth there. A wise and far-seeing estimate of future political possibilities also dictates a generous course, lest the impoverished European allies be brought together by envy and resentment against the one power which, for the second time in a generation, has benefited financially by a world war.

If ethical imperatives and political acumen fail to move us, let us at least recognize economic necessities. Economic isolation is even less feasible for us than political isolation. A restored and expanding world market is essential to our prosperity and political stability. Our very wealth of productive resources, given the unplanned and anarchic character of American capitalism, makes us more dependent than most industrial countries on the shifting tides of the world market. We have most to lose from the deflation and disorganization of that market. With our war-expanded capacity to produce, we must boost our foreign trade to higher levels than ever before if we are to achieve anything like full employment at home. If the world market is free and expanding, full employment can be attained at home with a minimum of interference with so-called "free enterprise." The decline of the world market would progressively widen the extent of governmental interference and direction necessary for full employment.

The abrupt shutting off of Lend-Lease was critical for Britain; it may prove equally critical for us. In the past our trade has risen or fallen with the volume of our international lending. The precipitous drop in American exports from 1929 to 1932 exactly paralleled the sharp drop in American loans. There was a similar parallel movement in the slump of 1937-38, which only a new world war prevented from developing into a new world depression. But those declines dwindle in importance beside the sudden ending of a system by which we made available $44 billion in purchasing power to our allies in the short space of four years. It was Lend-Lease which boosted our export trade last year to three times the 1929 level. Sixty-two per cent of our cotton, to take but one example, was sold abroad under Lend-Lease. The sudden wiping out of so huge a market is a serious matter for American industry and agriculture, and in the absence of an adequate substitute we may find ourselves on an economic toboggan slide.

There is a shrewd observation in the report by the Senate's Post-War Planning Committee, "The Problem of Postwar Employment and the Role of Congress in Solving It." The committee said, "The mass purchasing power necessary to maintain a healthy mass production must come from the American people in purchases of consumer and capital goods. If it does not come from them, mass production cannot be maintained *except through subsidized exports* and a governmentally supported public-works program" (our italics). The war experience showed that all three are necessary on a huge and unprecedented scale to assure full employment of our vast potential in men and machines. But the fact is that ever since becoming a creditor country in the First World War, we have preferred, by one means or another, to subsidize exports rather than lower our tariff walls and accept goods in payment. The $17 billion we lent our allies in the First World War, the $17 billion of private foreign lending during the '20's, the $17 billion we spent buying gold from abroad in the '30's, were all disguised forms of export subsidy. The biggest was Lend-Lease, which totaled $44 billion. In each case the fact that these subventions not only kept our factories busy but enabled us to expand them constituted our repayment. Reconstruction grants or loans without interest will differ in only one essential from these devices of the past.

The essential difference is not that we are asking Britain and other Allied countries to establish "freer" trade as a condition for subventions of this kind. The difference is that Britain is in no mood to borrow much from us unless it is assured that we will take the steps necessary to rationalize and expand world trade. The first requires a willingness on our part to permit repayment in goods; to buy as much as we sell abroad. The second requires a determination to take the steps necessary to maintain full employment at home. For if the United States, which now provides half the world market, is prosperous, the rest of the world will be prosperous without resort to currency depreciation, export quotas, imperial preferences, or systems of blocked accounts. It is we, with our towering tariff walls and export bounties, who have sinned most against free trade. As former Secretary Morgenthau wrote in the New York *Herald Tribune* the other day, "The problem is not to browbeat or cajole the British into embracing the system we desire, but simply to make it feasible for them to participate in it." Britain was our best customer before the war. The Empire group forms one-fourth the world market. Their reconstruction and participation in an expanding world economy are as important to us as to them, and the cost is far less than the cost of another world depression.

Unregenerate Japan

GENERAL MAC ARTHUR'S orders abolishing the Imperial General Headquarters, clamping a censorship on the domestic press, closing the Domei news agency, suppressing the Black Dragon Society, and rounding up a number of the principal war criminals are rightly being hailed as necessary acts for cleaning out Japanese militarism. But it is difficult to reconcile these apparently sincere efforts to eradicate militarism with the opening of American publicity channels to the most insidious kind of Japanese propaganda, designed to confuse the American public and weaken our occupation policies. For the past week or so American newspaper readers have been fed a steady diet of statements from Japanese militarists, politicians, and industrialists in which each has sought to dissociate himself completely from responsibility for the war and its calamitous consequences for Japan. It appears from these statements that not a single Japanese leader—Togo, Tojo, Konoye, Suzuki, or any important industrialist—desired war. There suddenly seems to be an utter absence of militarists in Japan.

While the average American undoubtedly reads these protestations of innocence with a considerable amount of skepticism, few newspaper readers have sufficient knowledge of Japan to sift the false from the true. The net result can hardly fail to be what the Japanese intended—confusion about our occupation policies. When Tojo declared, before his attempted suicide, that history would absolve him of responsibility for starting the war, few Americans were taken in. But when Prince Konoye represented himself as a constant seeker for peace and declared that if he had been permitted to talk with the late President Roosevelt he could, with the Emperor's help, have avoided war, his statement had a degree of plausibility. For not many persons remember the clever manner in which the myth of Konoye's "liberalism" was used as a cloak to conceal the military's plans for the attacks on China and the United States. A month after the first of the supposedly moderate Konoye governments took office, the war against China was launched. The second Konoye government entered into a formal military alliance with Germany and Italy, and the third government was in power when plans were laid for the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Even more deceitful are the protestations of the industrialists. In a special dispatch to the New York *Times* George B. Jones attributes Japan's downfall to the "incessant friction" between Japanese militarists and business men, and quotes a Japanese industrialist as declaring that freedom of speech is essential to liberate business from the cruel clutches of the military. Other industrialists have been given space in our press to plead for American assistance to rebuild the industry destroyed by our bombing. At a five-course steak dinner sponsored by leading members of the *Zaibatsu,* American correspondents were told that without American aid large-scale unemployment would develop, which might "lead to dangerous thoughts, such as socialism." Obviously, there is a certain amount of truth in the industrialists' complaints against the militarists. Some rivalry among the various Japanese factions making up the ruling group did exist. But what the American public will not learn from these skilfully dressed up dispatches from Tokyo is that the industrialists and political leaders played as active a role as the militarists in planning Japan's bid for world mastery. Nor can they be expected to know that many of the wartime restrictions which the industrialists now blame on the militarists were in reality sponsored by the *Zaibatsu* to strengthen their hold on the Japanese economy and lay the basis for an imperialist expansion of their power. While the spokesmen of the *Zaibatsu* and the pre-war political leaders are filling American newspaper columns with their carefully prepared handouts, the truth about the role of these groups in Japan's war preparations never appears in the press because the oligarchy alone has access to American correspondents.

It is difficult to say who is more to blame for permitting the Japanese ruling group to pour this propaganda into the American press—MacArthur, the correspondents, or our newspaper editors. Since the press rarely exercises self-restraint in such matters, the chief responsibility apparently rests with the occupation authorities. They have clamped down on Domei, whose chief crime seems to have been that it scooped the American press on several occasions, but have done nothing to stop the propaganda flow at its source. It will be recalled that the same situation arose in Germany, but that after Göring had taken advantage of American press facilities to present his case before the world the American military authorities clamped down on all interviews with German war leaders.

The misleading picture of Japanese war guilt which is being foisted on the American public is the more dangerous because General MacArthur is apparently personally unaware of the role which the *Zaibatsu* and the so-called moderates played in the preparations for Japan's bid for world domination. Not a single industrialist, financier, or party leader is listed among the forty war criminals whose arrest has been demanded of the Japanese government. In defending himself against the accusation that his occupation policies so far had been "soft," MacArthur rightly pointed out that some caution is necessary until the military phases of the occupation are further developed. But the anxiety which has arisen over MacArthur's policies concerns the direction rather than the speed of his actions. Undoubtedly some of Japan's war criminals will face Allied justice. But punishment of a few individuals will be meaningless as long as the feudal social and economic structure that bred Japanese militarism is allowed to remain intact.

The New Reservationists

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, September 14

THE strategy of the fight against the Full Employment bill is the strategy of the fight against the League of Nations. There is one relevant difference between Henry Cabot Lodge and Robert A. Taft. Lodge at one time in his life favored some kind of League to enforce peace.

Taft's is the more consistent record. The senior partner in Cincinnati's leading corporation-law firm has always believed, and continues to believe, that full employment is not only incompatible with a capitalist system but undesirable under one. If he could afford to speak frankly, he would agree with the article in the London *Times* quoted by Beveridge, "Unemployment is not a mere accidental blemish in a private-enterprise economy. On the contrary, it is part of the essential mechanism of the system, and has a definite function to fulfil . . . it maintains the authority of master over man." But neither the American climate of opinion nor the narrow margin by which Taft was reelected to the Senate permits him the luxury of such plain talk. Except in private, he has given up the view that the fight for full employment is the result of a kind of Communist plot. Taft is now for full employment, and at the moment he is for the Full Employment bill. But he is for it with reservations, and these reservations, like Lodge's to the Covenant, are designed not to perfect the bill but to cripple it.

Without greatly intensified effort by progressive forces, Taft may be successful. It was only by a tie vote that the bill managed to squeak past the Taft amendments and out of the Senate Banking and Currency Subcommittee yesterday. The going will be rougher in full committee, where the wrangle to whittle away the bill will be resumed on Tuesday. It has been the fate of this measure to undergo a constant process of "perfection," first by its friends and now by its enemies; it has grown constantly vaguer in the process. The original proposal, as made in August, 1944, by James Patton of the National Farmers' Union, may have been crude, but it was concrete. It was based on the generally accepted view that it will take a volume of output of about $200 billion at current prices to maintain full employment; and that about $40 billion of capital investment a year is required to maintain production and employment at that level. Patton proposed that the federal government guarantee that level of investment, estimating the expected private investment annually and planning to fill the gap—it would be considerable—with government investment. There are differences of opinion about this approach, but it has the virtue of backing up the full-employment pledge with the promise of a specific and measurable course of action. There are difficulties in this proposal, but they are the difficulties inherent in any attempt at full employment under capitalism, and these difficulties are dodged rather than eliminated by dropping the Patton proposal.

The bill reported out of subcommittee yesterday does not differ substantially from S 380, as introduced last January by Senators Murray, Wagner, Thomas, and O'Mahoney. It provides, as did the Patton measure, for an annual survey of projected investment in a kind of "National Budget," covering the expected income and outlay of the whole economy rather than merely of the federal government. The bill ties itself into knots, bowing, scraping, and leaning over backward, to placate the national cult of "free enterprise," but it does finally say "to the extent that continuing full employment cannot otherwise be assured" the government shall "provide such volume of federal investment and expenditure as may be needed." This is the one concrete way in which the bill promises to implement its pledge that "all Americans able to work and desiring work have the right to an opportunity for useful, remunerative, regular, and full-time employment."

It is at this pledge, and at any dollar-on-the-barrel-head promise to keep it, that the Taft amendments are aimed. One of the weasel-worded changes Taft proposes would substitute for the right to work the proposition that "all Americans have the right to have their governments adopt policies which shall provide to those able to work and seeking work useful, remunerative, regular," etc. Since this is neither a contract nor a mortgage nor even a statute enforceable by litigation, but a declaration of policy, shyster draftsmanship of this kind is apt to prove futile. The importance of the bill lies in the expectations it arouses and the pressure these expectations will exert on government in time of stress. Subtle jokers are unlikely to affect these popular expectations, since few of the jobless will consult a lawyer.

More important than Taft's effort to dupe public opinion is his attempt by amendment to channel Congressional action away from any adequate program to create full employment by federal investment. Taft would eliminate the heart of the bill, the provision quoted above which provides for "such volume of federal investment and expenditure" as is necessary to assure full employment. Taft's amendments would allow for some federal spending as a last resort, but this is all hedged about with assurances of a balanced budget rather than full employment. In subcommittee yesterday he put forward a new one, a proposal for "carefully planned public works" to be "accelerated" when unemployment increases and "decelerated" when unemployment declines. This was successfully attacked as an attempt to limit federal expenditures to public works. It was also objected that Taft's proposal embodied no promise of sufficient public works to generate full employment. This amendment will turn up again in full committee, if not on the floor, for it is nicely calculated to take in the unthinking and the unwary.

The Full Employment bill as it stands is inadequate. Full employment will not be achieved by compensatory government investment. Ultimately we shall have to plan industrial output in terms of human need, guarantee industry a market for full production of annual quotas, and distribute left-over commodities by a stamp plan to the poorest paid. But these long-range reflections should neither deter us from full support of the bill nor disparage the great service being rendered by the Senators fighting for it. The battle over the Full Employment bill is of crucial and historic importance; the bill's imperfections can be corrected by experience; nobody really knows how to achieve full employment under private enterprise anyhow. The important thing is the principle established, the expectation aroused, the pressure generated. Senators Wagner, Taylor, Mitchell, Murdock, and Tobey deserve the highest praise for their brave fight in the subcommittee and full support in the battles ahead.

The fight will grow worse. In full committee the line-up is very close. Two Democrats, Radcliffe of Maryland and Fulbright of Arkansas, are supporting Taft. Bankhead of Alabama is torn between loyalty to the Administration and to the Farm Bureau; the latter, which opposes the bill, will probably win. In that case either McFarland of Arizona or Carville of Nevada can cripple the bill by providing a majority of one for the Taft amendments. If the Administration puts on the heat, it should be able to keep McFarland and Carville, if not Bankhead, in line. In that case, the Full Employment bill is safe. But if it is true, as the *Wall Street Journal* reports, that Democratic leaders "are telling members Truman's 'liberal' proposals are long-range, not immediate," Taft will win and full employment will lose. I might add that the bill will face even tougher opposition in the House, though Patman and 105 other Representatives are jointly sponsoring the measure.

I end with two sidelights on the bill, one sad, the other amusing. The sponsors of the bill found it necessary in its most recent revision to omit from the statement of purposes "the full utilization of our national resources." Behind the talk of "free enterprise" to which they must make concessions is a deeply rooted philosophy of scarcity. The amusing sidelight concerns Taft. Four Republicans supporting the bill—Morse, Tobey, Aiken, and Langer—put in some excellent amendments. One provided that any full-employment program should be accomplished "without resort to measures or programs that would create unemployment or impede the improvement of living standards in other nations." This had to be watered down to a compromise provision against "economic warfare" because Taft (and Radcliffe) objected that it might interfere with such measures to protect American industry as export bounties or merchant-marine subsidies. The stalwart supporters of "free enterprise" seem to feel no twinge of inconsistency between their ideological tub-thumpings and their consistent pursuit of governmental intervention to give favored producers unfair advantages. The spectacle is a familiar one, but none the less nauseating.

The Tragedy of German Labor

BY SAUL K. PADOVER

(Historian, political scientist; author of "Jefferson" and other books; before the war assistant to the Secretary of the Interior; during the war an officer in the army's Psychological Warfare Division)

MY CONCLUSIONS about Germany, which I shall state before the arguments, are seemingly paradoxical. (1) German labor's record under Hitler was, from the point of view of democracy, miserable. (2) Without German labor, especially without the Social Democrats, there can ultimately be no democracy in Germany. (3) Military Government, aware of the first fact, is blind to the second, and in the name of democracy is supporting anti-democratic elements.

I am writing from fairly close contact with MG and extensive experience with Germans of all classes. I entered Germany with the army in the first weeks of our penetration and spent the succeeding period of the war in the Reich investigating conditions and interrogating German civilians. It is particularly important for those who are concerned with the future of democracy, especially in Europe, to have an unsentimental appraisal of liberal elements and tendencies. Without a knowledge of the facts, we shall not be able to formulate an effective program for Germany or, what is more important, correct MG in its waywardness.

First, the story of German labor.

After we took Aachen I had occasion to discuss the German labor movement with former Social Democratic trade-union officials. One of them said: "The workers? They have been the greatest disappointment of all. They are not in the least anti-fascist." I thought that this was the judgment of a frustrated official. But there was nothing particularly subjective about the comment of another Aachener, a conservative lawyer who was one of the city's many Bürgermeisters. "Our German workers," he said, "have never caused the Führer any difficulties. All they asked for was bread and beer, and they shouted Heil Hitler!" Farther north, in the coal region, a class-conscious proletarian miner spat contemptuously at the mention of German labor. He said that the German workers were "spineless and gutless" robots. "*Knechtseelen*" (souls of slaves), he called them. And in Düsseldorf a prominent Ruhr industrialist said to me blandly: "No, we never had any trouble with labor during the war. They never sabotaged or slowed up their work. They were very loyal."

The deeper we entered into Germany the more we found that these comments were well founded. We discovered to our astonishment that all the pre-war rumors about a German underground were hardly more than that—rumors. We found that talk of resistance on the part of labor during the war was propaganda—possibly manufactured by Goebbels to mislead the Allies. We learned that the German workers were among the most reliable and unwavering supporters of Hitlerism.

I kept on asking why? I knew that the German trade-union movement had served as a model for the world and that it had given the German worker dignity, security, and numerous social benefits. I was aware that the German Social Democratic Party, a labor party, had been strong enough to found the Weimar Republic on the ruins of the Kaiser's empire. And the Communists too, I recalled, had polled nearly 6,000,000 votes in the 1932 elections. What had happened to all these people?

WORKERS THOROUGHLY "COORDINATED"

The picture as it emerged from a prolonged investigation is not conducive to optimism, but on the other hand it helps to chasten our judgment. We must remember what happened. To begin with: the Nazis cleverly realized that the German is an obedient soul addicted to organization. They knew that the German trade unions were over-organized and over-disciplined, much like the Prussian army, and that the way to control this delicate mechanism was to destroy its leadership. When the Nazis seized power in 1933—without the resistance of the Social Democratic leadership be it remembered, although many of the rank and file were ready to fight—they did not molest ordinary workers, ordinary Socialists, or ordinary Communists. Instead, they rounded up the Socialist, Communist, and trade-union leaders and officials and other individuals of prominence and threw them into concentration camps, where many of them, perhaps most, were massacred. After that, Hitler had no difficulty in taking over the whole trade-union mechanism and incorporating it into the Nazi party machine. And German psychology being what it is, the workers who had previously voted red and saluted with the clenched fist, now for the most part voted *Ja* and saluted with the outstretched arm.

Psychologically, the Nazis well knew how to handle the workers. They flattered and wooed them in all kinds of ways. They preserved the old Socialist holiday, May 1, as Labor Day. They set up a Labor Front for the "benefit of labor." They wrote miles of copy on the "dignity of labor." They organized *Kraft durch Freude* excursions for poor workers. They gave laborers vacations with pay. They set up labor trustees in the factories and shops to whom the workers could go with their grievances.

Not all these Nazi institutions were phony. Some were of obvious benefit to the workers. I recall a complaint made by a Ruhr manufacturer, a young man who had joined the Nazi Party in 1929 and was an ardent admirer of Hitler. He said to me: "There were some things I did not like about the Führer's policies. His treatment of labor I liked least of all. In my own factory, where I employed 450 men, I had less to say when it came to personnel problems than the labor agent who was put in by the Nazi Party. Often he listened to the workers instead of to me. And me an old party member!"

It should also be remembered that the Nazis were not foolish enough to give the workers merely circuses. They also gave them bread. Under the Republic millions of persons had been unemployed. The Nazis abolished unemployment. True, they did it by building wonderful *Autobahnen*—we certainly appreciated them in the spring of 1945—for which there were few automobiles and by manufacturing armaments for which there was no immediate consumer market, but this did not trouble the average worker, who was satisfied with a steady job and good pay. As a matter of fact, pay in Germany was so good that even today most people have plenty of money. During the war prices were kept within reasonable limits and the workers were able to save considerable sums, particularly since there were also many shortages.

By the time the war came, German labor was already thoroughly coordinated and if there was discontent it was inaudible. Up to 1939 Hitler's Reich enjoyed considerable prosperity; afterward the first two years of the war brought immense loot into the country. German labor, together with German Junkers and farmers and business men, shared in the spoils.

For German labor there was never any awakening. A time came when the middle classes and more particularly the top officers realized that the game was up, that the Führer could not deliver what he had promised, and that therefore it was necessary to save what was left of Germany by liquidating the Great Man. Labor was not an active participant in the plot, despite some recent claims by certain apologists in this country. Drugged by years of propaganda, and perhaps also contented with work and wages, the workers displayed a coolie-like indifference to political problems and to the future.

Apathy is apparently a communicable disease, and the few pre-Hitler labor leaders who survived the Nazi slaughter were stricken with the same sickness of irresponsibility and political confusion that ravaged the rest of the country. I know of one eminent labor personality, a leading figure in the left wing of the Catholic Center Party, who was approached by the anti-Hitler conspirators in 1942 and asked to give the plot his support. The conspirators, headed by Leipzig's Mayor Gördeler, were mainly army officers and would need some show of labor support if they succeeded. The labor leader told me that for two years—until the attempt on Hitler's life in July, 1944—he participated in the secret meetings of the conspirators, but only as an observer. At the last secret meeting, which took place at Godesberg, he said to the conspirators: "My friends and I will cheerfully welcome the elimination of Hitler, but we will not cooperate with militarists. If you, Herr 'Müller,' succeeded in killing Hitler, I would jump up and cry 'Hoch Müller,' and immediately afterward, 'Down with Müller.' I would appreciate your deed as a tremendous service to Germany, but I would deplore your taking power in the name of generals. I would go up and down Germany urging the people to put up monuments in your honor but to keep power out of your hands."

I ran into a similar situation in one of the biggest cities in the Ruhr. We needed a Bürgermeister, and the only qualified non-Nazi we could find was Herr Holzmann, formerly the business manager of a number of Socialist trade-union newspapers. When I interviewed Herr Holzmann he expressed happiness that Germany had "at last been freed from the yoke of Hitlerism." He was most grateful to the Americans, he said. When he was asked to show his gratitude by accepting the job of mayor of his home city, Herr Holzmann's face registered a series of emotions—surprise, embarrassment, fear. He was not worthy of so great an honor, he stammered. It sounded unconvincing, and he hastily added that he could not accept such a great honor without first consulting his Social Democratic colleagues. But it was not possible to consult his colleagues, he explained, because the bombings had scattered them and he did not have their addresses. Suppose he gave us the names and we located his colleagues? No, no, that would not help either because he had no means of transportation. Well, we would give him transportation. Herr Holzmann shook his head desperately. Really, really, he wished the American Military Government would not force him into such a difficult post. I said: "The Americans don't *force* anybody to do anything. All I can say is that if you, a Social Democrat and a representative of labor, do not have in you a sense of duty to your guilty country or a sense of obligation to the liberated workers, then one may conclude that Germany is indeed beyond redemption and should be abandoned to its fate." His reply was characteristic: "If you, sir, think it is my obligation to accept, then of course I *must* accept."

COMMUNISTS AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

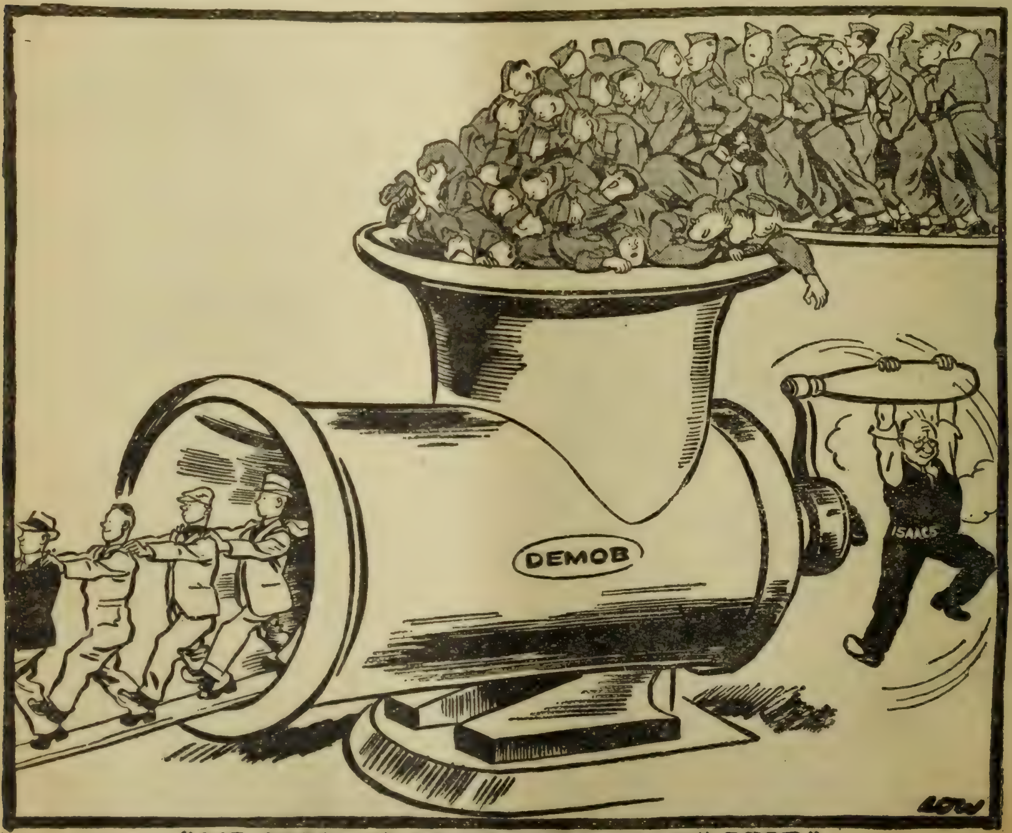
And what about the Communists? Everywhere we went in Germany middle-class people warned us against the "dangers of communism." Upon investigation this turned out to be a mixture of prevarication and political hypocrisy. The truth is: we found few real Communists in Germany. By 1936 or 1937 the Nazis had exterminated the party leaders whom they had succeeded in capturing. As for the Communist members and voters, it is an unpalatable fact that many of them became Nazis. The old joke that a Nazi was like a beefsteak—brown outside and red inside—had grains of solid truth in it. In the coal-mining areas in the Rhineland we found that approximately one-third of the members of the K. P. D. (*Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands*) abandoned the hammer and sickle for the swastika. The other two-thirds, mostly older men, remained true to their faith, but without leadership and without a program they sank into apathy and the bitterness of frustration.

Germany is the only country in Europe where the Communists have no moral ground to stand on and no record of resistance to the fascist tyranny. Everywhere else, notably in France and Belgium and Italy and Yugoslavia, the Communists were heroic fighters against fascism and frequently the backbone of the resistance movement; but in Germany, particularly during the war, Communists accepted Nazism like the rest of the population.

A few days after we liberated the Buchenwald camp I ran into the prize German bolshevik. He was a thin little fellow who had spent all the years of the Hitler regime in various concentration camps and somehow survived. In Buchenwald he was a leader in the Communist-dominated committee that had a good deal to do with the internal administration of the camp under the S. S. As I was listening to him in front of the crematorium—where the heaps of human bones and ashes left one bereft of speech—he noticed a Polish prisoner carrying an armful of clothing and shoes—obviously looted stuff. The little Communist turned on the Pole and upbraided him sharply for "robbing German homes." I told the Communist what I thought of his nation for having enslaved and murdered millions of innocent human beings, and I asked him whether a pitiful slave-prisoner did not have the right to get something to wear, even if he took it from a German home. The Communist muttered, *"Ja, ja, aber man muss ordentlich sein"* (Yes, yes, but one must be orderly), and he repeated stubbornly, *"Man muss immer ordentlich sein."* Such people do not make revolutions.

Whether a revived Communist Party would make headway in Germany—outside of the Russian-occupied area—is problematical, unless MG policies drive German labor into the not unwilling arms of Moscow. The more intelligent older workers recall, not without a touch of bitterness, that the Communist Party of Germany was one of the prime instruments in the destruction of the Weimar Republic and in the annihilation of German democracy. Up to the end of 1932 the German Communists' slogan was that the enemy (of the working class) was socialism, not Nazism; their program was: destroy the Republic first, Hitler later. The German Communists achieved 50 per cent of their program.

The Social Democrats still have a large actual and potential following among the German workers. They lack, however, a program that makes sense and, above all, self-confidence. The Social Democratic leaders who survived under Hitler are older men, weak and vacillating and troubled by a bad conscience. Unlike the Communists, few of the Socialists ever became active Nazis; on the other hand, like the Communists, they did nothing against the Nazis either. Their record up to the outbreak of the war was pitifully inadequate; their record during the war, which in their hearts they condemned, is beneath contempt. They knew that the war was unjust and of Germany's making, but they never raised their voices in protest. They knew, as did most other Germans, that the German government was gassing and burning to death millions of guiltless people, but they never made a gesture of resistance. To protest or to resist meant death or the concentration camp, and especially in the last years of the war there was not enough moral courage left among the 70,000,000 Germans to produce martyrs or protesters or resistants. One thinks of the thousands of French resistants murdered by the Gestapo; one thinks of the thousands of Polish and Greek and Norwegian and Yugoslav underground fighters massacred by the S. S.; one thinks of the handful of desperate Jews, wretchedly armed, who held up the Wehrmacht for many days in the battle of the Warsaw ghetto—and one wonders why only the voice of servility came out of Germany and no cry for justice.



" WE ARE (PUFF!) DOING OUR (PUFF! PUFF!) BEST "

Last winter I spent an afternoon with a master mechanic who had been a lifelong member of the Social Democratic Party. He told how he had brought up his only son in anti-fascist principles, how he had taught his boy that "fascism means the death of humanity," and how the son grew up to hate Hitler and all his works. The boy was drafted into the Wehrmacht, and at the age of twenty-three he fell near Sebastopol. His last letter read: "Dear parents, don't send me any more food parcels. . . . My hour of death is near. . . . I die for my wife and child, not for the Hitler system." The father's voice trembled as he said to me: "When the news of the boy's death came I said to myself, ten times better that he died that way than that he should have died for fascism." Then he pounded his fist on the table and cried for heaven's vengeance upon Hitler and his fascist gang. During the war this man had worked in a factory making precision instruments for submarines. I asked him what he did to show his resistance to Hitler's "unjust fascist war." "Resist?" he exclaimed; "how could one resist? *Es war doch verboten.*"

The great god *Verboten* dominated the lives of Hitler's workers. They were told that it was *verboten* to have anything to do with the foreign slaves—their fellow-proletarians. And it is a tragic commentary upon German laborers that they obeyed orders. In private some German workers bewailed the fate of the miserable wretches who were dragged from their distant homes and deprived of human rights—including the right to marry, the right to speak, the right to enter restaurants or movies, the right to receive wages, the right to buy necessities—but in practice they did little or nothing to help them. As a matter of fact, German workers frequently showed contempt for the "inferior races" who worked beside them in shops and factories.

WHOM ELSE CAN WE TRUST?

It will be asked: If such is the character of German labor, how can we hope for a democratic future in Germany? And is, then, MG not right in treating all Germans more or less alike? The truth is that unless we intend to abandon the Reich entirely to the fascists and their cousins the Pan-Germans, we have no choice but to put our hopes on the workers. This may sound like contradiction of what I have said about them, but an analysis of the German class structure leads to no other conclusion.

Whom else can we work with in Germany? The farmers are stolid and unpolitical, and are inclined to support any regime that does not bother them too much. The upper strata, including industrialists and clericals, are opportunists whose only loyalty is to themselves and whose only interest is self-interest. They supported Hitler because he was successful; now they are collaborating with us because we are victorious. They are not our friends, and they are certainly not the friends of Germany's potential democratic elements. As for the middle class, it is one of Europe's tragedies that the German bourgeoisie was nurtured by autocracy and not by revolution. By and large, the German middle class has no tradition of liberty and no interest in democracy, because it came to power and maintained itself in power through an alliance with the feudal aristocracy. Many of the more intelligent members of the middle class, especially lawyers and business men, are playing with the idea of setting up a corporative state as an answer both to Nazism, which is not popular with the Americans, and to democracy, which is feared by the bourgeoisie. (This experiment, which I hope to describe in a subsequent article, was tried in Aachen under the nose of MG.)

But the German workers, despite their spinelessness, are not wedded to any program of world conquest; they have no vested interest, either emotional or economic, in war or expansion. They are susceptible to democratic ideas, to which so many non-proletarian Germans are so sneeringly hostile, and their leaders, particularly the Social Democrats and the left-wing Catholic Centrists, have a strong pro-Allied orientation. Moreover, in 1919 the German working class—and the fact deserves to be stressed—made a fair effort to establish a democratic republic, a republic which the bourgeoisie never really accepted and which it knifed in favor of a fascist dictatorship in 1933.

Labor's record, since the occupation, has been consistently good. In numerous instances workers hailed us as "liberators" and offered to help us against the Nazis. Frequently they were cold-shouldered by MG, especially when they were Socialists or Communists, but they have permitted no resentment to dampen their desire to cooperate with the occupation. Gradually, as the grip of the Nazi terror vanished from their memories, they began to show a certain amount of political awakening, which took the form, in such cities as Leipzig and Cologne and Munich, of protests against MG's appointments of Hitlerites to office. Elsewhere the more intelligent and politically conscious workers—a minority, to be sure—met in small groups and drew up lists of fascists.

It seems to me to be the height of political shortsightedness to reject, as we do in Germany, actual and potential political allies. German workers, especially the politically experienced Social Democrats, are ready for full cooperation, and with our help they could lay democratic foundations in the Reich. At present they are weak and beaten and humiliated, and they have, of course, a bad conscience. To make them effective allies, we must restore their self-confidence and treat them with respect, not suspicion. It is, furthermore, our plain duty to use this potentially democratic material properly, and teach it our democratic ways. If we do not, if we continue our present policy, we shall ultimately drive these people either into the arms of the Communists or into those of the extreme nationalists.

Some day we shall get out of Germany, and to whom shall we leave the destiny of the country? To the clericals, *à la* Dollfuss? Or the industrialists? Or the generals? That would be to invite black reaction and, inevitably, war. It is, indeed, strange that the Americans, who profess democracy, have been so timid about encouraging democracy, while the Russians have boldly supported Communist and even other anti-fascist activities in their zone. The German Communists' record of resistance to Nazism was no better than that of the German Social Democrats, but the Russians do not let that consideration interfere with their long-range program. Can it be that we have less confidence in democracy than the Russians have in communism?

[*This is the first of a series of articles on Military Government and democracy in Germany.*]

The Constitutional Debate in France

BY FREDERIC POTTECHER

(A French journalist who during the German occupation edited a clandestine paper in Corsica. He now broadcasts from the French government's short-wave station in Paris, using the heading "Mot du Jour de Jean des Vosges.")

Paris, September 12 (by cable)

ALTHOUGH the debate is not yet closed, the problems which the French people face in their search for a new and more democratic constitutional framework are now clear. The charter of the Third Republic, framed in 1875, might have been taken as a point of departure, but it is felt, particularly among the newer parties and groups, that the document is outmoded and that its application, even if only temporary, would be dangerous. General de Gaulle and his government have also taken a strong position against a return to 1875. Meanwhile public opinion is divided between two opposing tendencies. All the parties and "movements" which have come out of the Resistance declare themselves in favor of a single, all-powerful Constituent Assembly to which the government should be entirely responsible. The Radical Socialists and some of the Socialists, on the other hand, are against such a radical solution.

The dispute began the day General de Gaulle asserted that a sovereign Constituent Assembly might lead to dictatorship. This is surely true, and if he had stopped there he could probably have avoided the passionate tone which the dispute has since taken on. But he went on to say that pending the formulation of the new constitution—that is, for a period of seven months at most—the government should not be answerable to the Assembly except in matters having to do with the budget, military affairs, structural changes, and the ratification of treaties. Immediately a storm of polemics arose, and the majority of delegates to the Consultative Assembly ranged themselves against General de Gaulle. It is clear, said the delegates, that while the head of the government fears the dictatorship of a sovereign Assembly, he is quite willing to impose upon the country, at least temporarily, the semi-dictatorship of the government. And at once one heard suggestions of a desire for personal power on the part of General de Gaulle.

In the face of this controversy De Gaulle proposed that the will of the people be consulted. The people, he said, can make known their wishes by means of a referendum on two questions which, translated from their legal phraseology, ask, in effect, "Do you want a new constitution rather than the constitution of 1875?" and "Do you want a Constituent Assembly with limited powers rather than a sovereign omnipotent Assembly?" De Gaulle asks for a "yes" answer to both questions, insisting that the extraordinary powers of the government, if granted by the people, need not necessarily last for seven months, for if the Constituent Assembly is "diligent," the new constitution can be drawn up and applied in a much shorter time; and he has reaffirmed his determination to submit to the charter of the Fourth Republic as soon as it is ready. This appeasement was of no avail, at least not with the majority of the delegates, particularly since the idea of a referendum strikes terror into the hearts of such stalwarts as Paul Bastid (Radical Socialist delegate and editor of *Aurore*), Louis Marin (rightist delegate and editor of *Nation*), Joseph Denais (also a right-wing delegate), whom a strange hazard has made partner-in-arms of the Communist delegate, Jacques Duclos, Georges Cogniot (Communist delegate and editor of *Humanité*), and such fellow-travelers as Pierre Hervé (editor of *Action*).

The argument advanced by the representatives of the Radical Socialist Party and of the Moderates (notably the Republican Federation), enthusiastically seconded by the Communists, is that the referendum proposed by De Gaulle would probably be much more a vote for or against De Gaulle than a really democratic popular consultation. Pierre Hervé, writing in *Libération*, said: "The referendum under present circumstances—and so long as it has not been previously provided for by an elected Assembly as part of our constitutional structure—could only be a plebiscite endangering the Republic." De Gaulle's left-wing adversaries insist that a sovereign Assembly would not necessarily rule out the principle of two chambers or endanger the stability of the government.

The unicameral principle, dear to the Resistance movement, is proving to be another sticky question. The left-wing Catholic group known as the Mouvement Républicain Populaire (represented by such men as Bidault, Teitgen, De Menthon, Schumann, and by the newspaper *Aube*) is in favor of a single chamber, and so are most of the other Resistance groups, the Communists, and a good many Socialists. The Radical Socialists and the Moderates, on the other hand, favor a bicameral legislature. The fate of the Senate is at stake.

To understand the problem of the Senate and the hostility which the upper chamber, now in abeyance, is encountering, it must be remembered that the Senators, unlike the Deputies, were not elected by universal suffrage but by the Deputies of each department, the General Councilors, the arrondissement, canton, and municipal Councilors,* and, finally, the Mayors. Thus their electors were themselves elected. The pressure which the government used on occasion to exert on the Senators by bringing into play the power of the Ministry of the Interior over the Prefects and Subprefects, often in league with the Mayors and Deputies, was notorious. Moreover, the Senators were elected for nine years, whereas the Deputies were elected for only four. In consequence, although a third of the Senate was renewed every three years, each Senator held his seat through two legislatures. According to the constitution of the Third Republic a Senator had to be over forty years old. For all these reasons, this highly undemocratic body was able to exercise not only a moderating but often a neutralizing influence. It could even override the will of the Chamber and precipitate the fall of a ministry.

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* There are in France and Corsica 91 departments, 281 arrondissements, 8,027 cantons, and 38,011 communes.

It is easy to understand, therefore, why the Resistance groups, the Communists, and numerous Socialists, all animated by a revolutionary spirit, are so opposed to a resurrection of the old Senate. And why, for the same reasons, the Moderates and the Radical Socialists—in other words, the conservatives—cling to it. But in fairness it should be added that some of the supporters of a bicameral legislature are motivated by the belief, traditional in French Republican philosophy, that an upper house is a necessary part of the French system of "checks and balances."

Are the two theses irreconcilable? The deadlock seemed almost hopeless until M. Vincent Auriol, former Minister of Finance and a Socialist of great political wisdom, proposed to the Consultative Assembly a middle way which almost won a majority. The Auriol proposal is that there should be a second house but not a Senate. This house, a National Council, would share the legislative powers exercised by the Assembly except those having a political character. It would not have a decisive voice in matters of budget, upon which the Assembly would have final say. The National Councilors would be elected by representatives of production, commercial organizations, professional federations, labor unions, and the like. The universities, bar associations, various fraternal orders, and so on would also elect their Councilors.

M. Auriol's idea is quite new. There is a real possibility that this National Council, more or less modified, may become the second French legislative chamber. Thus the enemies of the Senate would be appeased and the desires of the bicameralists satisfied.

The principles determining the way the French people are to vote on October 21 and be represented in the forthcoming Constituent Assembly have also become a matter of hot political debate. These principles were set forth in an ordinance of August 17. Each of 506 deputies is to represent on the average some 80,000 continental Frenchmen. The old voting list has been discarded in favor of new constituencies based on population according to the following system: each department will get two seats irrespective of its population; one seat will be granted for every hundred thousand above the first hundred thousand and an extra seat for the remainder if this is over 25,000. This system clearly favors the country regions at the expense of the urban centers. An added objection is that the government possesses no up-to-date statistics. The last census was taken in 1936. Since then a noticeable shift in population has taken place from the country to the city. This makes the government's scheme, published in detail only last Friday, doubly unjust. According to present provisions, for instance, the department of Bouches-du-Rhône, including Marseilles, was given one seat for every 89,000 inhabitants in 1936 while neighboring Lozère was given one for every 49,000. The discrepancy, as everybody knows, is actually far greater than this.

Obviously the section of the population which is hit the hardest by the government's scheme is the workers, who must in many cases muster twice as many votes to elect one delegate as the peasants. That is why the plan has provoked criticism from the ranks of the left and among trade unionists, criticism which has not been appeased by De Gaulle's recent admonition to Léon Jouhaux, head of the Confédération Générale du Travail, to keep out of politics. Jouhaux, it will be recalled, headed the delegation representing the C. G. T., the Radicals, the Socialists, the Communists, and the League for the Rights of Man which sought an audience with De Gaulle to protest against the government's action. That protest has now been presented in the form of a memorandum. Since as the result of De Gaulle's earlier bluntness the C. G. T. recommended to its 5,000,000 members that they vote no on the second question, De Gaulle may be impelled to give thought to the protest. The Minister of the Interior, Adrien Tixier, had a long conversation with De Gaulle the night before last, and it is believed several modifications in the voting law were considered, especially plans for increasing the representation of Paris and other large cities. No figures, however, have yet been published*

General de Gaulle

Another controversy has arisen over the methods of voting. The government plan provides for a so-called *scrutin de liste* by departments. In other words, each party or group of parties must go before the voters of a department with a list containing the candidate for every seat. But the government's proportional-representation scheme, providing for the utilization of the surplus votes to elect minority representatives in each department, means that these lists do not stand or fall together. The system is most complicated, and the result will be that departments where no party's following is overwhelmingly preponderant may have both majority and minority delegates. The left is disgruntled because it feels it may thus be prevented from winning a clear-cut majority as Labor did in the British elections. And many impartial observers, while admitting the theoretical justice of the government's scheme, believe it may have certain practical ill effects, particularly in diminishing the government's working majority in the Chamber and making for general instability, perhaps worse than what prevailed before the war.

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* On September 12, in reply to the memorandum of the left groups, General de Gaulle sent a letter to Daniel Mayer, secretary-general of the Socialist Party, announcing his refusal to alter the system of proportional representation to be used in the elections. He agreed, however, to increase the representation of some of the densely populated areas.—EDITORS THE NATION.

In short, the new voting law, which is at variance with the Consultative Assembly's recommendations, is meeting with little enthusiasm among Socialists and members of the Resistance. In the same circles, however, not including the Communists and Communist-inspired C. G. T. chieftains, there is a large measure of approval of the government's plan for the Constituent Assembly and governmental continuity. On that most of the people will probably vote yes.

Norsemen's Return

BY H. IRGENS LARSEN

(After Norway was invaded Mr. Larsen crossed the Atlantic in a thirty-foot sailboat, reaching America in fifty-four days. During the war he served with the Norwegian Shipping Commission. He spent last summer in his homeland, returning recently to this country. His last Atlantic crossing—by air—took less than a day.)

WHEN sudden war broke over Norway on April 9, 1940, the nation's leaders managed to do the one thing most needed. In the dramatic meeting of Parliament on April 10 at Elverum, where the government had fled before the German advance, the members made provision for the continuation of democratic government. The King and his ministers were vested with legal authority to direct the fight from abroad during the occupation. Now they have returned, and the threads of government must be taken up where they were broken.

As a first step, and in accordance with its promises, the government in exile resigned upon its return and a new coalition government was formed. The transition went smoothly. The only point of debate was the question whether the returning government ought to be represented in the new government. It was finally decided that the two ablest ministers in the exiled Cabinet, Foreign Minister Lie and Minister of Defense Torp, should continue in their same posts in the new Cabinet. Elections have been called for October of this year, when the new coalition government will have got a good start on reconstruction.

The new Prime Minister, Einar Gerhardsen, was in German prisons in both Norway and Germany for four years, as were most of his Cabinet for shorter or longer periods. It almost seems that a stay in a German jail is now a ticket to prominence in Norway. Mr. Gerhardsen is a member of the Labor Party, which came into power in 1936 and remained in office during the exile, with a token reinforcement from the three other political parties to demonstrate national unity. The Labor Party is expected to gain a majority in the October elections, but conservatives are not dismayed at the prospect since, generally speaking, it stands for the same policies as those followed for a decade.

Collaborationist elements in Norway were not numerous enough in the administration during the war to change materially the democratic setup. The machinery of government continued without interruption and now distributes the supplies which are flowing in. The total supplies at hand are already sufficient to ward off any further threat of starvation. On V-E Day the government in exile immediately translated into action its long-prepared plans, and soon ships of Norway's merchant marine were entering Norwegian ports with cargoes from North and South America and the British Commonwealth—cargoes of wheat and rye, maize for chicken and cattle feed, canned goods, medical supplies, groceries, textiles, leather, and other necessities. Simultaneously the stores that the Norwegian government had built up in Sweden were moved over the border by train and truck. By midwinter a stockpile of the most essential foodstuffs will have been built up. But there are still many holes to fill. No UNRRA supplies are going to Norway, or to any other country of Western Europe; all imports are being paid for by the government in cash. Coal and raw materials for both domestic and export industries are urgently needed.

The acute housing shortage has been handled democratically and efficiently. In Oslo several thousand families were without adequate apartments when liberation came. Overnight, agencies sprang up to assign the apartments released by the departing Germans. Urgency of need decided who should get them; ownership did not count. Furniture which had been used by the Germans was either returned to the old owners or, if Nazi-made, distributed as needed. Other groups of citizens took care of the prisoners released from the German concentration camps. In every field there was a similar response by volunteer organizations.

Though the people were terribly thin and hungry, and lacked consumer goods of all kinds, they had kept up a front of respectability. Suits were pressed and clean even when they had been turned; collars were immaculate, though often enough made out of the tails of the shirt. The women's dresses were made of curtains, tablecloths, and mattress covers. Only paper was available in quantity, which allowed the newspapers to appear quickly in almost normal sizes.

Various essential articles had had to be made out of whatever raw material was obtainable. Timber seemed to be the most versatile material, providing the basis for cattle fodder, edible cellulose, aquavite—from wood alcohol—the only liquor for sale and strictly rationed, and motor fuel; little squares of wood burned in oven-like generators were the only source of power for automobiles and were used in locomotives and coastal steamers instead of coal. The Norwegians kept a certain sense of humor about all these substitutes. The only soap for sale, an indescribable concoction, was advertised as follows: "Buy B soap now—cannot be had after the war."

The government in exile brought home complete blueprints for the control of foreign purchases and for all necessary changes in administration. The new government is now loyally putting them into effect. Business appears resigned to the new restrictions, although it naturally worries about how far they are to be extended. A law has been passed giving wide powers to the Director of Prices, Wilhelm Thagaard, a man who has had long experience in price controls and whose ability is recognized by all parties. He contended that the increasing number of regulations threatened to bury the nation in red tape and that it would be better to give discretionary powers to his agency. The government saw the merits of his proposal, and business men are now watching, not without apprehension, the results of this simplified policy.

The long-awaited money reform, which was imperative to dry up the flood of banknotes left by the occupation government, came into effect on September 10. All paper currency must now be turned in. For the present it is credited to the owner, who receives 100 kroner in new currency, against a punch in his ration book, to tide him over the first week. The principle by which the credits will be adjusted later is not yet known, but the governing idea will be that no one shall keep any undue profits gained during the occupation.

Norway's international currency policy will soon be clarified. The government will probably follow to some extent the example of the other liberated countries and reduce by 20 per cent the international value of the krone, which has been kept virtually at the pre-war level. This may help the export industry to a new start and also support the important shipping industry. There will be no repetition of the error made after the last war, when the value of the krone was maintained at a great sacrifice.

Norway has today a stock of gold and foreign currency—mostly sterling—of about $450,000,000. This includes its pre-war gold, which was saved by being spirited out of Oslo a few hours before the Germans entered and was finally sent to the Western Hemisphere by the government in exile. The country's currency demand for the next five years may perhaps be estimated as about double its liquid funds, and it will be up to the export industry and shipping to provide the difference—probably not an impossible task. Thus a superficial survey indicates that Norway has the necessary funds and earning power to finance the rebuilding of the country and that it firmly intends to depend on its own efforts. It is likely, however, because of the dollar shortage, that international loans will be used to speed up the process; this should be possible without impairing Norway's proverbial credit. New York papers predict that a comparatively large loan will shortly be floated by the Export-Import Bank.

The end of Lend-Lease will not affect reconstruction plans. Even during the war Norway availed itself of Lend-Lease to a very limited extent. The cost of the navy, air force, and army, of government institutions, and of stockpiles of provisions has been paid by the war-time earnings of the merchant marine, although Norwegian ships have generally sailed at lower hire than, for instance, American vessels. Most of the earnings, however, as well as the insurance money for the 750 vessels lost in the war, have been paid in sterling or kroner; so Norway too has an actute dollar problem. Norway's loss of merchant shipping during the war is second only to Great Britain's.

In cleaning out the Nazi traitors the Norwegians have tried to avoid Nazi ruthlessness. Use of the whole apparatus of democratic legal procedure with all the forms of protection it affords even to traitors has meant delay but no dulling of the sting. Capital punishment, which was abolished eighty years ago, has been reintroduced. The two first sentences of death had been given and carried out before the trial of Quisling. In accordance with the new law on capital punishment, which will also be applied to Quisling, the men met their death before a firing squad of ten policemen headed by a police chief. The law calls for executions conducted in strict secrecy, with the public not admitted. People have criticized the prosecution as being too lenient and also as being too severe on the "striped," or border-line, cases; and these diversified opinions probably indicate that a fair middle course has been followed.

When Allied troops entered Norway after Germany's capitulation, they found that the Wehrmacht had already surrendered everywhere to the Norwegian home-front forces. The organization and discipline of the underground militia have amazed the Allies, and there can be no doubt that credit for this is due largely to the old democratic ways of the land and the habit of self-discipline. A photograph which will long be cherished in Norway shows a young bareheaded boy in ski clothes, with the armband of the militia, standing in the Akershus Castle in Oslo and receiving the surrender of the German commander and his aide. When general mobilization was ordered shortly after liberation, the 40,000 home-front fighters turned in their weapons without an incident and were demobilized.

There is a very warm feeling in Norway for the help received from less unfortunate neighbors during the war. The Danes were particularly generous in sending clandestinely, year after year, packages to persons known and unknown in Norway containing butter, eggs, and cheese. The importance of these gifts for the health of the people can hardly be exaggerated, and there is now a touching desire to reciprocate. When a newspaper suggested that people should send part of their scant firewood to the Danes, who will find themselves even shorter of fuel than the Norwegians this winter, wood piled up at the assembly places in greater amounts than the strained transportation could cope with—everybody brought in a few logs in carts, wheelbarrows, and baby carriages. Then another paper got a better idea—to tap Norway's hydroelectric system and make a gift of electric power to the Danes. Whether the idea proves practicable or not, it has the support of the whole population.

The Norwegians also like to demonstrate their gratitude to their liberators. Signs posted all over the city of Oslo in English and Russian say, "Norway Thanks You!" On the Fourth of July the government ordered two minutes of silence in commemoration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and soldiers in the parade of the American army on that day were almost buried under flowers.

The Russian soldiers are equally popular. Norwegians feel little or no apprehension about the presence of Russia on their northern border, where it liberated and still occupies Kirkenes. Perhaps this is a good omen for the future.

Danger! Venereal Disease

BY ALBERT DEUTSCH

(Author of "The Mentally Ill in America: a History of Their Care and Treatment"; Health and Welfare Columnist for PM*)*

EXPERTS watching the rising curve in the incidence of venereal disease in the armed forces and the civilian population fear that the situation will become extremely grave in the post-war period. The demobilization of soldiers and sailors and the redistribution of displaced war workers will inevitably spread the infection. And the reduction in the number of cases that the use of sulfa drugs was expected to effect has not materialized.

Among our occupation troops in the European theater venereal disease has already reached serious proportions. In August last it was striking American soldiers in Europe at the rate of 150 per 1,000 annually—a figure three times higher than the 1944 rate. An even greater toll has been taken of American troops stationed in the Philippines, where the Japanese occupation left a vast reservoir of civilian infection which the invaders did not bother to treat. In the continental United States, according to Lieutenant Colonel Thomas H. Sternberg, head of the venereal-disease control division of the Army Medical Corps, the rate rose as high as 43 per 1,000 during the first six months of 1945. It was 36 per 1,000 in 1944 and 26 in 1943. The navy's rate has also nearly doubled since 1943.

Military and civilian health officers agree that this sharp rise of infection in the armed forces reflects a corresponding rise among the civilian population. Dr. J. R. Heller, chief of the United States Public Health Service's venereal-disease division, told me recently that reported cases of gonorrhea in the United States had doubled since 1940, although the syphilis rate seems to have remained practically stationary.

One of the most disturbing elements in this picture is the steep rise noted among young persons. The New York City Health Department reports that primary syphilis in the age group from fifteen to nineteen years has risen more than 200 per cent since 1941. Dr. James H. Lade of the New York State Health Department says that in 1944 the rate for early syphilis in the fifteen-to-twenty-year-old group in up-state New York was 114 per cent greater than in 1941. "The urgency of this problem," Dr. Lade adds, "is demonstrated by a review of the course of venereal disease after the last war. It was during the post-war period that the greatest spread was noted. It is apparent that a seeding of the female population has occurred during this war. Unless efforts to find infectious cases are redoubled, a recrudescence of these infections is probable."

The prospect of a post-war epidemic of venereal disease may shock the layman, lulled by tales of the efficacy of the new remedies, but it does not surprise the experts. Military and civilian specialists whom I have consulted tell me that the sulfa drugs, ballyhooed three years ago as sure cures for four out of five cases of gonorrhea, have failed miserably to come up to expectations. Dr. Heller says that the sulfanamides actually cure less than 50 per cent of gonorrhea cases. Many patients have bad reactions when treated with sulfa drugs, and there are many strains of the gonococcus germ which resist sulfa treatment. Penicillin, however, has proved a true wonder drug, and the armed forces are using it instead of sulfa in all gonorrhea cases. Virtually all sulfa-resistant gonorrhea infections can be cleared up by a single dose of penicillin. Most syphilis cases can be successfully treated in eight days. But while penicillin clears up venereal disease with amazing speed, it doesn't prevent it. Ultimately, of course, its expanded use is bound to reduce the rate by eliminating sources of infection, but that time is still well in the future. Moreover, cautious scientists warn us that it is yet too soon to accept penicillin as a sure cure. They recall how the great Paul Ehrlich announced that his salvarsan (606) could cure syphilis in a single massive-dose treatment, only to find his "cured" patients straggling back because the spirochetes had been stunned, not killed. They say it will take several years of observation of persons who have been apparently cured to establish definitely the role of penicillin in the treatment of syphilis.

In the meantime, ironically enough, the publicity given to the penicillin cure is said to have been a factor in the rise of the venereal-disease rate. It is charged that knowledge of the new swift and sure treatment has encouraged sexual promiscuity and carelessness in the use of prophylactic safeguards. People say, "Gonorrhea is no worse than a cold." Unfortunately, gonorrhea and syphilis have in the past often left their victims with serious eye, heart, and nerve ailments, and nobody knows to what extent the danger of such complications has been removed by the new quick cure. Certainly a person who repeatedly gets infected with a venereal disease isn't doing his general health any good, even if the infection is cleared up on each occasion.

We all know that in time of war traditional moral barriers to sex promiscuity are let down. The wonder, say the experts, is not that the venereal-disease rate has risen but that it has not gone much higher under circumstances more favorable to the spread of the infection than have been present at any other time in recent history—millions of men and women in the prime of life leaving home for military service or war work, unprecedented mass migrations with large numbers of people moving from disease-ridden areas of the South to the Northern industrial centers, families broken up, emotional tensions heightened and moral inhibitions weakened by four years of war.

Prostitution, historically the greatest source of war-time venereal infection, was drastically curbed at the beginning of the war by effective federal control and the cooperation of local authorities. Red-light districts were closed down—at least for the duration—in more than six hundred American communities. Many vice rings were broken up. Some prostitutes, attracted by high war-industry wages, deserted their ancient profession for assembly lines. Stiff competition from growing numbers of amateurs discouraged others from plying their trade. Commercialized vice, therefore, has been a negligible factor in the venereal-disease rate among the armed forces. According to Colonel Sternberg, fully 90 per cent of the army's cases in this country are traceable to amateur girls—teen-agers and older women—popularly known as "khaki-wackies," "victory girls," and "good-time Charlottes."

The sharp war-time rise in infection has been world wide. Virtually no country has escaped. In the Scandinavian countries the great gains made against venereal disease in the past generation were wiped out during the Nazi occupation. Dr. Thorstein Guthe, Assistant Surgeon General of the Norwegian Public Health Service, recently reported that syphilis had increased sixfold in Norway and ninefold in Denmark. Neutral Sweden has had a rising rate since 1942.

The wide prevalence of venereal disease in Germany was a major factor in the army's non-fraternization policy. And the policy was abandoned when it was discovered that soldiers were failing to make use of prophylactic stations after trysts with German women and disregarding military orders to report for treatment because of their unwillingness to pay the $65 fine for fraternizing; the result was 13,000 cases of venereal disease among our soldiers in Germany in the first two months after V-E Day. A number of these men, it was found, were treating themselves with the sulfa pills in their first-aid kit. Such self-medication was dangerous because an overdose of sulfa pills might have grave consequences and an underdose might clear up the symptoms of gonorrhea without curing the disease. The army considered the situation so disturbing that it stopped including sulfa pills in the soldiers' emergency kits. Self-treatment with sulfa by civilians is also becoming a serious problem.

Incidentally, there need be no fear that thousands of G. I.'s will return home infected with a venereal disease. Before a soldier is discharged, he receives a thorough physical examination. If he is found to have a venereal infection, he is hospitalized until it is cleared up.

What worries the health officers is the probable resurgence of organized prostitution when war-time emergency controls are lifted. The police, it is feared, may sink back into their pre-war indulgence of the traffic, and unsettled economic conditions may favor its growth. There is also the danger that returning soldiers who have by necessity or choice practiced continence abroad and come back with an idealized vision of American womanhood may neglect prophylactic measures in casual intercourse with pickups. A "let's-bust-loose" spirit after the taut war years is foreseen.

Yet informed persons, while painting a dark picture of the immediate prospect, retain their faith in the ultimate conquest of venereal disease. They are confident that gonorrhea and syphilis can be eliminated as public-health problems within a generation if measures already known are more widely practiced. A severe outbreak of venereal disease is threatened. But it can be combated successfully by the retention of war-time control measures, closer cooperation between military and civilian authorities in a common drive against sources of the infection, teamwork in all agencies of government, and a greater awareness of the danger on the part of citizens.

Question Mark Over London

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

(The Nation's *London correspondent*)

London, September 13 (by cable)

A QUESTION mark over Lancaster House dominates the London sky. United only by a common desire to avoid publicity on their differences, the Foreign Ministers of the Big Five have gone underground with the prompt decisiveness of Alice's White Rabbit. The only hard news is the provisional adoption of an agenda comprising the questions specifically remitted by the Potsdam conference, namely, the formulation of peace treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland, leaving the possible inclusion of other business for later consideration.

Already there are signs of American-British divergence on the first item. It is agreed that Italy's colonial empire, except perhaps Tripoli, shall be liquidated by transference to trustee status. Secretary Byrnes, deprecating any unnecessary humiliation of the Italians, is likely to propose that Italy itself be the mandatory power. Bevin, modifying the original British proposal for the outright cession of Libya to the Senussi, will nevertheless, at the risk of arousing suspicions about British imperialist ambitions, press the claim for Britain to become trustee of Libya, Somaliland, and the coastal area of Eritrea, ceding Eritrea's inhospitable hinterland to Ethiopia. In this controversy Molotov will probably be neutral, but following the traditional lines of Russian bargaining tactics, he may initially support the extreme Yugoslav claims to Trieste, Istria, and Venezia Giulia, in order to make a deal on the basis of Anglo-American non-interference in Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria and a free hand for the U. S. S. R.—which Byrnes and Bevin will oppose—to negotiate with Turkey on condominium of the Straits. Since it will also be necessary to consider Greek and Yugoslav claims against Italy for reparations, the Greek claim, disputed by Turkey, to the Dodecanese Islands, and the Austrian demand, which Britain is inclined to support, for the return of South Tyrol, it is manifest that the Italian question by itself presents innumerable snags.

The real obstacles, however, to any progress in the settlement of affairs in Southeastern Europe are the following: First, Bevin's parliamentary statement on foreign policy poisoned the atmosphere and confirmed Russian suspicions that his demand for more representative Balkan governments means that British Labor is Social Democratic in the bad old sense of regarding communism as a worse enemy than reaction. With respect to the British left generally, these suspicions are wholly unjustified. The majority of Laborites recognize that the present shortcomings of Balkan democracy are inherent in the essentially revolutionary situation. Moreover, the Yugoslav, Hungarian, and Rumanian governments are executing admirable land-reform and social measures. Labor also realizes that Anglo-American intervention, however well-intentioned, in behalf of the few undiscredited Social Democrats in those countries is bound, as in Greece, to achieve the unhappy result of intensifying the political division between irreconcilable extremes. Nevertheless, it is essensential to recognize that Moscow shares the belief current in Budapest, Belgrade, and Bucharest that Bevin and Byrnes are maneuvering in preparation for an anti-Bolshevik crusade. Unless these suspicions, however ridiculous, are promptly dissipated, Molotov will stall every Anglo-American proposal for Southeastern Europe.

The second difficulty is found in the big question: Can any finality be reached in the Italian and Balkan settlements isolated from the whole complex problem of European reconstruction? The terms of reference emanating from Potsdam have already been outdated by the overwhelming threat of economic chaos centered in Germany, causing a continent-wide coal famine and a breakdown of transportation. The test of this conference will be its ability to take a last chance to lay the foundations of European cooperation before catastrophe comes, a catastrophe which, according to sober estimates here, would bring more than ten million deaths this winter.

There is a great deal of interest here in the French policy enunciated by De Gaulle in favor of international control of the Ruhr, with allocation of output according to the needs of Germany and the other European countries. De Gaulle's supplementary proposals are not favored by the British left. Except in the improbable event of the French administration creating living conditions superior to those of Germany, permanent French occupation of the west bank of the Rhine would create a German irredentist minority, necessitating the regime of a police state likely to infect the whole of France. The big advance, however, is De Gaulle's recognition that the economy of Europe is essentially dependent on German productivity, which can probably be exploited without risking the reemergence of German domination if Ruhr and also Rhine transport are controlled by an international authority.

If the conference wrangles jealously over the precise administration of the Italian colonies or the niceties of balance among the parties in the Balkan Cabinets while refugee-thronged Central Europe sinks into starvation and pestilence for lack of purposive international economic controls, it will be an indelible crime against humanity.

How St. Louis Got the News

BY WILLARD SHELTON

St. Louis, Mo., September 13

THE bitter three-week showdown fight between half a dozen newspaper unions here and the managements of the *Globe-Democrat, Star-Times,* and *Post-Dispatch* was not adequately reported nationally. The unions won—and it is possible that their victory forestalled the outbreak of labor-weakening campaigns by newspaper managements in other cities.

The unions in the fight, most of which were originally innocent bystanders, are not sure that the St. Louis publishers planned an effort to "teach labor its place," but they believe that if they had lost their battle here, the pattern of the St. Louis conflict might have been repeated elsewhere. One of the Newspaper Guild leaders charges that a new "Mohawk Valley formula" might have been created; and he thinks that the unions checkmated such a possibility with a "Mississippi Valley formula" of their own.

The fight began in the troubled area of relations between publishers and the Carriers' Union (A. F. L.), the same area of conflict which recently handicapped New York newspaper deliveries. The Carriers here had been certified as an appropriate bargaining unit by the National Labor Relations Board, and when the managements still refused to bargain collectively, the union struck. The Pressmen's Union, with which the Carriers here are affiliated, refused to cross the picket lines, and that shut the papers. But the most drastic action was the publishers' next step: all three promptly dismissed most of their remaining employees—editorial, commercial, and mechanical—and the fat was in the fire. The Guild (C. I. O.) and the Typographical, Stereotypers', Mailers', and Engravers' unions (A. F. L.) charged "lockout" and organized for cooperative action.

Spokesmen for management deny that in this course they had any intention of union-busting. They base their case against the Carriers' Union on genuine principle; and apparently some managements did not expect a strike.

The St. Louis Carriers were, to a degree, independent merchants. They bought newspapers at wholesale and themselves hired employees to deliver at retail. They bought and sold delivery routes at an average price of about $9,000; this was a developed trade practice, and the publishers had never received any revenue from sales of routes. The managements had merely a practical veto power over such sales by a carrier.

The managements would bargain collectively with the Carriers, they said, if the Carriers wanted to be considered employees in the full sense of the word. But if the Carriers wanted their "property rights" in the routes confirmed, as they did, then the newspapers argued that they were merchants, not employees. The publishers would be liable to state and federal anti-trust prosecutions, their spokesmen said, if they bargained collectively with "merchants" to fix prices. Let the Carriers make up their minds, said the managements, whether to be employees or merchants.

Even after the conflict was settled, the publishers insisted that they had been deprived of a fair test of their position. Under the Wagner Act an employee cannot seek court review of an NLRB certification of a "bargaining unit." The publishers asked the Carriers' Union to file charges of unfair labor practices so that the whole issue could eventually be reviewed in court, but the Carriers refused; after winning the NLRB case they preferred to fight with economic weapons alone.

The locked-out unions kept their heads and rejected rash counsels that they retaliate by calling a strike themselves. Their first step was to set up an Inter-Union Conciliation Committee, which attempted to mediate the dispute between publishers and Carriers. The Guild and the A. F. of L. mechanical unions never declared themselves, in fact, in support of the Carriers' position.

They did, however, take steps to protect themselves. After sitting for fifteen days without jobs, they got out a newspaper themselves. The news-starved people of St. Louis bought it avidly, and as a public service and a source of income for the jobless, the project was a brilliant success.

The St. Louis *Daily News* ran just five days and will probably never be published again. It operated under handicaps; its wire service was Trans-Radio Press, and it was printed in a commercial plant, with an apartment above the plant serving as "editorial offices." Its daily press run was restricted because of rationing to 100,000 copies, four pages on week days and eight on Sunday, but it printed brief accounts of the essential news. It also gave the locked-out unions a medium of expression, and they did not hesitate to say how they felt at being abruptly laid off their regular jobs. On Wednesday, September 5, the War Production Board allotted sufficient newsprint to the union paper to let it print 300,000 copies of a twelve-page daily. The next day the managements of the regular dailies settled with the Carriers' Union, agreeing to buy out the Carriers' routes and bargain collectively. They settled another protracted dispute with the Typographical Union with retroactive pay increases and agreed to full back pay for all employees laid off during the strike.

What can fairly be charged against the St. Louis managements? The afternoon papers—the *Star-Times* and the *Post-Dispatch*—are famous fighting exponents of liberalism. They are not afraid of local commercial and banking pressure, which is a major test of journalistic liberalism. It is difficult to believe that their responsible managements would deliberately embark on a union-weakening campaign.

Yet the fact remains that the controversy was eventually resolved on terms which the Carriers themselves had originally proposed as an acceptable compromise. When the pressmen closed the papers, the managements the same afternoon began sending out telegrams dismissing their remaining staffs, except department heads, "until further notice." Some of these telegrams were delivered late at night to employees who had given twenty to fifty years of loyal service. The haste with which the managements decided on this serious step argues premeditation, and this view is supported by the fact that discussions with the Carriers had proceeded for many months and none of the other unions knew a crisis was approaching or what the managements intended to do. Interestingly enough, a few years ago all St. Louis newspapers purchased strike insurance.

Had the unions been beaten, additional cases might have arisen in which publishers, resisting one union, would adopt the same strategy of a complete shutdown and lockout against other employees. The Mississippi Valley plan, under which the Inter-Union Conciliation Committee issued a newspaper which both served the community and gained revenue, seems likely to discourage such attempts. The elements of the union victory were C. I. O.-A. F. of L. solidarity and brilliant labor leadership.

In the Wind

LAISSEZ FAIRE: Daddy Warbucks has suffered the slings and arrows of reduced fortune during the war. When asked by naive little Orphan Annie why "some papers and commentators" said horrid things about him, Daddy answered, "Oh, I guess it was fashionable to sneer at 'big incomes.' . . . They fail to mention that most of those big incomes go to pay everybody's bills, and make the load lighter for everyone else! I believe that the more a man makes honestly, the more he helps this country and everybody in it. . . . What I think we need is a lot *more* million-a-year men! Mighty little *they* can *keep* anyway. . . ."

DEFINITION: The Texas public was further enlightened by this maxim which appeared in the Austin *American* on August 2: "Anti-discrimination means you can force somebody to give you a job if you're one of a minority, but otherwise you must take what is left."

V-W DAY: The *Wall Street Journal* is joyous over the surrender—of the workers. In its issue of August 23 front-page headlines read: "Employers' Turn; Workers Accept End of Coast's War-Boom Employment Gracefully; Firms Revel in Luxury of Insisting on Competence; Youngsters Are Resentful." The article goes on to say: "And except for the tantrums of a few youngsters who never had to hold a job under peace-time conditions, labor is taking its new status gracefully."

CHALLENGE: A note by Walter B. Pitkin in the recent book "Population Roads to Peace and War" says: "While the authors of this book were correcting the galley proofs, in March, 1945, General Charles de Gaulle appointed an eight-man commission to add 12,000,000 babies to the population of France within the next decade."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. We will pay $1 for each item accepted.*]

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Christianity and Revolution

BY HANNAH ARENDT

WHILE it is already obvious that the Christian churches in Europe have survived fascism, war, and occupation in their religious as well as their organizational aspects, it is still a question whether we shall see a general Christian and especially Catholic revival in French and intellectual life. There is no doubt about the part played by various Catholic movements and individuals in the Resistance or about the impeccable attitude of the greater part of the lower clergy. This does not mean, however, that these Catholics have a political position of their own. At the moment it looks rather as if the old anti-clerical passions are no longer alive in France—in contrast to Spain and probably Italy—and as if one of the most important issues in French domestic politics since the days of the Revolution is about to depart quietly from the political scene.

We have witnessed one wave of neo-Catholic revival after another since the period of fin de siècle decadence by which they were partly engendered. It started at the time of the Dreyfus affair with the famous "Catholics without faith," who later developed into the Action Française, were condemned by the Pope in 1926, and ended by bowing before their real master, Mr. Hitler. With their boundless admiration of organization for organization's sake, they were the degenerated disciples of De Maistre, that great champion of reaction and greater master of French prose. And one must admit that they brought into the dead boredom of reactionary theories the violence of polemic and some passion of argument.

The "Catholics without faith" loved the church—which is still the greatest example of authoritarian organization and as such has withstood two thousand years of history; they had an open contempt for the content of Christian faith precisely because of its inherent democratic elements. They were Catholics because they hated democracy; they were as much attracted by De Maistre's hangman as the most reliable pillar of society and by the possibility of domination through a hierarchy as they were disgusted by the teachings of charity and the equality of man.

But side by side with these dilettantes of fascism there sprang up a very different Catholic revival movement, whose greatest representatives were Péguy and Bernanos in France and Chesterton in England. These too sought escape from the modern world and, therefore, sometimes stumbled into unhappy alliances with the "Catholics without faith," alliances in which they naturally were destined to play the role of suckers. Witness Jacques Maritain's relations with the Action Française—or the strange friendship between G. K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc. For what these men hated in the modern world was not democracy but the lack of it. They saw through the appearances of democracies which might be more accurately described as plutocracies and through the trimmings of a republic which was much rather a political machine. What they sought was freedom for the people and reason for the mind. What they started from was a deep hatred of bourgeois society, which they knew was essentially anti-democratic and fundamentally perverted. What they fought against always was the insidious invasion of bourgeois morals and standards into all walks of life and all classes of the people. They were indeed struggling against something very ominous, which scarcely a socialist—whose political party, according to Péguy, "is completely composed of bourgeois intellectuals"—clearly realized, namely, the all-pervading influence of bourgeois mentality in the modern world.

It is a remarkable phenomenon, and something to start our progressives thinking, that as far as polemics go these Catholic converts or neo-Catholics have come out as victors. There are no more devastating, amusing, or better-written polemics against the host of modern superstitions, from Christian Science to gymnastics as a means of salvation, to teetotalism, and Krishnamurti, than Chesterton's essays. It was Péguy who discovered and defined the essential difference between poverty—which was always a virtue, for Roman republicans as well as for Christian medievals—and destitution, which is the modern plague reserved for those who refuse the pursuit of money and the humiliations of success. And it was, finally, Bernanos who wrote the most passionate denunciation of fascism—"Les grands cimetières sous la lune"—a knight without fear or reproach, unhampered by any admiration for "historical greatness" and untouched by any secret desire for the necessity of evil.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that none of these individuals was a great philosopher and that this movement did not produce a single great artist. Although both Chesterton and Péguy wrote good poetry, neither will be remembered primarily for his poems. With the exception of "The Man Who Was Thursday," Chesterton's novels are only another form of the essay, and Bernanos's novels are of little interest. Nor was there among them a great theologian. The only neo-Catholic of importance who ventured into this field was Léon Bloy—with rather crude and absurd results, which, theologically speaking, were always on the border line of heresy and sometimes approached the border line of bohemian Kitsch: he maintained, for instance, that women should be either saints or whores, for while saints may be forced by circumstances to descend to the level of the whore, and whores may always become saints, the honest woman of bourgeois society is lost beyond salvation.

Since the turn of the century these converts, it would seem, have felt that their proper field was politics and their task to become true revolutionaries, that is, more radical than the radicals. And in a sense they were right, right at least as long as they remained in the negative and took the offensive. It certainly was more radical to repeat that "it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God" than to quote economic laws. When Chesterton describes the rich man who for the pretended sake of humanity has adopted some fancy new vegetarian rule as the man who does not go "without gardens and gorgeous rooms which poor men can't enjoy" but has "abolished meat because poor men like meat," or when he denounces the "modern philanthropist" who does not give up "petrol or . . . servants" but rather "some simple universal things" like "beef or sleep, because these pleasures remind him that he is only a man"—then Chesterton has better described the fundamental ambitions of the ruling classes than have all the academic discussions of the functions of capitalists. And in Péguy's endless repetition, "All evil comes from the bourgeoisie," is more elementary hatred than in the collected speeches of Jaurès.

With the whole of Western culture at stake once bourgeois rule had entered the path of imperialism, it is not surprising that the oldest weapons, the fundamental convictions of Western mankind, sufficed to show at least the extent of the evil. The great advantage of these neo-Catholic writers was that when they went back to Christianity they broke with the standards of their surroundings more radically than any other sect or party. It was their instinct as publicists which pushed them into the church. They were looking for arms, and were ready to take them wherever they found them; and they found better ones in the oldest arsenal than in the half-baked half-truths of modernity. Publicists and journalists are always in a hurry—that is their occupational disease. Here were arms that one could take up in a hurry; had not two thousand years proved their utility? The best among the converts knew from bitter experience how much better it was, how much freer one could remain, and how much more reasonable, if one accepted the single great assumption which Christian faith exacts than if one remained in the turmoil of modernism, which enforces every other day, with a maximum of fanaticism, another absurd doctrine.

There was something more in Christianity than its highly useful denunciation of the rich man as a wicked man. The insistence of the Christian doctrine upon man's limited condition was somehow enough of a philosophy to allow its adherents a very deep insight into the essential inhumanity of all those modern attempts—psychological, technical, biological—to change man into the monster of a superman. They realized that a pursuit of happiness which actually means to wipe away all tears will pretty quickly end by wiping out all laughter. It was again Christianity which taught them that nothing human can exist beyond tears and laughter, except the silence of despair. This is the reason why Chesterton, having once and for all accepted the tears, could put real laughter into his most violent attacks.

If this is the case of the publicists and journalists among the neo-Catholics, the case of the philosophers is slightly different and slightly embarrassing. The point is that philosophers by definition are supposed not to be in a hurry. If one is to judge by the book recently published by Raïssa Maritain,* it was not hatred of bourgeois society which brought the Maritains into the church—although M. Maritain was a socialist in his youth; it was, as Mme Maritain insists time and again, the need for "spiritual guidance." At the time of their conversion it is probable that both of them, and not only Mme Maritain, "had by instinct an insuperable apprehension toward anything concerning political activity, in which I saw—and still do—the domain of what St. Paul calls the evil of time." What separated them from Péguy—a former friendship broke up, strangely enough, because of their conversion—was precisely that they wanted first of all to save their souls, a preoccupation which played no great role in either Péguy's or Chesterton's Catholicism.

The Maritains became converts after having been exposed to the anti-intellectualism of Bergson. It is all to Jacques Maritain's credit that Bergson's attack on reason frightened him so much; the question is only whether a philosopher is allowed to seek shelter so quickly and so desperately. It is true that the teachings of the church still represent a stronghold of human reason, and it is quite understandable that in the day-by-day fight publicists like Péguy and Chesterton took cover as quickly as possible. They were no philosophers, and all they needed was a fighting faith. What Maritain wanted was one certainty which would lead him out of the complexities and confusions of a world that does not even know what a man is talking about if he takes the word truth into his mouth.

But the truth is a rather difficult deity to worship because the only thing she does not allow her worshipers is certainty. Philosophy concerned with truth ever was and probably always will be a kind of *docta ignorantia*—highly learned and therefore highly ignorant. The certainties of Thomas Aquinas afford excellent spiritual guidance and are still much superior to almost anything in the way of certainties which has been invented in more recent times. But certainty is not truth, and a system of certainties is the end of philosophy. This is the reason why one may be allowed to doubt very strongly that Thomism will ever be able to bring about a revival of philosophy.

BRIEFER COMMENT

A Poet and His Prose

IN HIS EXCELLENT INTRODUCTION to a selection of Whitman's prose and poetry (Viking, $2) Mark Van Doren remarks that some "consider it a special glory to cease being critical as soon as Whitman's poetry heaves in sight." The consequence is that most readers are for or against Whitman as if he were a candidate for public office. And "Leaves of Grass" is regarded as a sacred text or as the shouting and braggadocio of an overwrought barker. In this new edition the editor's commentary and the ample representation of Whitman's prose should help the reader to see how false both these views are. A poet's prose is always likely to provide a fresh light upon his poetry. This is all the more true of Whitman because of the extent to which his poetry is doctrinal and declarative. In prose, doctrine and declaration require the support of fact and argument. In poetry, invocations and exclamation points may often conceal the absence of perception and understanding. For this reason Whitman's prose can give the reader a purified knowledge of his poetry.

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Whitman was in love with experience to the point of morbid infatuation. He was also in love with the *idea* of experience. The idea of experience is to actual experience as a slick travel folder is to the trip itself; which is to say, there is little resemblance. In "Leaves of Grass" Whitman tried to force his genuine experience to be a kind of witness or proof of his idea of experience, which he further identified with his ideas about America and democracy. In his prose, however, doctrine can be seen apart from observation, and the reader can return to "Leaves of Grass" with an exact measure of Whitman's systematic overestimation of experience. "Democratic Vistas" shows Whitman attempting to justify his idea of democracy against his observation of the degradation and greed of post bellum America. "Speciman Days" records Whitman's daily cultivation of experience, when he did not feel bound to make extraordinary claims for *all* experience merely because he sometimes had a good time. By confronting the reader with Whitman's prose and poetry in the same volume, this new edition gives the reader the kind of help he really needs.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

Once Over Lightly

HARVEY WISH'S "Contemporary America: The National Scene Since 1900" (Harper, $4) is the most recent of a number of serious volumes dealing with twentieth-century American history. The book is competently written, mildly liberal in viewpoint, and exploits to good advantage the available secondary sources. It is, moreover, extremely readable and surprisingly free from major errors. Dr. Wish frankly follows the approach of such cultural historians as James Harvey Robinson and Arthur M. Schlesinger, and valiantly attempts to touch upon almost every aspect of American life. Twentieth-century literature, religion, music, architecture, philosophy, education, and psychiatry, among other subjects, receive treatment, together with more formal political and economic history and foreign affairs.

Within the covers of a 650-page book Dr. Wish has attempted to synthesize his material in terms of "the impact of the metropolis and mature capitalism on American behavior," but the resulting pattern is, unhappily, somewhat superficial and glib. While "Contemporary America" will give the reader a nodding acquaintance with many aspects of American society, it will not provide him with the information or the theoretical framework for coming to grips with major historical forces and developments. The means for understanding the structure and changes of the economy, the behavior of the labor movement, and the character of party politics, for example, are lacking. Nor do the progressive movements early in the century and after the First World War, the prosperity of the twenties, the problem of the farmer, and the depression of 1929 receive the depth or even the extent of treatment they deserve.

In the one paragraph devoted to "explaining" the depression of 1929, Dr. Wish stops short with the observation that "World War tax burdens, unprecedented armament costs, insurmountable tariff barriers, and a persistent decline of agricultural prices were among the international factors leading to the crash of 1929. In the United States . . . additional elements of weakness appeared not only in the low purchasing power of our farmers, but especially in the inadequate banking control exercised by local governments and the extraordinary increase of funds which poured into the stock market." This is perhaps the most striking illustration of the one-dimensional character of much of the volume and of the author's caution in rendering judgments.

HENRY DAVID

The New Order in Asia

NOW THAT THE JAPANESE are once more bidding for the sympathies of the world, it is worth remembering the misery which they inflicted on millions of helpless people in Asia. It is easy today to underrate the Japanese. But the record of the Japanese techniques of occupation as presented by Robert S. Ward in "Asia for the Asiatics?" (University of Chicago Press, $3) shows them to have been resourceful as well as ruthless foes. Mr. Ward was in the Foreign Service in Hongkong at the start of the war. He went through the siege, saw the Japanese capture the city psychologically, financially, and economically as well as militarily. The pattern of Japanese rule, which was virtually the same in every city conquered by them throughout Asia, is somewhat confusing to the Western mind, but it was undeniably effective. Under pressure the Chinese, who had been the political and business leaders of the colony under the British, took similar positions under the Japanese. All the movable resources of the colony were seized and, in many instances, transported to Japan. The banking structure was taken over, and by skilful manipulation all money and currency were diverted to Japanese purposes. This looting of the immense resources of the colony often appeared to be uncontrolled; actually it was carried out in accordance with carefully drawn directives from Tokyo. The social and cultural life of the community was also closely regimented. And while the Japanese, to be sure, were never able to win over the minds of the Chinese, they were successful in stirring up a considerable amount of anti-British sentiment and in keeping the people from being aware of the basic issues of the war. The full significance of Tokyo's impact can, of course, only be judged after liberation. But no one can read this book without becoming aware of the immense problems that liberation creates for the peoples of occupied Asia.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

Yankee City

THE THIRD VOLUME of the monumental study of Yankee City, "The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups," by W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole (Yale, $4), deals with the ethnic groups that make up half the population of an industrial New England community of about 17,000 people. They are the Irish, French Canadians, Jews, Italians, Armenians, Greeks, Poles, and Russians—approximately in that order of size and arrival. Using the formidable statistical equipment familiar from the earlier volumes, this study shows how the ethnic groups rise in the Yankee City class system, how their families and churches approximate the native American forms, how they attempt to "become Americans" and at the same time give their children some of the ethnic culture.

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The authors conclude their work with a theory of the rate of assimilation of ethnic groups in America. What they choose to call "assimilation," however, seems by their own evidence to be no more than acculturation. Though the American-born generations of ethnic groups reject—the Jews most quickly, the Catholic French Canadians and Irish most slowly—the ethnic language and culture, though they are skilful at learning American culture patterns in public schools and through contact with natives, they still form separate communities. (The crucial data on intermarriage among ethnic groups is unfortunately not given.)

The theory put forth in the last chapter of this book asserts that the rate at which ethnic groups assimilate (the authors mean both assimilate and acculturate) is governed by their likeness, racially and culturally, to the native. The racial or color factor is by far the most important one: thus, Light Caucasoid Protestants (Scandinavians) are assimilated faster than Dark Caucasoid Protestants (Armenians), but these assimilate faster than Dark Caucasoid Catholics (Italians). Thirty categories are thus distinguished—to form a scale which measures the assimilability of ethnic groups in America under present social conditions.

The scale does not seem to me to be a reliable instrument for predicting the ultimate limits of assimilability for ethnic groups, a purpose for which the authors try to use it. *Real* physical and cultural differences—all that the scale takes into account—are irrelevant to assimilability. American anti-Semites will be as little concerned with niceties of skin-color and dialect among the three kinds of Jews distinguished by the scale as were their German brothers; and the Protestant Negro of Category 25 will not find it less impossible to assimilate than the heathen West African of Category 30. Study of the natives of Yankee City would seem to be more important in ascertaining the limits of assimilability than the present magnificent investigation of the ethnic groups.

NATHAN GLAZER

FICTION IN REVIEW

THIS department has been silent for several weeks now, waiting out what it hoped was only the usual summer doldrums, and looking to September, the reviewer's month. But although September, come and almost gone, has brought the inevitable historical romances, psychological thrillers, and O. Henry Prize Stories, not to mention what seems to be the fiftieth full-length production of Faith Baldwin, it has not brought the anticipated relief from the summer's aridity. Of the new fall books, so far, none comes near providing the mature and integrated experience we want in a novel, and only three are even interesting for the light they throw on the psychological temper of the times, which makes the writing of good fiction so difficult.

The most ambitious of this trio is Kenneth Patchen's "The Memoirs of a Shy Pornographer" (New Directions, $3). Mr. Patchen's novel is written in a manner that is still called, I believe, experimental; which is to say that it conforms to no conventional fictional form except the already well-established convention of no form. It is an account of the adventures of a young man who meets fame through the publication of a book in which so many words are replaced with asterisks that it becomes a pornographic sensation. I found this a very funny point of departure for a satire, and indeed, throughout his book, Mr. Patchen gives proof of marked satiric gifts: he is exceedingly knowing, he has a very fertile imagination, and he would seem to be at ease in the world. And yet "The Memoirs of a Shy Pornographer" never does fulfil the promise of its opening. Both Mr. Patchen's intellect and his fantasy are put at the service of a playful destructiveness; they are the instruments of neither an understanding nor an ordering of Mr. Patchen's world. That is, whatever his apparent ease, Mr. Patchen is far too disconcerted by the complicated society which has educated him, and to which he has access at so many points, to be able to face up to its literary challenge. Even as a satirist he cannot be effectual because he is himself overwhelmed by society's effects.

And in Wilder Hobson's "All Summer Long" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $2.50) one sees something of the same phenomenon. Any resemblance between Mr. Patchen's book and Mr. Hobson's, it must be made clear, is wholly fundamental; on the surface, and even several layers below the surface, no two books could be less alike. Where Mr. Patchen's novel is avant-garde in manner, Mr. Hobson's seems to stem from the tradition of Max Beerbohm and the *Yellow Book*. Nor do I think Mr. Hobson intended his story of a Brooklyn Heights gambling casino and its habitués to have any satiric value; he would seem to have had in mind only what he accomplished—a mannerly, craftsmanlike job of light fiction on a sophisticated level. But authors of novels say more than they mean to say. Whether they intend it or not, they speak for a culture, and it is the contrast, in "All Summer Long" as in "Memoirs of a Shy Pornographer," between the author's obvious advantages of education and experience, and the distance he keeps between himself and the world—his refusal, that is, to take responsibility for what he sees and knows—that gives Mr. Hobson's book its cultural significance. Mr. Patchen's novel may be in the literary vanguard while Mr. Hobson's is in the literary rearguard, in the sense, I mean, of its turn-of-the-century style. But the two are identically situated in relation to the central literary problem of our time—the problem of how to take hold of life instead of being inundated by it or a spectator at it.

The third novel of my trio, "Rain Before Seven," by Marc Brandel (Harper, $2), is a rather different case. Though there are reasons to see it as a product of the same culture that produced Mr. Patchen's book and Mr. Hobson's, it outsmarts both of them by falling back on a literary orthodoxy. Mr. Brandel has a much better device for remaining on the sidelines—a good artificial plot. If he is no more willing than the author of "Memoirs of a Shy Pornographer" or the author of "All Summer Long" to face up to life, and if he shares their sin of being up on things rather than in them, he at least substitutes for the responsibility of thinking and feeling the full responsibility of story-telling. Well-written, often witty, and, except for a stretch just before the end, very successful in its suspense, "Rain Before Seven" is the tale of a group of people whose fate is involved with a young man who has a torturing presentiment that he will bring them disaster. I mentioned the connection between

Mr. Hobson's style and Max Beerbohm's; the connection between Mr. Brandel's theme and a famous Beerbohm theme will immediately suggest itself. (Mr. Brandel himself acknowledges the "purely satirical" similarity between his narrative and "The Bridge of San Luis Rey.") But dramatic contrivance saves "Rain Before Seven" the subtly archaic Beerbohm-ish tone that pervades Mr. Hobson's novel, just as it saves it the free-wheeling fantasy of Mr. Patchen's novel.

DIANA TRILLING

CONTRIBUTORS

HANNAH ARENDT has recently contributed articles on politics to the *Jewish Frontier, Review of Politics, Partisan Review,* and other journals. She is at work now on a book on imperialism.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ, teacher of English at Harvard, is the author of "In Dreams Begin Responsibilities," "Shenandoah," and other books of poetry.

HENRY DAVID is professor of history at Queens College and the author of "The Haymarket Affair" and other books.

NATHAN GLAZER has taught Oriental and African languages at the University of Pennsylvania. He is now on the staff of *Commentary.*

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Is This a White Man's Country?

[*Sgt. Richard Naito, whose letter is published below, is one of two Japanese Americans who were refused membership in Spokane Post 51 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. His case was referred to by Carey McWilliams in last week's issue. Sgt. Naito's letter, addressed to the Spokane post, reached us through the courtesy of the American Veterans' Committee* Bulletin.]

Dear Sirs: I have received your letter of June 8, 1945, telling me that Post No. 51, V. F. W., has rejected my application for membership. Your letter indicates that the sole reason for the rejection was the fact that I am of Japanese ancestry. It also states that the action does not reflect the opinion of the majority of your membership but was caused by the prejudice of a "few" members, of whom it takes only three to result in rejection of an application.

Twelve months ago on a hot day I was lying in the fields near Pisa, my right leg shattered by a German bullet. Enemy resistance was terrific. Our advance was stopped. I lay there in that field for ten hours, half delirious from pain, almost crazed with fear of enemy artillery that burst around me.

Today on American soil, thousands of miles from Pisa, I have been wounded again by another weapon—hypocrisy, prejudice, call it what you will. Little did I expect as I lay wounded on the battlefield that upon my return home to the people for whom I fought and suffered I would be repudiated!

Like many another American I did not wait for the draft but volunteered to perform what I felt was my duty. The duty to which I refer is the preservation of American democracy. I would like to ask those who rejected me for what principles they fought. Could it be possible that they indorse the statement of a certain California lawyer who defended the burning of a Japanese American's home by saying, "This is a white man's country, let's keep it that way"?

I wonder how the statement of that lawyer would have sounded in the Vosges Mountains, at the moment that the "lost battalion" of white Americans was being rescued by the 442d Infantry Regiment, composed of Japanese Americans. Tears shed by the rescued and by the rescuers on that occasion were not manufactured in Hollywood.

While I keenly feel resentment, I do not seek retaliation. I am satisfied that I have performed fully my silent duty as a soldier of war. I turn now to perform my duty as a soldier of peace, a peace that must mean the pursuit of happiness for all Americans, regardless of race or creed.

At the front lines there is a wholesome lack of prejudice. No G. I. under the pressure of imminent death turns to repudiate his comrades-in-arms because of race or creed. Why then must an organization like the Veterans of Foreign Wars, which is composed of my overseas comrades, shun me and my people on American soil? Such an organization should be the very one to advertise the virtues of the Japanese Americans by accepting them into its fold. If an organization like the V. F. W. is going to reject G. I.'s because of race, then what chance do we have to be treated properly by the rest of society?

We who have shown our unequivocal loyalty by positive action on the battlefield and elsewhere against our fascist enemies have no choice and no desire but to remain Americans. It would be tragedy indeed if we were not accepted as such.

Responsible Americans, Americans who treasure the things for which this terrible war is being fought, must not lose sight of the positive duty which is at hand. Suppression of minorities, no matter how slight or isolated, cannot be ignored. These are the small acorns from which only the diseased oak of fascism can grow. Let once the principle become established that the worth of a man is to be measured by the color of his skin, the shape of his head, his national origin, or his religious beliefs—then, indeed, will our democracy be lost. The Japanese of today will become the Negro of tomorrow, the Jew of the next day, the Catholic of the next, and the Italian American, Irish American, Swedish American, Polish American, or Slavic American of the next.

I ask you, for these reasons, to reconsider the action which resulted in my rejection. I ask it not for myself alone but also for the sake of American democracy. Why should Post 51 help the Japanese fascists put over their false propaganda that this is a war of the white man against the colored people of the world?

SGT. RICHARD H. NAITO
Baxter General Hospital, June 21

The Voice and the Versus

Dear Sirs: One should expect a lengthy discussion of "No Voice Is Wholly Lost" to contain a statement of the book's specific problem. In his article, Our Culture and Its Critics, in your issue of July 28, Mr. Bentley never gets around to that.

The article does make one contribution: it calls the book "Stalinist." (Another *Nation* reviewer, Mr. Rahv, has judged my Kafka study similarly; in both cases the *Nation* reviewers stand alone in this judgment.) Now, what does "Stalinism" mean? Mr. Bentley says it does not refer "primarily to Stalin," and defines it as "cultural conformity tinged with political reformism," a definition "told" him "by one who makes free with the term." And then, protected by his anonymous authority, he condemns the book on a number of grounds, most of which have no bearing even on his own concept of "Stalinism." He criticizes me for being a moralist, a secular puritan, a "frightened Philistine," an optimist, etc.

Mr. Bentley's definition of "Stalinism" is obviously so loose that it might as well refer to Rooseveltism, Negrinism, or any ism but that of a partisan anti-Soviet. In any case, it has no relevance to the book, which is not concerned with Soviet or any politics. And when Mr. Bentley writes that I show "an admiration of Soviet Russia and its friends," one wonders whether he is discussing "No Voice Is Wholly Lost" or a notion he has gathered elsewhere about my alleged attitude toward politics. But Mr. Bentley criticizes me on an opposite ground as well: this book, he argues, "does not bring the *political* discussion out into the open." That is, he complains that I do beat my wife and that I don't beat my wife. The fact is that my book is concerned with the problem of cultural alienation and not with political alignments. Mr. Bentley almost blunders into seeing that the political is not the yardstick when he wonders why more pages are devoted to Werfel than to Shaw. But he does not mention that sections are given to critics of Russia, such as Gide, Silone, Céline, Santayana, Dos Passos, Claudel, in which their political persuasion appears only peripherally.

The discussion proper plainly shows that Mr. Bentley simply lacks the critical equipment to judge this book. He quotes a topical sentence on Dewey and dismisses it as "philosophical cacophony." The terms used do, however, have meaning, at least to philosophers who have commented on the Dewey chapter. If Mr. Bentley does not understand them, that does not render them "cacophonous." I must add that his discussion shows that he does not understand the method of the book as a whole. What he has done is to hit on the more obvious aspects of the conclusions and ignore the process, that is the psychosocial analysis, by which the book struggles to the conclusion. He writes of its optimism as something prearranged. This does violence to the method used: to give "evil" its historic and formal justification. So little is the optimism forced that at times it is precariously balanced by the perennial validity of estrangement. Mr. Bentley misses all this, and misses the implicit consideration of aesthetic form in the analysis. Throughout, there is reference to ironic self-preservation, metaphorical confession, and other formal and structural elements by which writers transcend temporal-political restrictions.

Our problem is to make use of our mixed heritage. The book argues that no truly creative writer is "wholly lost," however tortured his expression may be through compulsive pressures. The book *is* concerned with revealing the element of validity in such creative minds.

HARRY SLOCHOWER
New York, August 30

Dear Sirs: Mr. Slochower thinks me blindly anti-"Stalinist." Sidney Hook, who roundly condemned me for my own "Stalinism" only a few months ago in *The Nation*, will smile wryly. But Mr. Slochower — to borrow a phrase — "shows plainly that he simply lacks the critical equipment to judge" my piece, which, in point of fact, protested precisely against political prejudice—"Stalinist" or anti-"Stalinist"—in criticism.

Beyond this there are only two points I would bother to make. First: my article was not supposed to be so much a review of Mr. Slochower as a little essay which took his book as its starting-point. Second: Mr. Slochower thinks his book is very good while I think it not very good. Who is to decide between us? Mr. Slochower himself?

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY
Gambier, Ohio, September 6

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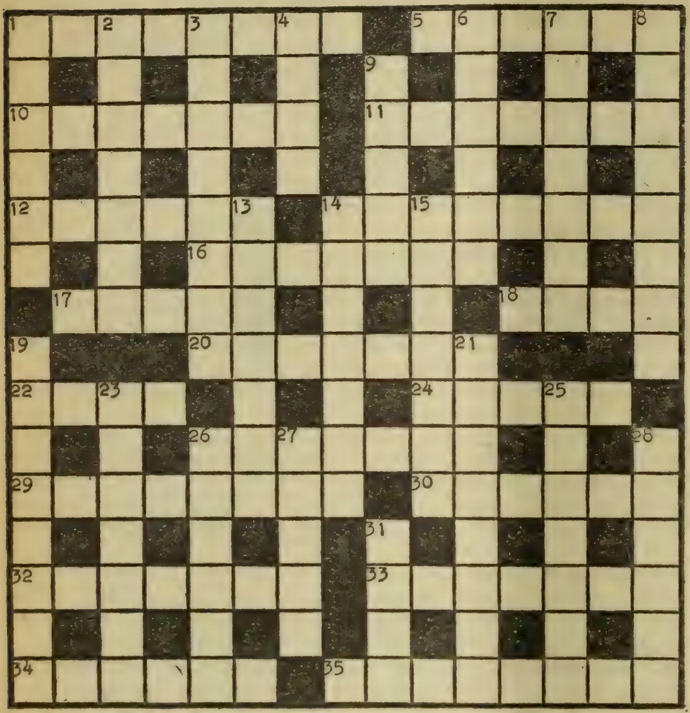
Crossword Puzzle No. 127

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Agreeable
5 It hardly suggests meteorology without tears
10 A horseman puts his foot in it
11 Injuries resulting from upsetting a lioness
12 He planned to murder Orlando indirectly
14 Kind of apple which is half pear
16 A New England state capital
17 Swallows of the sea
18 Hitler's former deputy
20 "--- ----'s punishment is not that he isn't believed, but that he cannot believe anyone else" (two words, 3 and 4)
22 Highway
24 White man's title in India
26 He's generally complaining about something
29 What the conscientious artilleryman does to his gun before abandoning it (two words, 6 and 2)
30 Summer shoe
32 Give a claim to
33 Bids
34 Leading lady in *The School for Scandal*
35 A place for the protection of game animals

DOWN

1 A pointedly dangerous character in *The Merry Wives*
2 Large building
3 Estrange (anag.)
4 Scruff of the neck
6 The stars fought against him
7 Silk stuff on which figures are wrought
8 Foolhardiness
9 There are 38 in this puzzle
13 Go-ahead people
14 Extract and depart (two words, 4 and 3)
15 Books of maps
19 Search for what is already before one
21 A rare bird (two words, 4 and 4)
23 A little air
25 Any writer
26 "A veray parfit ------ knight"
27 Spifflicated
28 Yes, Lee is in Paris
31 "When I am dead, no pageant train
Shall waste their sorrows at my ----"

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 126

ACROSS:—1 ELDORADO; 5 STUCCO; 10 TANCRED; 11 NATURAL; 12 CLEF; 13 NESTS; 16 BELL; 17 CERTAIN; 19 ANTIC; 20 NATANT; 22 SKINNER; 23 ALCOTT; 25 WELSH; 27 SIRENES; 31 OARS; 32 EARED; 33 CANE; 36 INVENTS; 37 TRESTLE; 38 ERNEST; 39 CROONERS.

DOWN:—1 ENTICE; 2 DUNGEON; 3 RARE; 4 DODGER; 6 TOTS; 7 CARNERA; 8 OILCLOTH; 9 ANITA; 13 NECKTIE; 14 STUNNER; 15 SINEWED; 17 CISTS; 18 NARES; 21 JACOBITE; 24 CARAVAN; 26 SEATTLE; 28 RAISE; 29 NECTAR; 30 BEVELS; 34 INNS; 35 HERO.

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Behind the MacArthur Row

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, September 23

THREE things make the White House statement on occupation policy in Japan less impressive than it would otherwise be. The first is the long delay in its publication. The document says, "The Japanese people, and the world at large, shall be kept fully informed of the objectives and policies of the occupation and of progress made in their fulfilment." This is important, if the stated objectives are to be realized. The publication of this basic directive in Japan would let democratic and working-class leadership there know that it was our policy "to use the existing form of government in Japan, not to support it"; that we favor changes in the form of that government designed to modify "its feudal and authoritarian tendencies"; that we are not committed to "support the Emperor or any other Japanese governmental authority in opposition to evolutionary changes looking toward the attainment" of those objectives; and that if force proves necessary against recalcitrant and reactionary elements the Allied Supreme Commander is authorized to intervene only where required to insure "the security of his forces and the attainment of all other objectives of the occupation."

An equally important purpose is served by publication of the document in this country: it provides the American people with a clear picture of our post-war program for Japan, a solid basis for judging the necessary duration and extent of occupation, "and a means of checking for ourselves whether MacArthur and his subordinates are or are not carrying out their instructions." Yet despite the pledge of full publicity, the document remained secret until an unusual set of circumstances made its release to the press necessary as a means of defending the State Department, the War Department, and the Administration against a burst of criticism in Congress. The principles embodied in the document were agreed upon by the State, War, and Navy departments and transmitted to MacArthur on August 29; the actual text of the document, after approval by the President, was sent to MacArthur by messenger on September 6. But it was not made public by the White House until September 22, and even then, from all indications, only reluctantly and under pressure from the State and War departments. We still do not know whether the document will be made public in Japan, although it says that "the Japanese people shall be kept fully informed."

To formulate fine principles on paper and forget about them in practice is becoming a characteristic of American occupation policy. German experience provides the second reason for being uneasy about our post-war plans for Japan. The basic directives on German occupation policy are still a secret, but the main outlines of our program are known. The policy laid down for Japan turns out to be much like that laid down for Germany. In Japan as in Germany we seek—in principle, at least—the elimination of war industry, the breaking up of the big monopolies, a wider distribution of ownership and income, encouragement of democratic forces, the elimination of ultra-nationalist and military elements.

Hardly a day passes without new evidence that similar directives are being sabotaged by the military occupation authorities in the Reich. Big American industrial and financial interests interlock with those of Germany as of Japan. Their influence, plus brass-hat mulishness, is enough to nullify the most specific directives. For Germany these are severe and thorough, but that has not kept them from being ignored. Even so conspicuous a malefactor as I. G. Farben is successfully evading the fate decreed for it. I have seen the secret General Order No. 2 on I. G. Farben, issued last July 5 by Military Government authorities. It is very drastic, but it is not being obeyed. Instead of being liquidated in accordance with that order, I. G. is being rebuilt. I am reliably informed that the services of its old American subsidiary, General Aniline and Film, are being enlisted to provide technicians for the reconstruction of the German parent company. Only last Friday the United Press reported from Frankfurt a press conference in which Colonel James Boyd, head of the United States Forces' Industry Branch, declared that I. G. Farben's war industries would be "switched" to peace-time output rather than destroyed. What is to prevent these facilities from being "switched" back again some day to war production? If this can happen in Germany, where the relationship of monopoly and militarism has been much more fully publicized, it can happen in Japan. If I. G. can thus save itself, so can Mitsui.

There is a third and more fundamental reason for not taking the White House program at face value. Its principles and purposes are sound, but the magnitude of the changes they require—and international security requires—in Japanese society calls for a military government of Japan. It takes little reflection to realize that we can hardly hope to break the power of Japan's ruling classes—the aristocracy, the plutocracy, the bureaucracy, and the military—if we confine ourselves to operating through a government which remains their instrument. To do so is to leave in power the very elements we are pledged to eradicate; to leave these elements in position to reassume full control once the occupation is over. The Associated Press reports from Tokyo today, "Japanese prominently associated with the incipient liberal movement say opposition of these strongly intrenched groups already has handicapped attempts toward settlement of the problems of national livelihood as well as social reformation."

From what little I can learn here in this highly secret field of national policy, one faction in Washington, now the dominant faction in the State Department, favored a military government and had plans drawn up for such a government. The decision against a military government of Japan seems to have been made at Potsdam. This is puzzling. The British may well have opposed any drastic policy toward Japan, but it is hard to believe that the Russians did. I cannot find out why plans for a military government were dropped, but my hunch is that they were abandoned because our other Pacific allies—including the Russians—would have had to be represented at the top policy level. I think many in army-navy circles would prefer a soft peace for Japan to Russian participation in the fundamental decisions of the occupation.

Soviet-American relations are the fundamental factor in determining the future of Japan as of Germany. It is worth noting in this connection that Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy, top War Department official on German occupation policy, is also the department's representative on the State-War-Navy committee which frames the basic directives for Japan. McCloy has long been regarded in other branches of the government dealing with the Reich as a man who operates on the assumption that we need a strong Germany as a bulwark against the U. S. S. R. and communism. There are some who believe we need a strong Japan and a meek Korea for the same reason, and it is significant that Landon coupled criticism of the Morgenthau plan for Germany with his defense of MacArthur. In Congress and in the press the old pro-Axis and anti-Soviet crowd is taking advantage of the demand for faster demobilization to plead for softer treatment of both Germany and Japan.

The Hearst-Patterson-McCormick press and its friends in Congress are engaged in an attempt to identify advocacy of a hard peace for the Axis countries with communism; this would make "reds" of Wainwright, Chennault, Halsey, Devereaux, and the other military figures who have warned us against a soft peace with the Japanese. The most ludicrous effort in this field was Arthur Krock's attempt today to make it appear that criticism of MacArthur came chiefly from "the pink publications." One of "the pink publications" which have been criticizing MacArthur and insisting on action against "Japan's own special kind of big business, the great industrial and financial concerns of Japan," is Krock's own paper, the New York *Times* (see its leading editorial, headed Cleaning Up Japan, in the September 13 issue). The poor fellow seems to think he is writing for the Chicago *Tribune.*

The War Department is not above playing up to these reactionary elements. Last Tuesday, during the interminable debate going on in Congress over demobilization, Lemke of North Dakota told the House that one War Department official was reported to have said it was "all right to discharge the boys if you do not want as large an army as Russia." The War Department's quarrel with MacArthur is not the same as the State Department's. The War Department is angry because MacArthur's sudden statement that he would need only 200,000 soldiers to police Japan upset its plea that occupation needs necessitated a slower rate of demobilization. The War Department is inclined to think of a large army in terms of power politics vis-a-vis the Soviet Union rather than as a means of preventing renewed German and Japanese aggression. The State Department's quarrel with MacArthur has a different basis. There Grew, Dooman, and the Japanophiles are out; Acheson and younger "China hands" are now in charge of Far Eastern policy. They see MacArthur's occupation policies and his talk of a short occupation with comparatively few troops as endangering the hope of a durable peace in the Far East. They are fighting for a complete change in

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"the present economic and social system of Japan, which makes for a will to war." It was for his courage in saying so that Acheson's confirmation as Under Secretary was held up in the Senate last Thursday. Who would have dreamed that within four years of Pearl Harbor a nominee for high office would be attacked in the Senate of the United States for advocating severe treatment of Japan?

Whatever success we achieve in preventing a renewal of Japanese aggression will depend on the patience and understanding of the American people. Unfortunately, army-navy clumsiness and inefficiency have created so much resentment against demobilization delays as to make it difficult reasonably to argue the need for considerable personnel and extended occupation in both Japan and Germany. The same papers and the same Congressmen who helped lull this country into a false feeling of security before Pearl Harbor are back at work on a repeat performance. MacArthur is playing to the old isolationist and crypto-fascist gallery. He is also playing to the human and understandable desire to "get the boys back" as quickly as possible: Congress is swamped with letters from home on the subject. The Axis thrived once before on democratic unwillingness to make some present sacrifice for the sake of future security, and can thrive on it again. Russell of Georgia, in an able and moving speech to the Senate Tuesday, introduced a resolution for the trial of Hirohito as a war criminal and sought to drive home the future consequences of a soft peace. But the Russells are being drowned out by the Rankins. And the Landons are ready to sacrifice national security to cheap politics. True, MacArthur today told Hugh Baillie of the United Press that Japan would never again be a world power or world menace. But in the fall of 1939 we were assured by as high a military authority that the Philippines were in no danger of attack from Japan. That was Douglas MacArthur, too.

The Shape of Things

IF A DISPATCH BY RAYMOND DANIELL IN THE New York *Times* last Friday was accurate, then General Patton should be court-martialed. If it was inaccurate, the *Times* correspondent should be fired; but Mr. Daniell is known as an extremely cautious, meticulous observer. He reported from Wiesbaden, Germany, "a general opposition" on the part of Military Government officers "to the denazification program and a lackadaisical attitude toward its enforcement." And he quoted a "reported remark" of General George S. Patton, Jr., when the general was told that a certain German business man should not be employed because his questionnaire or "Fragenbogen" showed that he had been a member of the Nazi Elite Guard. "What the hell's a Fragenbogen?" shouted the general. "Listen—if you need these men, keep them and don't worry about anything else." It may well be that General Patton never heard of President Roosevelt's pledge to "destroy the fascist tyranny," but it is hard to believe that he missed the explicit instructions of General Eisenhower, issued on July 20 in Berlin. The General of the Army, confronted with evidence from all over the American zone that the Military Government was using Nazis for administrative jobs, large and small, gave flat orders to eliminate Nazis and militarists from all offices and positions of importance in quasi-public and private enterprises. In the light of these orders, General Patton's attitude is one of open insubordination, while the situation it reveals is rapidly developing into a scandal that makes nonsense of all our talk about democracy —and of the war itself. Next week in *The Nation* Saul K. Padover will discuss in documented detail the problem of American military government in Germany.

*

WHILE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN FINANCIAL TALKS continue without visible progress, the British government has begun to take steps to reduce imports which must be paid for in dollars. Contracts for Lend-Lease goods amounting to $1,500,000,000 on V-J Day have been cut in half by canceling orders for tobacco, raw materials, and manufactured goods. This means more "austerity" for the British consumer but is also bad news for the American farmer, for it implies cultivation by Britain of alternative sources of supply of such commodities as cotton, huge surpluses of which already exist in this country. Administration experts who are conducting the negotiations with Lords Halifax and Keynes understand fully the basic facts of Britain's plight. They know that if we do not help it to its feet, it will have to renounce the ideal of unrestricted international trade or face starvation. But the Administration is timid about putting the facts before the country. It fears that isolationists and Anglophobes, in Congress and elsewhere, will damn any realistic solution to the problem by saying that Uncle Sam is being asked to play Santa Claus for the benefit of British Socialism. Washington's hope, therefore, is to fix up a scheme that will appear tough —a big loan at a commercial rate of interest, for instance— and leave the demonstration of its unworkability to time. The British, however, seem reluctant to cooperate in this deception. They have taken a stand against incurring liabilities they know they will not be able to meet. Rather than that, they will tighten their belts until they can reorganize their trade on a barter basis. If we force them to adopt this alternative, we can say goodby to our hopes of an expanding world market for American surpluses.

*

PROSPECTS FOR SOLVING THE INDIAN PROBLEM were notably advanced by Prime Minister Attlee's and Viceroy Wavell's recent announcements of prompt measures for assuring self-government. After provincial and central elections are held this winter, His Majesty's (Socialist) Government will hold discussions with representatives of the provincial legislative assemblies to ascertain whether the Cripps proposals "are acceptable or whether some alternative or modified scheme is preferable." A Constituent Assembly will then be convened to frame a new constitution. The unfortunate aspect of the elections, of which there is implicit recognition in Wavell's message, is that under the present constitution only a fraction of the population can vote. In 1937, in the last elections for the provincial legislatures, literacy and high property qualifications allowed only about one-fourth of the total adult population to vote. Attlee made it clear in his message that the purpose and intention of the Cripps proposals, which offered India ultimate dominion status, are embodied in the new offer, which similarly envisages "negotiation of a treaty between the British government and the constitution-making body." He stated further that the present government is giving immediate consideration to the contents of such a treaty and that it "shall not seek to provide for anything incompatible with the interests of India." We hope that Indian nationalists, despite the bitter disappointments they have suffered at the hands of previous governments, will not put upon Attlee the onus of his predecessors' crimes. But first reports from India show that they are suspicious of the new plan. The Congress Working Committee is now convening for the first time since 1942. We hope that it decides to use the new offer to India's best advantage. Only a Britain determined to overhaul its own pattern of national economy can afford to give India freedom: We do not doubt that that is the intention of the Labor government.

*

THE CHUNGKING-YENAN NEGOTIATIONS ARE expected to end shortly in a partial accord. This will be widely hailed as a diplomatic triumph for Ambassador Hurley, who has remained in China to supervise the negotiations personally. Actually, the results are disappointing. The settlement envisioned at the time of the Sino-Soviet pact has not materialized. According to the *Ta Kung Pao,* China's leading newspaper, the Chungking government has agreed to recognize the legal status of all political parties, including the Communist, in advance of summoning the National Assembly, thus making it possible for minority groups to gain some representation in that body. Chungking is also said to be willing to call a conference of representatives of all political and non-partisan groups to work out a satisfactory plan for the participation in the government of "all parties and groups." While these are hopeful steps in the direction of a more democratic regime in Chungking, the protracted negotiations between Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Kai-shek have apparently failed on the essential issues of control of the armed forces and local government reforms, including tax and land reforms. Since the source of political power in China rests with the armed forces rather than the Cabinet or any other constitutional political agency, the Communists have insisted on a more democratic system of military control as a condition for placing their military forces under the direct command of the central government. Until an agreement can be worked out on this issue there can be no basic political settlement and the danger of civil war will persist even though both sides clearly wish to avoid it.

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REPORTS THAT GENERAL HURLEY WILL RESIGN as ambassador to China provide a ray of hope in the otherwise clouded prospects for Chinese unity. Although Hurley may claim credit for having helped to achieve the limited Kuomintang-Communist agreement, his record on the whole has been a negative one, both with respect to promoting harmony in China and to pursuing unified American policy. It will be recalled that when Hurley arrived in Chungking at the end of last year, the prospects of fundamental Kuomintang-Communist accord were brighter than they had been at any other period. But he quickly alienated the Communists by throwing his support to the Kuomintang and thus stood in the way of an effective war-time coalition. This policy brought Hurley into sharp conflict both with the State Department and the foreign-service officers attached to his embassy. He retaliated by weeding out experienced China personnel not only from his staff but from all government agencies in China, including the army. All dispatches from foreign-service officers to the State Department were subjected to rigorous censorship by the ambassador, thus cutting Washington off from unbiased information from China at one of the most critical periods in history. It is to be hoped that a new ambassador will be chosen who is capable of unifying American policy and of exercising impartial judgment in dealing with the various Chinese factions.

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THE BELL TOLLED FOR PERON LAST WEEK WHEN about 500,000 Argentines turned out for the "March of Constitution and of Freedom" in Buenos Aires. "God Bless America" was the song they sang most often and applauded most loudly; the popular refrain, "We want no dictatorships or military governments, either," ran a close second. And through it all there were almost incessant cries of "Death to Perón." Men and women of all classes and political beliefs surged forward together in a united front plebiscite demanding Perón's downfall. There at the rally about 100,000 more people were present than voted in the 1940 elections in Buenos Aires. The Argentine people have spoken. But the colonel—who should have been a house painter—won't let go. Faced with the classic dilemma of a dictator's last days, he must either grant concessions or increase repressions; either course will only strengthen the resistance. This is the see-saw of disaster Perón has been riding the past few months. Meanwhile his fantasy life is filled with dreams of being elected President in the long-forthcoming elections. Their date has been not yet been set. Because of last week's events Perón may delay his expected withdrawal from the government in order to announce his candidacy openly. Moreover, a general strike said to be in the offing is further complicating life for the Argentine dictator; and when it comes he will have no road back.

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THE BRITISH CABINET'S REPORTED STAND ON Palestine is inexplicable unless viewed in the light of the current power conflicts in the Near East and the Mediterranean area. The recent indication that the Arab League will resist Russia's claims to expanded influence in the Mediterranean provides some clue to what appears to be a betrayal of principles long voiced by leading Labor Party members. But no considerations of imperial interest can justify the retention of the iniquitous White Paper—with certain modifications—as a handbook to British Palestine policy. Such a decision would amount to embracing the worst cynicism of Mr. Chamberlain's administration and at the very moment when the Jewish people are in their most desperate plight. Today there are still alive in Hitler's charnel houses some 60,000 Jews whom the United Nations military authorities are unable to release because they have no place to go. The proposed British solution of granting 1,500 visas a month would mean that three and a half years would elapse before the last of this group was rescued—how many would survive that long is hard to say. To a people which in six years has lost almost 6,000,000 out of 8,000,000 to Nazi blood lust Palestine represents justice and security. It is the one country to which the remaining Jews of Europe want to go; it is the one country that will willingly receive them. President Truman's demand, therefore, that the British government open the doors of Palestine to 100,000 Jews will receive the full support of the American people and, we suspect, of the great mass of British people as well. That request—and not the White Paper—must become the basis of an interim policy to meet the desperate situation existing today. But the long-term solution should not wait. The British proposal that the question be referred to the United Nations Organization makes sense provided that it is not simply a means of stalling. The Jewish Commonwealth is guaranteed by international agreement; it represents a solemn pledge embodied in the Balfour declaration; under the United Nations, and with the minimum of delay, it should become a reality.

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L. C. AKINS, A YOUNG NEGRO, IS SENTENCED TO die on October 6. The case was fully analyzed by George Clifton Edwards, an attorney of Dallas, Texas, in *The Nation* of September 15. The facts presented made it evident that had Akins been white he probably would not have been indicted—certainly he would not have been indicted on a charge of murder with malice. And if he had been brought to trial it is unthinkable that he would have been convicted. The report shows that a white man was killed in a fight with Akins. The white man, a policeman off duty, had attacked Akins as he was boarding a street car, accusing him of having jostled his wife. The policeman wounded Akins with his gun; later Akins secured the gun and shot his assailant. With the exception of one eighty-year-old and almost illiterate Negro—included to meet the technical requirement of "non-discrimination"—the grand jury was entirely white. The trial jury, witnesses, judge, court officials, prosecution were all white. Akins's fate rests in the hands of the Texas Board of Pardons and Paroles. Telegrams should be directed to its chairman, Elster M. Haile, State Capitol, Austin, Texas. There is still a chance that the awakened public conscience, Southern as well as Northern, will save a man's life and remove a stain from the annals of American justice.

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IN REJECTING A STANDARD JOBLESS BENEFIT of $25 a week and voting to return the federal employment offices to the states, the Senate struck a body blow at the prospects for orderly reconversion. Of the two actions the dissolution of the U. S. E. S. promises to cause the most severe headaches in the immediate future. A system of centralized, coordinated employment offices will be urgently needed in the reconversion period. Millions of workers have left their home communities and scattered through the country to do war work. Their employment in peace-time industry will necessitate a new migration, not merely a return to former homes. To achieve this, the employment offices must be equipped with a detailed knowledge of job prospects in all parts of the country, knowledge that can only be acquired and classified by a federal service. Furthermore, most of the state employment offices were so inefficient before the war as a result of political nepotism that they were bypassed by employers and employees alike. Yet the political forces which corrupted the state employment offices proved strong enough, in a Senate showdown, to destroy the relatively efficient U. S. E. S. at the moment it was most needed. These same political machines, intrenched in the state bureaucracy, undoubtedly played an important role in bringing about the rejection of President Truman's plea for a uniform jobless benefit. Since business prospects in the post-reconversion period are seriously jeopardized by both Senate actions, it is to be hoped that progressive business interests will join labor and citizen groups in pressing for a reversal in the House, where state political pressures are not so readily concentrated.

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ON JUNE 18 IN THE FATEFUL SUMMER OF 1940, two men on opposite sides of the Atlantic made crucial speeches. One said: "If we stand up to him, all Europe may be freed and the life of the world move forward into broad sunlit meadows; but if we fail, the whole world, including the United States and all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new dark age made more sinister and perhaps more prolonged by the lights of a perverted science." The other said: "The United States today faces probably the greatest crisis in its history. Not only our own safety but the continuance of the kind of world which we have been trying to create and the methods of freedom and self-government which have been ours since the foundation of our nation are at stake." Winston Churchill was reporting to the British people on Dunkirk and outlining plans for defense against invasion. Henry Stimson was urging that the United States give full support to England and at once institute universal military training. On the following day President Roosevelt appointed Henry Stimson Secretary of War. Probably no Cabinet member, perhaps not President Roosevelt himself, better understood the true nature and menace of fascism. In January, 1939, Mr. Stimson had written a letter to Secretary Hull urging that the embargo on arms to Republican Spain be lifted. Three months later, in a letter to the New York *Times*, he protested against our continuing isolationist policy, insisting that "in succession the attacks upon Manchuria, North China, South China, Ethiopia, Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia, have shown us the error of likening modern fascism to a domestic system with which most of the world can live in peace." His own contribution to the military destruction of fascism was great. His successor, Robert Patterson, has proved his competence as Assistant Secretary. It is to be hoped that he will carry over his former chief's awareness of those forces that menace the life of the free peoples of the world.

IN NEXT WEEK'S *NATION*

SAUL K. PADOVER on

American Military Government in Germany

What the London Conference Reveals

BY ALL American reports, London is a city of diplomatic gloom. Only the delegation from Moscow seems to be deriving any satisfaction from the proceedings of the Council of Foreign Ministers; and its complacency obviously doesn't lift the spirits of the capitalist press. There are reasons for concern in the difficulties of the conference itself, but perhaps the unmitigated quality of the correspondents' pessimism is primarily due to their exclusion from authentic news. In any event, we do not share their shocked surprise at the turn the meeting is taking.

The dispatches speak as if the conference had revealed conflicts between the Soviets and the Anglo-American partnership. In reality it has only defined them. Everyone knew that the Soviet Union intended to be the strongest external influence in the Balkans; everyone knew that it meant to have a voice in the disposal of the Italian colonies both in the neighborhood of the Dardanelles and in Africa; everyone knew that it was supporting the Yugoslav demand for Trieste. The claims to a port on the Red Sea and to the administration under United Nations mandate of Tripolitania and possibly Eritrea are only specific and concrete expressions of a general determination to play the role of a super-power and enjoy its perquisites. Some of these demands may be dropped when the major point of free use of the Dardanelles has been conceded, but we should not bank on it.

No one should have been taken by surprise or disillusioned except those who, idealizing the government of Stalin and Molotov, expected it to play a utopian part in international affairs. This was hardly the case with the emissaries of the sophisticated American press. But one depressing factor may have been the continued contrast between Soviet competence and American floundering in the art of diplomacy. Certainly it was too bad that the shift in policy from individual to international administration of the former Italian colonies should have come at the conference itself, for this not only revealed some instability, but also gave the delegation an air of clumsy trickiness.

The fact is that, while the conference couldn't by any stretch of the imagination be called a happy field-day for Anglo-American diplomacy, it was a necessary and useful step toward peace settlements in the Mediterranean and the Balkans. The Foreign Ministers cannot draft a treaty. At best they can only mark out broad lines of agreement and leave the details to be filled in by experts. It is true that the press reports reflect more conflict than agreement; but nothing like the full record is yet available, and in any event it is well to have the differences clearly stated at the earliest possible stage in negotiations. The fact that the Russians are taking positions opposed to those of the United States and Britain does not mean that they have won theirs or that we have lost ours.

The basic conflict is between the Russian way of life and government and ours. Both ways label themselves democracy, but there are profound differences, and both are trying to spread themselves in the world. So long as this is so, there will be perpetual difficulty in establishing compromises short of violence.

Meanwhile, London last week produced one sinister omen whch seems to have escaped notice. While the Foreign Ministers were meeting, the executive committee of the United Nations was also in session. In it raged another hard-fought battle—this one over the dates and agenda for the first meetings of the General Assembly. But the progress it was making towards implementation of the San Francisco Charter was pushed into obscure back columns by the concurrent bickerings of the Big Five. So long as there continue to be supreme councils of three or five powers, so long will it be impossible for the United Nations to win and hold the prestige and authority which alone can render it an effective security system. The small states, in demanding more consultation, are fighting a battle not only for themselves but for the principle of dealing with world problems in a world organization rather than in small conclaves. If the conclaves are permanent, as they purport to be, there will be too many rings in the international circus.

Words and Deeds

MR. TRUMAN'S actions and Mr. Truman's words are not altogether in accord. Philip Murray of the C. I. O. told a New York labor delegation to Washington that three of the leading measures called for in the President's message of September 6 "are threatened by lack of any organized support by the Administration or its supporters inside or outside of Congress." He referred to the full-employment bill, the unemployment-compensation bill, and the 65-cent minimum-wage bill. Murray spoke with restraint when he said that the Administration and Democratic Party leadership had not "shown sufficient exertion" on these measures. The White House did intervene to win Carville of Nevada for the full-employment bill, which was voted out of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee by thirteen to seven. Other Democratic waverers who voted with Carville for the bill were Bankhead of Alabama and Fulbright of Arkansas; Radcliffe of Maryland was the only Democrat who finally went with the Taft leadership against the bill. Two Republicans, Tobey of New Hampshire and Butler of Ohio, joined the majority in favor. But no such last-minute pressure was in evidence in the fight over unemployment compensation; leadership finally fell to La Follette, and Guffey stood alone in submitting a courageous minority report against the emasculated bill as it was submitted to the Senate.

But it is not in Congress alone that Mr. Truman has left an unpleasant impression. The hasty, unkind, unjustified, and cowardly way in which William H. Davis was dismissed as Director of Economic Stabilization does not speak well for the President. The affair seems to have been precipitated by the new Secretary of Labor, Schwellenbach, who went running to the White House in a kind of hysteria and blamed Davis for the strike situation. Davis was the victim of some bad reporting in the New York *Herald Tribune* and of some dishonest rewriting in the New York *Times*. Some remarks made at a background press conference by Davis on September 4 were misinterpreted by the former to mean that "the government has undertaken a program to raise the real wages of every worker in this country from 40 to 50 per cent as rapidly as possible." The *Times* rewrote the opening paragraph of a United Press dispatch on the conference to provide a similar misinterpretation, although its own respected veteran labor reporter, Louis Stark, was present at the Davis interview and filed no such story. The *Wall Street Journal*, which had had an accurate account from its own reporter, also preferred the misinterpretation and published an editorial declaring, "Davis Must Go." Raymond Moley, Fulton Lewis, Jr., and others joined in, and soon the pack was in full cry. They threw Schwellenbach and Truman into a panic.

There is reason to believe that a good part of the campaign against Davis was whipped up by manufacturers of automobiles and other durable goods, who saw him as an obstacle to higher prices. That they succeeded so well is a sour commentary on the state of the Administration's nerves. It happens that the misinterpretation of what Davis said grew out of his indorsement of a remark made by Secretary of the Treasury Vinson in his final report as Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion. The report declared that the country faced "the pleasant predicament" of increasing its standard of living by 50 per cent. But that has been said in one form or another by many government economists and officials, who recognize that only a 50 per cent rise in living standards can make it possible fully to employ productive facilities expanded 50 per cent by the war. And Truman himself, in his message to Congress, has accepted the view that in order to move toward an increase in living standards, prices should be held while wages wherever possible should be allowed to rise. The President seems to be willing to accept the theory but to balk at its practical application, for that is politically painful.

A tendency to take the line of least resistance and to give in to business pressures seems apparent in the higher levels of the Administration. An outstanding example was provided by the order of Reconversion Director John W. Snyder lifting price controls on housing. The six-point program Snyder promises as replacement is not impressive, least of all the pledge of stronger WPB inventory controls to prevent hoarding of building materials. The laxity of inventory control by WPB is notorious, and since the WPB is being disbanded and its vestigial functions handed over to Snyder's small staff there is even less likelihood of effective supervision. On the contrary, Snyder's weakness in giving in to the greedy real-estate lobby and Truman's weakness in giving in to the anti-Davis campaign in press and radio will encourage inflationary business forces to intensify their efforts. Their next target will undoubtedly be Chester Bowles, head of the OPA, who has shown admirable bravery in the government's hottest job. His recent speech before the National Industrial Conference Board in New York will not make him more popular with the grab boys. If Bowles follows Davis into retirement, consumers will be mulcted and hope of a stable recovery blasted by a short and sharp inflationary boom, followed by a deflationary tailspin.

Post-Atomic National Defense

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

RECENT pronouncements from Washington and other centers of the higher thinking have left this observer with the dazed feeling that perhaps the atomic bomb was never dropped on Hiroshima at all but was only a horrible figment of our imaginations or a propaganda device to excuse the undignified exit of the Japanese from the war. The nation's political and military leaders, apparently with straight faces, are advancing plans for the future which seem largely to ignore the most revolutionary technological event since the invention of the steam engine. Policy-makers both here and abroad continue their old, tired talk of big navies, big armies, spheres of influence, colonial administrations, and strictly national control of forces which have burst out into the whole domain of the world. (The two generals who were at the head of the project that produced the atomic bomb have, as one might expect, a different point of view. At a War Department press conference on September 19 Major General Leslie Groves and Brigadier General Thomas F. Farrell declared that there is "no conceivable defense" against atomic bombs except to hit your enemy with them before he hits you.) Only occasionally is a public toe dabbled in the icy and forbidding waters of the atomic age, to be hastily withdrawn again to the familiar but—shall we say?—somewhat shifting sands of the old era, where national boundaries could still be discerned.

We have been living in the atomic age for six weeks now. It is time to take a deep breath and plunge into the strange ocean where time and space are so inextricably mixed.

Item: The navy requests post-war appropriations to maintain a fleet equal to the combined present fleets of the world. The atomic bomb is not mentioned.

Item: In defense of this request Secretary Forrestal explains that we need a great navy because airplanes must drop the atomic bomb—which he mentions by name—airplanes can best be stopped far from our borders, and the fleet can best do this stopping.

Item: Admiral McCain's almost-last words, "Give me the fast carrier force and you can have the atomic bomb."

Item: The navy demands that we keep a chain of the major bases we have won in the Pacific, from the Aleutians through the Ryukyus to the Solomons; it makes obvious eyes at an extended chain of bases in the Atlantic.

Item: The army is reported to be still in favor of universal military training.

Item: President Truman proposes control of atomic energy by having the United States government own all uranium-producing ore deposits in the country.

Item: The Council of Foreign Ministers squabbles over who gets the old Italian colonies, and otherwise talks in terms which are even pre-San Francisco.

This is the sort of talk we might logically have expected before the early morning event at Hiroshima. I submit we have grounds to hear something a little more imaginative, a little more realistic, a little more enlightened, after that event—some statement urging a drastic revision of the United Nations organization to make it a world federation of states, to place military power entirely under the control of the central world authority, to substitute the rule of law for the un-rule of national sovereignties clashing in the twentieth-century jungle.

Meanwhile, it is important—though clearly of secondary importance—to discuss and decide upon an interim national-defense policy. For it is clear that we shall not see any major checks put on national sovereignty tomorrow, or next week; it is clear that until we have these checks we must have a national-defense policy; and it is becoming increasingly clear that if citizens do not take a loud and vocal interest in the shaping of this policy, we shall have foisted upon us an anachronistic policy that is positively damaging to the prospects of any future reorganization of the world along lines which will meet the challenge of the atomic age.

Available historical evidence suggests that the most dangerous thing which can happen to a national-defense policy is for the nation to win a war. The defensive outstripped the offensive in the last war; so France and England and the United States planned for another war in which the defensive alone could win. Germany, having lost, simply devised new means of taking the offensive. The items listed above lend weight to the unhappy rule of history. Having won this war after a hard struggle to train troops, many hard fights to seize outlying bases, and employment of a powerful fleet and a great air arm arduously developed, our military leaders are planning to win the next war more easily by having trained reserves, outlying bases, a powerful fleet, and a great air arm all ready for use.

The military employment of atomic fission developed by a few long-haired scientists is dismissed as readily as were the tank and the airplane after 1918.

If our present course is followed, it will prove even more dangerous than our course after 1918. We cannot again expect to use countries across the oceans as buffer states: we would be the first target for any future aggressor with big ideas. The weapons of the future will make us an easy target. Our current mode of military thinking, if continued, will invite attack. Building a large armed force around the weapons and tactical concepts of the recent war is a positive peril in that it tends to discourage research and the development of new weapons and tactics, defensive as well as offensive. This will be recognized and taken advantage of by any potential aggressor, who must plan in terms of the new weapons in order to be successful. New techniques of war, already developed in primitive form and bound to be much more highly developed under the world's accelerating technology, will center in atomic explosives, rocket propulsion, radar, and aerodynamics. It is probable that the chief offensive weapon of the future will be a rocket-propelled pilotless aircraft, loaded with an atom-disintegrating warhead, and guided to its target by radar.

This is, unhappily, anything but fanciful. The scientists can do it, if the military men will let them. Already the United States Army Air Forces have in their possession a rocket drawn to its target by heat, light, or metal in the target area, a bomb guided by television from a plane fifteen miles away from the target, and a bomber with a range of 5,000 miles. The Germans in another six months might have produced a rocket bomb to cross the Atlantic in seventeen minutes. Any nation with competent scientists and adequate material and industrial resources can develop these techniques, as it can develop the atom-splitting technique. Consequently the advantage in another war would go to the nation which pushed its buttons first, launching the long-range explosives in a barrage against the chief cities and industrial centers of its antagonist. Such an initial advantage would be quickly followed up by the air-borne delivery of mechanized ground forces, to seize the key positions left intact.

In these circumstances, the present squabble over outlying bases will seem childish. A large navy would be an interesting target, although the aggressor might simply choose to ignore it. A conscript army could hardly be assembled, and if assembled would hardly find a place where it could fight to any good purpose—I hasten to withdraw my argument in favor of universal military training, advanced in these columns some months ago.

What, then, is needed for our interim national-defense policy? Obviously the drawbacks to our present policy, and the advantages of an alternate policy, can only be suggested in this short article. But it would seem that we must explore very seriously the possibility of unifying our uncoordinated and jealous services into a single Department of National Defense, with under secretaries for the army, navy, and air forces, and perhaps a separate under secretary for research; that we must give every aid to government-controlled research and development of new techniques, weapons, and tactics; that we must establish a national intelligence and information service of sufficient scope to find out and make available the best data on military, scientific, and economic activities in other countries as well as in our own; and that we must facilitate the promotion to responsible commands of the most energetic, talented, and imaginative officers in all branches of the armed forces.

These are not objectives which are likely to be accomplished—or embraced—by senior officers and officials who have just won a war with obsolescent techniques. "This is a big job for big minds," Hanson Baldwin suggests:

> It should be undertaken by the leading citizens of the nation, organized in a commission appointed by the President and/or the Congress. This commission should have technical advisers from the military services and other branches of government, but it should be civilian in composition. . . . It should have full access to the facts of the technological revolution in war. Its comprehensive

studies should embrace all aspects of our post-war national-defense problem and should correlate defense policies with foreign policies.

Such a commission could do much to clarify our present confused situation. Unless the situation is clarified, we are likely to find ourselves supporting at great expense an inadequate national-defense policy which would lull us into a sense of false security and which might so mislead us concerning the horror and devastation of another war as to render us less insistent in our demand for an organization of world society which could effectively keep the peace and obviate the need for any national-defense policy.

The Prisoners We Forgot

BY ANDREW ROTH

(*Author of "Dilemma in Japan"*)

WHEN the capitulation of Japan became a reality I began searching the newspapers avidly for news about two groups of prisoners. I was heartened and thrilled to read of the quick succor brought to the first group, American prisoners of war, by the "mercy teams" that parachuted into enemy-held areas and the ships that braved the mined waters. It was a stirring story of American sympathy, ingenuity, and daring. But I noted with increasing alarm that the second group of prisoners was apparently being forgotten, with sickening callousness and typical political myopia. They too had fought the Japanese militarists. They too had been beaten, starved, and fiendishly tortured. Most of them had spent many more years in filthy prisons than the heroes of Bataan, for their war had begun long before December 7, 1941. This second group comprised the political prisoners, the thousands of Japanese democrats, liberals, and leftists who had dared to fight the ruling clique and its ruthless police.

These Japanese political prisoners merit our profound consideration. First of all, they took frightening risks in the fight against military fascism and thus deserve at least the same recognition and assistance as the valiant fighters of the anti-Nazi underground in Europe. But even more important is the fact that the pressing and fundamental task of eliminating the roots of Japanese aggression will be immeasurably more difficult without the cooperation of the experienced and trustworthy anti-fascist leaders who have been imprisoned during the last twenty years.

The liberal press has voiced a good deal of criticism of General MacArthur's reliance upon the authoritarian bureaucrats, the *Zaibatsu*, the court aristocracy, the Emperor, and even sections of the Japanese military. But altogether too little emphasis has been placed on the existence of anti-militarist leaders to whom the Allies should turn and who thus far have been almost entirely neglected. The present situation in Japan urgently requires an anti-fascist coalition of all groups interested in a democratic political and economic renovation—liberal intellectuals, feminists, Christian humanists, peasants, industrial workers, small business men. Only such a coalition is capable of organizing a movement broad enough to carry through the requisite reforms in industry, agriculture, and government. The leadership of these groups has been decimated by four great waves of arrests—one in the late twenties, one in the early thirties, another in 1937-38, and a major raid on Pearl Harbor Day. Many have been slaughtered by their jailers, but it is conservatively estimated that more than forty thousand of these political offenders are still in prison.

It is particularly interesting to study the wave of repression which marked the winter of 1937-38. At that time about five hundred of the outstanding political, intellectual, and labor leaders who were still at liberty were arrested in an attempt to break up an anti-war and anti-fascist "popular-front" coalition then in process of formation. Among them were noted university professors and writers, members of the Diet and of the local assemblies, some of the more aggressive members of the Social Mass Party, and virtually the entire leadership of the militant National Council of Trade Unions and of the Proletarian Party, which were summarily dissolved. The most important person arrested was Kanju Kato, a leader of both the last-named organizations. A newspaperman and trade unionist of broad experience, Kato was serving his second term in the Diet, to which he had just been elected from a working-class constituency in Tokyo with the largest majority of any candidate in the country. He and the handful of other members of the Proletarian Party in the Diet were sharp thorns in the side of the Konoye government, for they exploited all their very limited opportunities to voice their anti-war sentiments. With Kato were arrested Shigeo Tsubaki, municipal assemblyman from Osaka, Toshio Kurota and Shikaji Shigei, members of the Diet, and Mosaburo Suzuki, former Tokyo assemblyman. Kanju Kato was released from prison, apparently in 1943, on the promise that he would not participate in political activities, but was rearrested last fall and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. The police probably held him partly responsible for the increasing unrest in labor circles, unrest which was sparked by the underground Proletarian and Communist parties.

The industrial plants are the most important breeding grounds in Japan for anti-fascist leaders, and after them come the universities. Every resurgence of democratic or leftist political activity has won recruits among the university students and faculties, despite the extreme penalties for "dangerous thoughts." And every new wave of arrests has deprived the universities of their most courageous and independent thinkers. In the winter of 1937-38 Professor Ouchi of Tokyo Imperial University, author of the well-known "General Outline of Japanese Economics," was arrested with two of his colleagues, Assistant Professors

Arisawa and Kakimura; as were Professor Minobe of Hosei University, son of the noted constitutional authority, and Professors Minimi and Abe of the same institution. Kyushu Imperial University and Waseda were also raided by the dreaded *Tokko-ka,* or secret political police.

Hirohito

Japan, like Spain and other countries in which women suffer feudal subjection, has produced a courageous group of women leaders, many of whom are still in prison. The police have recognized their contribution to the anti-militarist cause by devising special torture instruments for their women prisoners. The Japanese woman leader who is probably best known in this country is Baroness Ishimoto, a courageous and lovely noblewoman who braved the bitter denunciations of the press and the scorn of her own class to lecture and write in favor of democratic rights for women and birth control. She too was arrested in the popular-front arrests of 1937-38, but she was subsequently released to the custody of her family. The police were less considerate of the more militant and not so well-born Sadayo Orimoto, a charming, musical-voiced young woman who attempted to raise the standards of workingwomen by organizing them, forming labor schools, and leading the famous strike of the Tokyo Mousseline Company. Shortly after this strike, in which the rebellious factory girls were forced to battle both the police and the thugs of the jingoist societies, Sadayo Orimoto disappeared, and after considerable investigation it was discovered that she had been arrested by the police as a dangerous enemy of the state. So far as is known, she has remained in prison to this day, although she was arrested more than a dozen years ago.

At the time of Japan's capitulation the walls of its filthy prisons contained many types of political prisoners with many different beliefs. Some were the scions of wealthy and aristocratic families; some were undernourished, semiliterate peasants and workers; Their "crimes" were as old as opposition to the oppressive acts of the Japanese oligarchy in the odious reign of the infamous Baron Tanaka and as recent as agitation against the "transition-to-peace" government of Admiral Suzuki.

We have a tremendous stake in these prisoners. Without them we must rely on the deceitful words and slippery deeds of the fawning opportunists that come crawling to the American authorities. With them we shall be better able to ferret out the war criminals and their collaborators and pin to the wall the men who are planning a resurgence of military fascism in Japan. Some of the prisoners have the education and training to serve as editors, administrators, and teachers; others are fitted to organize mass support for the political, social, and economic reforms required to eliminate the roots of aggression in Japan. The American program for Japan, as made public by President Truman on September 22, called for the freeing of political prisoners, but as yet nothing has been done.

The release of these men and women will have a tremendous effect on the population. It will be a clear indication that we are not the willing dupes of the surviving members of the oligarchy, with whom we have so far dealt. The people of Japan will begin to *believe* that we really intend to strengthen democratic trends—as we promised at Potsdam—when their champions of democracy are set free and are accorded the sympathy and support they so richly deserve. Then those who want to speak for democracy will not be silenced by the memory of those who spoke out before and were jailed and forgotten. Americans interested in a peaceful and democratic Japan should look to the prisons, not the palaces.

In the Wind

U. S. S. R. ZION: The September 15 bulletin of the Agricultural Committee for American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., reports that "twenty years ago the Soviet government offered the territory around Birobidshan, on the northeast border of Manchuria, to the Jews as an autonomous Jewish region. Gradually about 200 enterprising and hardy settlers moved in. . . . These Jewish farmers have converted their part of the Amur valley . . . into the most homelike place in Russian Asia. Their collective farms compare favorably with any American or European estate."

TOLERANCE: The Gentile League, which lost its charter in July, 1944, because of its anti-Semitism, is seeking for a new license. In an interview with Arthur W. Friede, founder of the league, the Milwaukee *Journal* of September 16 reports Friede's denial of anti-Semitic charges. "We have to call it the Gentile League," he said, "to let the Jews know we have an organization, too. They have an organization that we can't join, but we won't go that far. If they can qualify, they can join ours. . . . One of the aims of the league is to try to prevent any particular group getting control of [surplus war goods] and gouging the American public. . . . The league emphatically declares that it is not anti-religious."

DEMOCRATIZATION: The September 8 issue of *Editor and Publisher* mentions that articles from the Chicago *Tribune* are being sent to the main prisoner-of-war camp at Concordia, Kansas, for use in a German monthly digest, and quotes a letter from the camp's assistant executive officer to the *Tribune*: "Your newspaper has been coming regularly to this camp and has served a useful purpose indeed in the reeducation of German prisoners."

NOTICE TO THE BIBLE CLASS: A correspondent has sent in a clipping from *Variety* noting that Frank Ross, who is making a Hollywood spectacle out of "The Robe," has signed a contract to provide color stills from the picture for use as illustrations in an edition of the New Testament to be published after the film is released.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

Czechs and Sudetens

BY RALPH PARKER

(Moscow correspondent of the Overseas Press; before the war bureau chief for the New York Times *and the London* Times *in Prague.)*

Prague, September 10

"IT MUST be Czechoslovakia. It is so beautiful," said the Prime Minister to the Minister of the Interior as the plane that brought the Czechoslovak government delegation back from Moscow topped the Sudeten Mountains. And if perhaps the Czech statesman's appreciation of his country's loveliness was heightened by the events of the preceding week, in which he had won Soviet support for Czech retention of Tesin (Teschen) but had had to yield Subcarpathian Ukraine, the reaction was natural to anybody who had been flying over war-scarred Russia, obliterated Warsaw, and a Silesia apparently stripped of its population.

Of the two stock phrases usually applied to Bohemia, the cockpit and the crossroads of Europe, the second is again relevant, for never in Czech history have so many foreigners streamed through the capital as during the past three months. In Prague's Alcron Hotel, where Lord Runciman prepared his memorandum on the Sudeten German question and Reichs Protector Baron Otto von Neurath took refuge from the castle ghosts, are gathered former inmates of concentration camps, Russian, British, and American officers, members of the Soviet purchasing commission, UNRRA officials, Slovak factory owners waiting impatiently to know whether their property is going to be nationalized, German anti-fascists collecting sponsors for their applications for Czechoslovak citizenship, Cabinet ministers in London-tailored suits and Cabinet ministers in off-the-peg Moscow suits. Nearly all these people are waiting. They are waiting for the foreign armies to leave Czech soil, for the promised improvement in the food situation, which is as bad as it ever was under the Germans, for trucks and gasoline from Bremen, for the return of their property, for the mass expulsion of the Germans to begin, for the revolution to end.

People say that the revolution is marking time because the political situation has developed in a way that none save perhaps the alert and farseeing President himself had expected. When I spoke to Czech Communists in Moscow at the time the Social Democrat, Zdenek Fierlinger, was forming his provisional government, they estimated the support they were likely to get in the country at 60 per cent. Today they admit that they will be lucky to get 25 per cent of the vote when the elections take place at the year's end. They attribute the decline to the public's realization that the Communists enjoy no monopoly of Russian good-will and to the fact that the Red Army, like any army living off the land it is in, is scarcely a good advertisement for the policy of its government. Within the Czech Communist Party the more experienced leaders from the emigration are striving to convince their followers that loyalty to the treaty of alliance between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union does not require a slavish imitation of Soviet methods. Some of them say that when President Benes and most of the present government were in Moscow, Stalin offered the advice that Fierlinger's list was too heavily weighted toward the extreme left. The Communists are vociferous advocates of a close working union between the three socialist parties—their own, the Social Democrats, and the non-Marxist National Socialists. If this so-called National Bloc can hold together until the elections, the gains of the Christian Populists are not likely seriously to menace the emergence of a left-wing coalition government.

Whether such a government would maintain the democratic freedoms so marked in Czechoslovakia during the present interim period is a question. The official newspaper of the Christian Populist Party summed up its view of present political trends in these words:

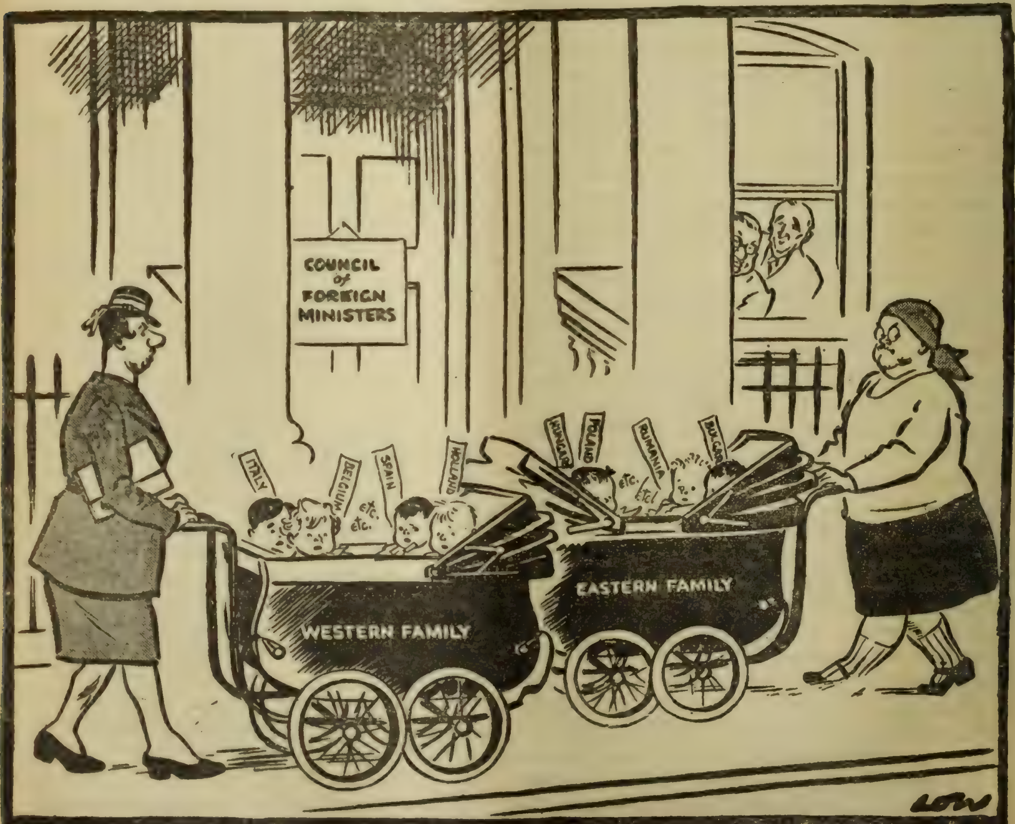
> Liberal democracy should make concessions in the field of economic liberalism, and the new socialist doctrine should continue to make concessions in the direction of political liberalism. The liberal doctrine in its economic form of capitalism is dead, but liberalism as a method, as a habit of decent and reasonable intercourse between people . . . will not cease to exist. . . . The new social organizations carry certain dangers in them. State control over heavy industry, mines, and the like can result under certain conditions in the accumulation of a dangerous amount of political power by an anonymous authority difficult to control—the state. The greatest evil of the twentieth century is the distrust of individual freedom by the state, whose role in modern life should be a regulative and coordinating one. . . . Our state, at the crossroads between the liberal west and the socialist east, possesses all the conditions necessary for carrying out a synthesis of a most reasonable character.

There is no censorship, travel is unrestricted, and people can call public meetings and organize demonstrations to advocate anything except fascism. Nevertheless, there is a good deal of tension in the country. The Czech character has changed deeply since I knew it before the war. The terror peculiar to this region was a cold, scheduled terror designed to affect the greatest number of people. It is now reckoned that about 100,000 Czechs in the "Protectorate," excluding persons murdered on racial grounds, were killed; one-third of the intelligentsia was wiped out. And in other villages than Lidice wheat now grows where houses once stood. As repatriated Czechs from the Reich, over six hundred thousand so far of the million and a quarter deported, stream through Prague, some experience the joys of reunion, but for others there are only memories and pain. In some the experience of terror has left a lassitude which may for a period have serious economic consequences. In others it has created a cruelty that was rare among Czechs. When I visited the Sudeten areas German anti-fascists told me how shocked they were to find Czechs using brutal methods against the German population. "We did not know these Czechs before the war," they said. "They have a hardness that is new to their character." "We have been deeply disappointed," a German Communist said to me in Usti-na-Labem (Aussig), "to find the Czech Socialists have forgotten that we are their comrades." It seemed fitting to remind him that the Czechs had been more than disappointed when the German Socialist vote melted away in 1938 and left Henlein triumphant. "Do you trust German Communists?" I asked Josef Weiner, tight-lipped Communist chairman of a Czech commission at Decin. "Not one of them," he replied.

If one accepts the Czech view that the bulk of the Sudeten Germans must leave Czechoslovakia, the plan by which the evacuation is being carried out is not a cruel one. It is pretty freely admitted that excesses have taken place, that Czech youths do not always differentiate between those who opposed Henlein and those who followed him like sheep. But since the movement of Germans from the Sudeten areas has begun to gain momentum, there has been a slackening of tension. The manufacturing town of Usti provides a fair sample of what is happening all through the Elbe valley in Czechoslovakia. Some thirty thousand Czechs have already returned to Usti, in ships down the swift-flowing river, along the roads in captured German trucks, in crowded trains. The town was severely damaged by air raids last April, and the Czechs believe that the Germans should help to rebuild it before they leave and should continue to man the machines in the big Schicht margarine factory until they can be replaced by Czech labor.

Ten local Germans, Communists and Social Democrats who were in active opposition to Konrad Henlein's Sudeten German Party before Munich, have been permitted to organize an anti-fascist committee of investigation with the right to issue green identification cards to Germans who in their opinion are worthy of being considered potentially loyal Czechoslovak citizens. In theory the possession of this card protects the owner from summary expulsion or loss of personal property. But until the Czechoslovak authorities have completed their inquiries and the process of "opting" is over, it does not confer on the Germans those "human rights" they will enjoy later under the government's Kosice program; for the time being they are obliged to wear the badge of defeat, the white armband, and are barred entry into most public places. They are, in short, Germans with whom the Czechs have agreed to conclude an armistice.

A larger group of Germans in the Usti region have received from the Czech authorities red identification cards that classify them as essential workers to be kept in the region until those among them who are considered disloyal are



"YOU'RE NOT THE ONLY ONE WHO CAN RAISE A FAMILY" replaced by Czech immigrants. As they leave the factories, they come under the jurisdiction of the local labor exchange, which drafts them to work on demolition and rebuilding. At the Schicht works about two thousand Germans of this class are at work; a somewhat smaller number, in a German-built factory at Podmokly lower down the Elbe, where parts of V-2 and V-3 were pressed. They receive pay and rations equal to those of the Czechs and are in general, they told us, unmolested. Yet another group consists of a small number of prisoners who, while awaiting trial by the courts, are put to work under guard. In the Schicht works I saw a detachment of fifty prisoners being marched to a truck. Many wore S. S. uniforms. Their heads were shaven, their clothes hung on them, their cheeks were hollow. A visit to the Terezin fortress, however, revealed that they were provided with three times as much living space as the Jews who preceded them in that notorious prison.

The Czechs intend that all Germans who are neither possible future optants nor essential workers shall leave the country as soon as air-raid damages have been made good and the Russians can accept them in Germany. Several thousand, we were told, had already left Usti. Under the regulations they were allowed to take with them as much personal luggage as they could carry and, if they owned them, a gold watch and wedding ring. Their transportation to the frontier and for about ten miles into Germany is in the hands of the Czechoslovak army.

That this plan is not being strictly adhered to everywhere is largely the fault of the Germans. The Usti anti-fascist committee, for example, has aroused Czech suspicion by issuing three times as many green identification cards as there were anti-Henlein votes cast in Usti in the crucial municipal elections of 1938. A member of the Austrian commission at Most was caught selling Austrian papers to Nazis. In Decin a secret German radio transmitter was broadcasting anti-Czech propaganda the day I visited the town. Czech officers have been killed by "werewolf" detachments in this area, and recently the Germans made an unsuccessful attempt to free prisoners from a Czech internment camp. At Podmokly we were shown cleverly forged Communist Party membership cards.

The political attitude of the German anti-fascists in Usti does not augur well for the future of Czech-German relations. During a talk with the committee in the presence of Czech officials I received an invitation to spend the evening with the Germans alone. I picked my way through a ruined square and entered a comfortably furnished apartment owned by a German doctor, where six or seven members of the German anti-fascist group were gathered. For the next four hours, over several bottles of Kreuznach '38, I heard six or seven different points of view expressed about the future of the Sudeten Germans. The speakers revealed complete bewilderment about the principles on which Germans should take their stand. They seemed unable to decide whether their true home was in the Sudetenland, provided living conditions were tolerable, or whether it was their duty to go to the Reich and work for a new Germany; whether their best hope for the future lay in transfer to Austria or whether they should try to go to Canada. "I will say something that I have never said aloud before," one German who had spent years in a concentration camp confessed at the end of our talk. "We Germans lack civic courage. Our real place is in the Reich. We anti-fascists should be in the van of the movement to lead the Germans back to Germany. Instead of that we are afraid of material conditions in the Reich." "We are a people without a land," he continued. "The Czechs don't want us because, they say, we destroyed their state. The Germans don't want us because, they say, we began the war. But if we are anti-fascists, the Germans of the Reich need us. And there we must go."

The Legion Looks at Labor

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

FOR two years before he was called into the services, Frank Stolo was employed by the Harvey Machine Company in Los Angeles. He served in the Attu campaign and was wounded; he served in the South Pacific, where he was again wounded, and was awarded the Bronze Star. Receiving an honorable discharge, Stolo—a non-union man—recently returned to his old job. In reemploying Stolo the company ranked him in seniority according to the length of his service with the company before he was inducted, plus the time he had served in the army. The question of his seniority rating is now before the courts in an action brought by the company against the C. I. O. union with which it has a contract.

Similar suits are now pending in a dozen or more states. In Congress the Committee on Veterans' Affairs has favorably reported H. R. 3384, which seeks to exempt veterans from closed-shop contracts and encourages employers to hire them as strike-breakers. Although the favorable report on this measure was sneaked through by Rankin's trickery—an actual majority of the committee later issued a "minority report" opposing the bill—the fact that it is on the calendar serves to point up the danger. In the courts and in Congress the reactionaries are trying to stir up a bogus veterans-vs.-labor dispute for the purpose of undermining the position of both veterans and trade unions. In California a group of ambitious promoters has been offering large sums of money to various veterans' groups in an effort, thus far unsuccessful, to induce them to sponsor an initiative measure patterned after the Rankin bill.

What position is the American Legion likely to take in this rapidly developing controversy? Did Rankin, long known as a spokesman in Congress for the Legion, actually represent it in sponsoring H. R. 3384? In the past the Legion has pretty consistently inclined toward the employer position on all questions of industrial relations. But these are strange times, and a new wind seems to be blowing in Legion affairs.

The first indication that a change was developing on labor issues appeared during the 1938 national convention, when two regularly chartered trade-union posts, Dawn Post and Los Angeles Labor Post, called a meeting of legionnaires who were union members. Out of this initial meeting came the National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires, which now has permanent headquarters in Chicago, 127 affiliated trade-union posts scattered across the country, and a total labor membership in the Legion of about 25,000. For the current year the conference has submitted a budget of $50,000 to finance its activities. If it succeeds in raising this sum, the conference proposes to conduct an aggressive educational and public-relations campaign, both in and out of the Legion, in an effort to develop better Legion-labor relations. Some of the large international unions, recognizing the importance of the movement, have already pledged financial assistance.

The future role that the conference may play in Legion affairs will be largely determined by the number of new trade-union posts that it is able to form and, less directly, by the number of trade unionists it is able to enrol in the Legion. For despite the fact that the reins of control are tightly held in the Legion, the locally chartered post remains the basic organizational unit. Top officials may stall and equivocate, but eventually they must take cognizance of important changes in the composition of local posts. With this in mind, the conference has been exerting skilful pressure in those cases where state commanderies have been reluctant to charter local trade-union posts. If pressure from the conference has not been sufficient to compel the issuance of charters, members of unions have been urged to join some already existing trade-union post in the same locality.

At the 1941 convention of the Legion, the conference succeeded in securing the adoption of a resolution calling for the establishment of a National Labor Relations Committee. As envisaged by the conference, the committee was to serve as a brake on precipitous action on controversial issues, to tone down ill-considered speeches by top Legion officials, and to be a clearing house, within the Legion, on labor matters. Although the convention voted to establish the committee, successive national commanders refused to put the mandate into effect. In both the national and the state departments of the Legion the judge advocate functions much in the manner of a permanent under secretary in a British ministry. Commanders may come and go, but the judge advocate remains. In this instance, as in most controversial matters, the national judge advocate upheld the action of the national commanders. But the conference refused to give up the fight. Four years later, the National Labor Relations Committee was actually established, with three associate members of the conference among its members. This is the first time in the history of the Legion that labor representatives have served on a standing national committee.

In addition to securing the establishment of this committee, the national conference has been able to exert a quiet but growing influence on questions of Legion policy. For example, it has been leading an important fight on Local Board Memorandum 190-a, under which General Lewis B. Hershey has sought to create a kind of "super-seniority" for veterans under Section 8 of the Selective Service Act. Actually this memorandum is designed to pit veterans of World War I against veterans of World War II, and veterans of World War II against organized labor. In 1943 and again in 1944 national commanders of the Legion indorsed the interpretation of Section 8 embodied in the memorandum. The conference not only opposed this action but proceeded, through a process of education and publicity, to explain the implications and true meaning of the memorandum to Legion posts all over the country. And at a recent annual meeting in Chicago the conference adopted a resolution calling upon the Legion to withdraw its indorsement of the memorandum. Copies are being sent to all member posts with letters asking their support.

At the same Chicago meeting the conference urged the Legion to rescind a resolution adopted at the last annual convention against further immigration; urged modification of another resolution which places the Legion on record in favor of deporting "all aliens in the United States with subversive records" (the conference feels that the records of native American fascists also should be scrutinized); called on the Legion to rescind a resolution favoring "experience rating" in state unemployment-compensation acts; asked for repeal of a resolution attacking American citizens of Japanese descent; deplored the "Rankin type" of inquiry into veterans' affairs; indorsed the issuance of charters to so-called "colored" posts; and went on record in support of many other liberal and progressive measures. Perhaps the most important resolution of the conference was one suggesting the establishment of administrative tribunals to hold hearings on veterans' reinstatement cases.

The conference has also been asking the national officers of the Legion some extremely pertinent questions: "Why the anti-labor cartoons and columns in the Legion magazine, which is sent to some three million men overseas?" "Why did Commander Waring fall for the stupid Guadalcanal story?" "Why did Commander Atherton suggest the electrocution of certain labor-union officials?" Rhetorical as these questions may be, the fact that they have been raised within the Legion, in an official manner, has had important repercussions. Today all portions of official Legion speeches dealing with labor must clear through the National Labor Relations Committee. The establishment of this procedure, in itself, represents a notable victory for the conference.

The success of the conference has now become a matter of national concern. Of the million men who have been discharged from the services in World War II, 560,000 are reported to have joined the American Legion. The success or failure of current efforts to provoke a fake veterans-vs.-labor dispute may therefore hinge upon the question of how successfully the conference can influence Legion policy. The future of the Legion itself may depend upon the same question. For if the Legion permits itself to become the catspaw of reaction in the fight now brewing, it may forfeit its position as the largest veterans' organization in the world. The work of the conference is of national importance for still another reason. Since its members are drawn from the ranks of both A. F. of L. and C. I. O. unions, it can be a powerful force toward eventual unification of the labor movement. Fortunately, the leadership of the conference is in excellent hands. Through such men as Charles Vencill of Los Angeles, Henry Geisz of New York, and Maurice A. Frank of Chicago, ably supported by George C. Danfield, Irvin Kuenzli, George Lindborg, and Joseph Veloskey (director of veterans' affairs for the U. A. W.), the conference is unquestionably developing into a major force within the Legion.

Moreover, its influence on Legion policy is likely to increase rather than to diminish in the future. As in a fraternal organization, new leaders in the Legion must slowly and painfully ascend from local to state to national offices in order to influence effectively major policy decisions. In the Legion, as in the trade unions, seniority seems to be important. Thus about a decade usually must elapse before a new current of opinion can find reflection in Legion policy. From now on the conference should be able to count on a growing opinion within the Legion, and not only among union-labor legionnaires, in support of its policies and program. If the present hierarchy of the Legion can be prevailed upon to listen to the voice of the conference, the pending veteran-labor dispute may be avoided or at least kept within reasonable bounds.

No Surrender at All!

BY TSUYOSHI MATSUMOTO

(After studying at Meji Gakuin, a religious school in Tokyo, and the Union Theological Seminary in New York, Mr. Matsumoto became an instructor in military intelligence, first, at the University of Michigan and then at the University of Chicago. He has contributed articles to Asia.*)*

WE MUST take a realistic view of Japan's surrender. It has not surrendered its will to conquer; neither has it surrendered its hatred of the victors. During the first week after capitulation, Domei told the world, millions of loyal subjects "with tears of shame" prayed to the Emperor, saying: "Forgive us, Your Majesty, our efforts have not been enough!" Most of the news we have received so far from defeated Japan has been equally if not more disturbing. The militarists and imperialists are still in power; men who ought to be tried as war criminals still rule Japan. They are still telling the people what to think and how to act. They are systematically inoculating the nation against liberation, democracy, and peace. And at the time of writing they are getting away with it. In short, this is no surrender at all.

Let's look at the facts:

1. *The historical pattern of surrender.* Contrary to the often-repeated statement, Japan was defeated and invaded once before by foreign powers. It was forced to sign humiliating treaties and to grant extra-territoriality and alien control of its imports and exports. On July 8, 1853, when Commodore Perry sailed into the Bay of Tokyo (then Yedo) with a squadron of four "black ships," a state of undeclared war was suddenly thrust upon "isolationist" Japan. There was no shooting, to be sure. But the impact of the "black ships" did to the awestricken Japanese at that time what the atom bombs did in this war. Consequently, when Perry returned seven months later to receive the answer of the Japanese government, this time with seven black ships, the Japanese agreed to the Commodore's terms. Within two years Great Britain, Russia, and Holland had induced the Japanese to sign treaties containing most-favored-nation clauses.

The events that followed are worth recalling as part of the pattern of surrender. Men who had favored the acceptance of the peace terms were regarded as traitors and in some cases assassinated by reactionary patriots. The "peaceful occupation" began smoothly, but when an "arrogant Britisher" named C. L. Richardson was killed for cutting across a procession in honor of the lord of Satsuma, the British sent a squadron to Kagoshima and on the expiration of their ultimatum bombarded the city. While the Richardson incident was being discussed by the Shogun's military government at Yedo, the extreme nationalists of the imperial court, then at Kyoto, got the sanction of the Emperor for the cancelation of all existing peace treaties and the expulsion of the foreigners—effective as of June 5, 1863. Some hotheads in Choshu now took the matter in their own hands and fired upon the American, French, and Dutch ships. In reply, an allied fleet headed by nine British warships and containing one makeshift merchant steamer representing the United States navy bombarded the coast. Overwhelmed by the incomparable superiority of Western weapons, leading nobles of Satsuma and Choshu overthrew the Tokugawa regime and became the rulers of the new Japan under the protective cover of the restoration of the imperial dynasty, in 1867. They then suddenly abandoned their extreme anti-foreign policy and welcomed the presence of the "foreign teachers" as a means of enabling them to gain time and a knowledge of the new methods of war. Thus, historically speaking, Pearl Harbor was a return call of the vengeful successors of the early hotheads of Satsuma and Choshu. Like yesterday's surrender, today's is no surrender, really.

Tojo

2. *The atom bomb.* The fact is clear: the new weapon overwhelmed the enemy, and not having any counter-measure he stopped fighting—"undefeated" otherwise. Though our

army heads called them "military cities," nearly a quarter of a million civilians were massacred at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. We called the Japanese inhuman when they bombed to obliteration Chinese cities containing helpless women and children. With some justification, perhaps, they will make a moral issue of the atom bomb. It will be as hard for them to forget Hiroshima and Nagasaki as it is for us to forget Pearl Harbor, which is sufficient to cause another war. Today's victory and all the sacrifices we have made so far will be utterly wasted unless we can erase the fear and hatred we have planted in the hearts of the Japanese nation and help the Japanese people to see that their dead have died in order that they, the living, might have life, freedom, and peace. We must show them the full meaning of their government's earlier refusal to accept the Potsdam terms, of the atom bombing, and of the final surrender. We must let them know that if the thousands had not died at Hiroshima, many millions of the living would have been sacrificed by the war lords.

3. *The unbeaten land armies.* Not to mention the proud Kwantung army in Manchuria, which battled for a few days with the Russian army, some 2,000,000 crack troops have been demobilized in the home islands. They never had a chance to meet the Allied invasion armies. Emotionally, they must be suffering from a tremendous "let-down," to say nothing of the humiliation of the surrender. Admittedly the world's greatest underground fighters, they no doubt had built in the mountainous regions extensive underground fortifications which were relatively untouched by our air assaults. They had planned to hold their ground for months against an all-out invasion by at least 5,000,000 men. That means a tremendous stock of arms and provisions stored away somewhere deep underground. We ought to realize that the Japanese militarists, defiant of the victorious Allied powers, defiant even of the imperial wish and of the war-weary people, have undoubtedly made all arrangements for future operations. They will not indulge in any small "incidents" which will betray their larger plans; they will be as harmless as new-born babes from now until they are ready; they will be "peaceful and cooperative" in order to disarm the victors. And they will strike exactly when we shall have decided that the threat of Japanese military aggression is no more—five years from now, perhaps, when the United Nations are tired of maintaining an occupational force in Japan, or perhaps fifty years from now. Waiting is nothing to the patient militarists of Japan.

4. *The unknown future strategy of war.* Military victory, no matter how complete, is no peace insurance. History has shown us that. No weapon remains a secret and exclusive possession of one military power very long. If anyone thinks that the peace is now assured because only America and England possess the secret of atomic energy, he is a fool. Japanese brains have enough ingenuity, imagination, and intelligence, although most Westerners would not like to admit it, to master any man-made weapons of war. Many people feel we are now safe from the threat of Japanese aggression because Japan has been stripped of arms and war industries and cut off from raw materials. Unfortunately, the situation may be different in the new era of atomic energy which has just been ushered in. Perhaps I am unduly pessimistic, but I believe we cannot afford to think of the future in terms of today's scientific inventions alone. Japan, though deprived of today's essential war industries and today's essential raw materials, can still prepare for tomorrow's war—and right under the nose of the occupation government. Today's unbeatable strategies of war will become in time like those of the British defenders of Singapore.

5. *The same old war lords in peacemakers' clothing.* In Japan today the same old oligarchy, composed of imperialists, *Gumbatsu,* and *Zaibatsu,* is desperately trying to stay in power. Ironically, this oligarchy has many admirers and friends in the United States, persons who seem incapable of distinguishing the real issues from personal sentiment. They are blinded by the gentleness and amiability of individual members of the oligarchy and by their apparent distance from the inhumanities and atrocities committed in their name under their system. Now that the United States has the power to shape tomorrow's Japan, it will be a shame if such Americans are placed in positions of responsibility. They will never know what the common people of Japan think and feel. They will even thwart the will of the common people.

What can we accomplish further by using the same puppet ruler, the same political machinery, the same government system, complete with the police? True, the occupation was carried out smoothly by that method, but we should not therefore feel indebted to any member of the Japanese oligarchy or to the Emperor. To defeat one's opponent by using his power is the secret of Japanese jujutsu. It worked for us. But after the enemy is down, one must "cook his goose," not help him to his feet. What kind of game are we playing with the imperial government of Japan?

6. *The attitude of the war lords to the Emperor.* They have asked to be allowed to retain the institution of the god-emperor, including his "prerogatives." Obviously, this is a face-saving device, a device for shifting the responsibilities of peace-making to the Emperor. Thus they have actually sold the Emperor to the alien conquerors, forcing him to become a puppet of the foreign occupational government. According to their own code of ethics and the carefully built myth of the inviolable, infallible god-emperor, this constitutes the highest treason. But so far they have managed to withhold the truth from the Japanese people. Their audacity and arrogance are simply amazing. They have said to the people: "Our armed forces are unbeaten; we have only obeyed His Majesty's wish and command in laying down our arms; we have not lost the war but have only accepted the changed situation which makes it necessary for the nation to cooperate with the occupation government, because that is His Majesty's benevolent will for the peace of the world; you must not blame anyone but yourselves for this situation and must ask yourselves whether you did your best to win the war!"

All these facts are most alarming. The only conclusion to be drawn is that Japan surrendered nothing except the now obsolete weapons of war, having been forced by the atom bomb to accept the "changed situation." The Japanese war lords know that this is no surrender at all. And we should know it.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

MR. WALLACE AND THE WISE BOYS

BY STUART CHASE

HENRY WALLACE has written a clear, fine book, "Sixty Million Jobs,"* about full employment after the war. Already the air is heavy with attacks upon it, beginning with Senator Taft in the New York *Times* on September 9. Why is this? We had about 65,000,000 jobs filled on V-J Day. Wouldn't it be a good thing to hold 60,000,000 of them in the peace to come? Do veterans want to start asking brothers for dimes again?

Everybody officially claims to be for full employment, but powerful minority groups are organizing to kill all specific measures leading to that end. Privately they say that it is high time to have a buyers' market in labor once more. They affirm that unemployment is the price we must pay for the blessings of our free-enterprise system. Booms and depressions, they say, are as much a part of the system as the Stock Exchange, and Mr. Wallace and his ilk, wittingly or unwittingly, are taking us right into the Kremlin.

Wittingly or unwittingly, the minority groups are adopting an exceedingly dangerous strategy. It is dangerous not only for the country and for the world at large but for themselves and their properties. The formula seems to be: remove all government controls, decimate the bureaucrats, balance the budget, reduce corporate taxes, and let nature take its course. A better recipe for complete economic disintegration it is difficult to imagine. In a time which demands bold, aggressive action their program is completely negative. It disregards the facts of two world wars, of the super-depression of the '30's, the distortions of our economy under the pressures of the last five years, the coming of the atomic bomb, and above all the temper of the rank and file of our people. It totally disregards the wishes of 15,000,000 service men, now home or coming home.

Mr. Wallace's critics do not see the lesson spelled out in every soldier and civilian opinion poll. Americans quite clearly do not care for any system, however pleasing its name, which puts millions of them on the streets as in 1932. They had all they wanted of the WPA. It is just thirteen years too late to choose between free enterprise as Senator Taft understands it and full employment as Mr. Wallace understands it. The choice in 1946 is between Mr. Wallace's compensatory plan, which reserves great areas for free enterprise, and something much farther to the left—something perhaps like that which the British people voted for; something perhaps stiffer.

Americans, paced by the veterans, are determined to have jobs by one road or another. This, I think, is one of the few things one can be certain of in an uncertain world. So Mr. Wallace's opponents if they kill his plan will find themselves in far worse plight than if they had come to his support. He is their best hope for a middle-of-the-road course, in a world plunging to the left.

II

Mr. Wallace belongs to what I like to call the "give-'em-a-break" school rather than to the "bums-and-loafers" school. He believes in people, in "the fundamental decency of man." He wants to give every child an opportunity to develop the maximum powers its genes and its glands allow. He is not afraid of the mob, as Hamilton was—he welcomes it. To him the mob is "the folks." He is a genuine, corn-fed democrat.

Again and again he returns to the idea of inter-dependence in power-age societies. People must pull together if they are to survive. There is no room in a high-energy culture for anarchists, rugged individualists, or me-first pressure groups. Every man, whether he likes it or not, is now his brother's keeper.

Thus by a curious turn of fate Christian ethics become not only theoretically admirable but exceedingly practical. A citizen can no longer provide his own food, shelter, clothing, transport, education. The machine has collectivized him; if he bursts out of the community he is done for. He must take his food and supplies out of the general pot of production to which millions of his fellows have contributed. Can he flout those millions indefinitely and live? He cannot. That is why we are well into "the century of the common man."

A man without work in the power age is the most miserable of God's creatures. Within memory of people now alive anyone could earn a living on the land when the factories and shops closed. That retreat has long since been cut off. Decade by decade the number of farmers relative to total population grows less; it is now under 20 per cent.

Given full employment, nearly every other economic and social problem becomes manageable. Workers are contented, and so are farmers. Negroes—the first group to be fired and the last to be hired—have a far better time of it. Crime goes down as mental and physical health goes up. Ample funds become available for education, science, research. Taxes are relatively easy to bear when the national gross income hits $200 billion, and the federal debt can be held in line. With a large volume of unemployment a debt of $300 billion will rapidly become unmanageable.

Once we begin believing, says Mr. Wallace, that we can get along indefinitely with five to ten million chronically unemployed, we must then:

> Force our sights down from a $200 billion gross income to perhaps $125 billion, which means

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* Simon and Schuster and Reynal and Hitchcock, $2 (cloth); Simon and Schuster, $1 (paper).

The purchasing power of consumers drops from $135 billion to $80 billion, and
Farm income drops from $22 billion to $7 billion, and
Corporation gross profits drop from $25 billion to $5 billion,
While mass unemployment will require huge government expenditures once more for relief, which will
Unbalance the federal budget worse than ever.

Thus the more cautious we are in our plans to balance the budget the worse we are likely to unbalance it. If we try to pay off the debt by killing all programs for 60,000,000 jobs, we shall only get a heavier debt. It is like driving in speedway traffic. The slow, cautious driver may get smashed up trying to avoid a smash-up. This is no time in history for timid men.

III

The above are some of the reasons and the philosophies which inspire Mr. Wallace. They also inspire men of goodwill who belong to the "give-'em-a-break" school. They should inspire every canny business man who does not want to be wiped out in a runaway inflation or sunk in a bottomless depression.

Good. What kind of compensatory economy does Mr. Wallace propose? The familiar article. I would guess that the majority of American economists under fifty are for it; and every British economist of any age, except Professor Hayek—who originally came from Austria. Mr. Wallace, however, has some elegant new statistical concepts and figures, produced by the WPB and other agencies in their actual war experience. In 1933 we didn't know the shape of our economy. We have learned it now. We had to, or lose the war.

A compensatory economy can also be called a thermostat economy. When the house gets too hot, the furnace shuts off; when it gets too cold, it speeds up. The thermostatic controls to puncture incipient booms and dissolve incipient depressions include incentive taxation, social-security rates, public works, stimulation to little business, housing development, income-tax rates, open-market operations, Federal Reserve interest rates. When a boom threatens, says Mr. Wallace, raise income-tax rates and pay off some of the debt. When a depression threatens, increase consumers' purchasing power by lowering social-security rates, stimulating business expansion, and, as a last resort, letting contracts to private enterprise for public works. Encourage local communities to cooperate in all such plans, as the TVA now does. Encourage organized business men, workers, and farmers to cooperate with the government in applying these compensatory devices.

If you like Mr. Wallace's proposals you can help them along in a practical way by getting behind S 380, the Murray bill for full employment, shortly to be reported out of committee. It is indorsed by President Truman, by Secretaries Byrnes and Vinson, by Beardsley Ruml, Henry Dennison, and many others. The Committee for Economic Development is mostly for it, and the National Association of Manufacturers against it. All the labor organizations are for it.

Mr. Wallace follows S 380 in proposing that the President give the country and Congress a budget message in January, a budget covering the *whole* national economy. In this message the President, aided by experts, would estimate the shape of the economy for the coming year—the gross national income, the proportion of savings and investment, the levels of employment. On the basis of this estimate he would recommend certain compensatory measures for Congress to pass in order to keep the national economy on an even keel. It would then be up to Congress. If Congress did nothing, and the economy began to go to pieces, the voters would know exactly whom to blame. Notice how carefully both Mr. Wallace and S 380 preserve our democratic procedures. There is no chance for a dictator to worm his way into economic planning of this kind.

IV

In 1939 we had a gross national income of $89 billion; in 1944, of $199 billion, of which nearly $100 billion was due to war outlays. For 1950, after reconversion is completed, Mr. Wallace advocates the following model, at 1944 prices:

Consumer spending for food, shelter, etc.	$135 billion
Capital formation by business men	30 "
Outlays by government—federal, state, and local	35 "
Total gross national income	$200 billion

Under this arrangement, the federal budget could readily be balanced and some of the debt retired. Meanwhile the 60,000,000 jobs would fall into such patterns as these:

Manufacturing	15,000,000
Trade	9,000,000
Farming	8,000,000
Government and the armed services	7,000,000
Self-employed workers	6,000,000
Finance and miscellaneous	6,000,000
Construction	3,500,000
Transport and utilities	3,500,000
Domestic service	2,000,000
Total	60,000,000

Men	42,000,000	Native white	48,000,000
Women	18,000,000	Foreign-born white	6,000,000
		Negroes	6,000,000
Total	60,000,000	Total	60,000,000

Organized	14,000,000
Unorganized	46,000,000
Total	60,000,000

Mr. Wallace anticipates 1,500,000 workers frictionally unemployed at all times, on the average.

These patterns are impossible without two things:

First, cooperation between government and the Big Three pressure groups that represent labor, business, farming.

Second, an industrial output geared to the formula of high wages, high volume, low overhead costs, and low prices—which means no serious price manipulation by monopolies.

C. E. Wilson of General Electric believes that full employment is possible only if we have the take-home wages of 1944 combined with the prices of 1940. The National Planning Association estimates output at 40 to 50 per cent more

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than before the war, for full employment—which will put quite a strain on us consumers! But the lower third of the population provides literally a bottomless gulf for more goods.

How else can we knock $70 or $80 billion of war goods out of the picture and still keep everybody busy? Working hours will of course come down, which helps some. But the pre-war wage-price relationship *must change too:* higher wages relative to prices, as Mr. Wilson says. Management and labor have a stiff assignment here—to increase efficiency. The war-born labor-management committees obviously must go on. If increased efficiency aided by the low overhead of capacity production can hold down unit costs, then wages can rise without taking prices up with them. The vicious circle can be broken. There is no other way to break it. The only other way to full employment is by vast government expenditures for public works, year in and year out—pyramid building.

V

One can find little to criticize in Mr. Wallace's approach, if one really wants full employment, and is shy of government operation of industry. His estimate of 15,000,000 workers in manufacturing may be a bit high. His projected exports of $12 to $14 billion are higher than anything I can figure by 1950. He does not seem to sense the full strength of post-war collectivism all over the world—but perhaps he wrote before the British elections.

One does not need to be quite so enthusiastic over private competitive enterprise, when a glance around the horizon reveals the institution in full retreat. I do not love a private enterpriser any more than I love a cooperative enterpriser, or a state enterpriser. All can be useful under certain conditions and destructive under others. What I try to keep my eye on is the effect these various institutional agencies have on the human beings within them. Are they happy and creative or miserable and apathetic?

Mr. Wallace has given us the handbook for the American road to full employment. The wise boys, as I said earlier, are already beginning to laugh him off. They are the same boys who have been having one good laugh after another for almost twenty years.

In 1927 they laughed off the stock market and said it could not go higher.

In 1929 they said prosperity was here to stay.

In 1930 they said it would be back in sixty days.

In 1935 they said inflation, caused by an unbalanced budget, was about to ruin us.

At the same time they said a national debt of $50 billion would mark the end of the world, that the unemployed were bums and loafers, and that taxes were at a level no man could stand.

In 1940 they said it was ridiculous for Mr. Roosevelt to dream of building 50,000 planes a year.

In 1941 they said the OPA couldn't hold down prices, and free-born Americans would never stand for such regimentation anyway.

And now they say we can't have full employment. The same unreconstructed wise boys—only a little grayer.

Well, we'll see.

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U. S. S. R.—the Early Days

BUILDING LENIN'S RUSSIA. By Simon Liberman. University of Chicago Press. $3.

DESPITE its forbidding title, this is a fascinating, important book. It is at once a personal memoir, an inside story of eight critical years of Soviet life, and an evaluation of Russia today. All three are closely woven into a narrative of restraint and charm, full of new episodes and anecdotes, fair in its judgment of men and events, and often spiced with shrewd humor.

Simon Liberman traveled far from his boyhood on a Ukrainian farm to self-imposed exile in Paris and New York. He took part as a Menshevik in the revolution of 1905; when that failed, he became a successful business man, managing the vast timber estates of several noble families. During the March revolution he offered his services to Kerensky. In 1918 Lenin invited him to work with the Soviet government as an economic *spetz.* He managed the Soviet lumber industry, helped form the first government trust, and played an important role in shaping the New Economic Policy. He had Lenin's confidence and support, but many Communists suspected his Menshevik and business background, and the Cheka was frequently on his trail. Formally accused by the secret state police of favoring capitalists, he was finally exonerated, but he never felt free from oppressive suspicion and investigation. On completing a mission in Denmark, he severed his connections with the Soviet government, and decided not to return to Russia. He remained in Paris until 1938, then came to the United States, where he now lives.

It would have been easy to over-dramatize this story and to climax it with shallow denunciations. Instead, Mr. Liberman subordinates his personal experience in a modest attempt to understand it and through it to understand Russia yesterday and today. The result is a fresh picture of the years in which the U. S. S. R. built the foundations of its present economic system and first began its business dealings with Western Europe and America. The eyewitness account is focused on a single industry, but in his search for significance the author evokes the general from the particular. Whatever one may think of his interpretations, his facts shed light on such questions as war communism, N. E. P., party and government, foreign recognition, dictatorship, the trials, and the power of personality in history. Everything is telescoped, but the range is wide, from Larin's crackpot schemes to Lenin's genius and the conflicting fateful roles of Stalin, Trotsky, Rykov, and Djerdjinsky. Some biographical details have never been told before.

The author has his prejudices; he is partial to his chief, Krassin, and hard on Krassin's antagonist, Litvinov. But since he is aware of these prejudices at every point, his narrative has a refreshing detachment. This balance springs from a temper which from the beginning tried to find an equilibrium between what ought to be and what is. Mr. Liberman is loyal to the humane principles of Menshevism, respectful toward the power of Bolshevism, profoundly patriotic about Russia. These attitudes form the basis of his continual reflection on the sequence of conflict and development. His rich, original memoir concludes with an analysis of current problems. He acknowledges the harshness of the Soviet regime but defends it for its gigantic achievements, which have transformed a country and a people and defended them victoriously against the greatest invasion in their history. Mr. Liberman is also cautiously optimistic about the future. He believes there need be no conflict between Russia and other countries, above all between Russia and the United States, and that with the defeat of fascism and the elimination of the military danger, Russia is bound to move toward democracy.

JOSEPH FREEMAN

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Ordeal of Spain

ONLY IN SPAIN was the world conflict, whose first major phase has lately ended so inconclusively, sharply defined. After that it was muddied and reduced in significance as it spread in area, corrupted by the limiting self-interest of some of democracy's most ardent defenders. But in the Spanish struggle the moral as well as the political issues were still clear and absolute, unmistakable as the Guadarrama Mountains themselves. The epic story of the Spanish civil war has not yet been told. Meanwhile there have been many books, which is not the same thing.

The facts and feeling are all there in "Smouldering Freedom" (Longmans, Green, $2.50), but the eloquence and shaping hand are lacking. The author, Isabel de Palencia, was the Republican minister plenipotentiary to Sweden and Finland; she is a woman of exceptional endowments and accomplishment. Her book is largely raw material, much of it extremely interesting. There is a brief, lucid account of the civil war, its background and chief protagonists, and of subsequent political developments among the Spanish Republicans in exile. Of special interest are the simple, homely accounts of people Mme de Palencia knows—or knew, for many have been killed. There are also the terribly moving last letters of executed Republicans, which have a typically Spanish dignity, humanity, and lack of heroics. One of these is dated November 9, 1944. It, and indeed the whole of "Smouldering Freedom," is a heart-breaking reminder that the terror which preceded the world holocaust has not abated with it.

VIRGINIA MISHNUN

Escape Story

FROM GERMANY, SPAIN, ITALY, then Austria and Czechoslovakia, thousands of anti-fascist refugees flocked to France in the years between 1933 and the outbreak of the war; with the abrupt end of the war's first phase and the surrender of France they converged on Marseilles in a last desperate attempt to escape the Gestapo again through emigration. When Varian Fry arrived in Marseilles in the summer of 1940 as the representative of the Emergency Rescue Committee of New York, southern France was in a state of chaos, with the Gestapo almost as disorganized as the refugees themselves, and the French police more frequently bewildered than brutal.

In this atmosphere of utter confusion Mr. Fry set up the effective apparatus which in hardly more than a year was to send about a thousand refugees out of France to safety. He gives an account of his activities in "Surrender on Demand" (Random House, $3). Mr. Fry had arrived in Europe with lists of the political and intellectual refugees who most urgently needed help, and whom his committee most wished to aid. Among those he helped to escape were the late Franz Werfel, Heinrich Mann, Lion Feuchtwanger, and outstanding labor leaders of many nationalities. A number of the refugees whose names appeared on his lists were already equipped with American or other visas, but rarely with the necessary papers for travel to Lisbon. Others needed, besides financing, French exit permits, Spanish and Portuguese transit visas, and visas of permanent entry to some country of refuge. These papers were sometimes procured legally, more often not. Before Mr. Fry was finally forced to leave France, he had become an expert in by-passing regulations, cutting red tape, and outwitting both the bureaucrats and the police. Through necessity rather than through choice he found himself living a life of intrigue, in which all the appurtenances of melodrama—from the false passport, the disguise, and the concealed microphone to the chase and the gratifying frequent escape—figured daily.

Mr. Fry's book is frankly a personal history, and as such touches only lightly on the general picture of American activity in behalf of political refugees at that time. Nevertheless, his story is an absorbing chronicle of fascinating adventure, unstinting effort, and a large measure of success.

SHEBA STRUNSKY

Black and White

ALTHOUGH SOME AMERICANS are growing up today in their attitudes toward the Negro problem, the vast majority continue to exhibit their immaturity not only in their attitudes but even in the matter of elementary knowledge about their darker fellow-citizens. It is for this latter group that Bucklin Moon has assembled in a single volume, "Primer for White Folks" (Doubleday, Doran, $3.50), a variety of documents, historical and sociological essays, sketches, and short stories dealing with Negro-white relations. Despite its title, however, this is no book for the simple-minded. Not only do the essays contain sound factual knowledge and the mature reflections of scholars and students of the problem, but the fiction represents sophisticated attitudes and subtle insights.

In Part I, Heritage, the selection by W. E. B. DuBois of material on African culture and the discussion of the Negro problem as a case history by Carey McWilliams are of outstanding value. Black and White Mores are presented in Part II in a number of selections from the works of well-known writers of American fiction. Wendell Willkie's article on Citizens of Negro Blood, which appeared in *Collier's*, opens the third part, Today and Tomorrow. The selections here cover practically every phase of the Negro problem from the integration of Negroes into American economic life to the Detroit riots and American discrimination against Negro soldiers in England. The editor, a Southerner, who is well known for his sincere desire to see the Negro inte-

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Incredible Shanghai

THE LIBERATION OF SHANGHAI after nearly four years of Japanese rule may restore that city to its traditional place as one of the great cosmopolitan trading centers of the world. But the old Shanghai, capital of the white man's imperialism in the Far East, will never return. The story of this old Shanghai with all its bizarre characteristics and of its passing under the impact of Japanese aggression is brilliantly told by Edna Lee Booker and her husband, John S. Potter, in "Flight from China" (Macmillan, $2.50). No one has ever described the exotic atmosphere of Shanghai in the 1920's more vividly or more accurately than Miss Booker; her husband contributes a significant section on Japanese policies in Shanghai after Pearl Harbor and on his experiences in a Japanese concentration camp. It is not a sensational book; neither of the authors went through or witnessed any of the cruelties which others have suffered. Nor does it contribute to an understanding of Chinese politics or culture. The China one sees is that of the treaty ports, which are more Western than Chinese. Yet as one who knew old Shanghai, its colors, smells, and glaring social inequities, I found it an intensely human, absorbing book. Those who have never lived in China may get a false impression of the Chinese people, particularly from the constant use of pidgin English, but they can hardly fail to be delighted by Miss Booker's charming account of an incredible city that is truly the crossroads of the world.

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JAMES AGEE

THE following are more or less recommended:

"The True Glory." Official war film, invasion of Normandy to German surrender. Bold, welcome, but inadequate use of blank verse; much more successful use of many bits of individualized vernacular narration, unusually free of falseness. Very jab-paced, energetic cutting; intelligent selection of shots, of which several hundred—so it seems—are magnificent. Lacks the greatness of the best short war films, but for the hugely complicated kind of job it is, it could hardly have been done better, on a fact-telling plane anyhow.

"Pride of the Marines." A true story of a blinded Marine. Very good performances by John Garfield and Dane Clark. An exciting combat sequence, unusually persuasive of authenticity, at least to this layman. Considerable liberalizing about racial and post-war problems, most of it a pleasure to hear, some of it rather mouthily over-optimistic (don't crab—if we fight for our rights and needs we're sure to have nothing to crab about). Long drawn out and never inspired, but very respectably honest and dogged, thanks considerably, it appears, to Albert Maltz's screen play.

"Isle of the Dead." Val Lewton-Mark Robson horror film, with Karloff, Katherine Emery, Helene Thimig especially effective. Tedious, overloaded, diffuse, and at moments arty, yet in many ways to be respected, up to its last half-hour or so; then it becomes as brutally frightening and gratifying a horror movie as I can remember. (More self-contained, and more pleasingly toned and told, is Lewton's recent "Body Snatchers," with Karloff, Lugosi, Henry Daniell. It too, for all its charm and talent, is a little dull and bookish; but it explodes into an even finer, and a far more poetic, horror-climax—which, however, is sustained for only the last few minutes.)

"State Fair." Rodgers and Hammerstein adaptation of the Phil Stong novel; nice performances by Jeanne Crain, Dana Andrews, Henry Morgan; pretty tunes, graceful lyrics. Otherwise lacking any real delicateness, vitality, or imagination, and painfully air-conditioned-looking, for a bucolic film; it is nevertheless good-natured and pleasant.

"Our Vines Have Tender Grapes." Life on a Wisconsin farm with Margaret O'Brien, Edward G. Robinson, Agnes Moorhead, who perform exceedingly well. Here too a lack both of rural redolence and of fresh air; in stretches almost as indigestible as its title. But some of the wilful leisureliness comes properly to life, and several scenes and many details are as gracious and touching as the intention of the whole film.

"Love Letters." A story so inconceivably factitious that only a poet-moralist or a romancer of genius could have been wisely attracted by it, or could have brought it above the sill of absurdity. But Lee Garmes's lighting and photography are wonderful, in a romantic way I do not personally care for; and his—or William Dieterle's—camera set-ups and shot-series and Dieterle's directing are like a highly skilled piece of wrestling. Most of the acting, especially that of Ann Richards (in a rather easy role), has unusual intensity and style.

Considerably less commendable is "Her Highness and the Bell-Boy," a would-be Modern Fairy Story told with incredible heaviness and made only sporadically enjoyable through the friendliness of Robert Walker and Rags Ragland, the beauty of Hedy Lamarr, the sincerity of June Allyson.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

ON VICTOR'S September list are Brahms's Symphony No. 3, performed by Koussevitzky with the Boston Symphony (Set 1007; $4.50); Schönberg's "Verklärte Nacht" for string orchestra, performed by Golschmann with the St. Louis Symphony (Set 1005; $4.50); a sequence of passages from Strauss's "Rosenkavalier," performed by Goossens with the Cincinnati Symphony (Set 997; $3.50); and Airs de Ballet from Grétry's "Céphale et Procris," performed by Defauw with the Chicago Symphony (11-8825; $1).

The group is interesting for what it reveals about American orchestras. Cities like St. Louis and Cincinnati have no trouble in finding the players for excellent string sections; but—judging from the Cincinnati performance—equally good players for the woodwinds are not available. Chicago, however, can provide its orchestra with woodwinds as fine as the strings; and one hears the playing of a great orchestra. But then one listens to Boston's orchestra, and hears strings, brass, woodwinds, and refinements of execution and sonority that carry one into the realm of the fabulous.

The group also is interesting for what it demonstrates about Victor's recording of orchestras. One hears those fabulous things in the Boston performance of Brahms's symphony because they are reproduced by the recording as I cannot recall their having been done before. This time Victor's engineers managed to prevent the noisy confusion from excessive reverberation and the slight coarseness of the other recently made Boston Symphony recordings; and in the quiet the sound is cleanly defined and retains its real-life refinement. Played with a Brush pick-up, the recording is well balanced; with an Astatic Tru-tan it sounds limited in the upper frequency-range.

The Chicago Symphony recording is even better than the ones Victor made with that orchestra three years ago: the hall is reverberant, but the sound now is marvelously clear and clean and bright. The Cincinnati Symphony performance is beautifully reproduced except at a few points where excessive reverberation creates noisy confusion. And the St. Louis Symphony performance also is excellently recorded—even to the occasional thickness and heaviness of the sound produced by Schönberg's writing for strings or by Golschmann's performance of this writing.

I like the second and fourth movements of Brahms's symphony; but I don't like them with the sentimentalities and overemphases imparted to them by Koussevitzky's tempos and changes of tempo. I might acquire the Victor set to have a good reproduction of the fabulous playing of the Boston Symphony under Koussevitzky's direction; but if I wanted a good performance of Brahms's symphony I would take Weingartner's in Columbia Set 353.

The music from Grétry's "Céphale et Procris" is charming and well-performed. Schönberg's "Verklärte Nacht," best listened to with Tudor's "Pillar of Fire" to distract one during its interminable length, also is well-performed. And so is the pointless collection of the few scraps of orchestral luxuriance and sugary melody from Strauss's "Rosenkavalier."

Also on Victor's September list is Beethoven's Sonata Opus 30 No. 2 for violin and piano played by Yehudi and Hephzibah Menuhin (Set 1008; $4.50). Nos. 1 and 3 of Opus 30 are among the best of Beethoven's early works; but the dramatic first movement of No. 2 is, for me, one of those in which, as my correspondent expressed it a couple of weeks ago, Beethoven "is trying to create a mood which has no actual occasion or objective correlative in the music itself"; and the rest of the work seems weak. The performance is good: as always, Hephzibah's playing has the musical style and life that her brother's has not; and though his tone is over-sweet he plays simply except for a few tearful phrases in the slow movement. The recording, which must have been made several years ago, is good, but must be played with the volume turned up higher than usual.

CONTRIBUTORS

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Next Week in The Nation
"The German Talks Back"
By Heinrich Hauser
Reviewed by Franz Hoellering

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Instructive and Disquieting

Dear Sirs: I found Mr. Padover's article in *The Nation* of September 22 very instructive and trebly disquieting: (1) because of the evidence he gives of slavishness in German labor, (2) because of his charge that our officials are neglecting German labor in their efforts to create a democratic Germany, and (3) because so good a democrat as the editor of "The Complete Jefferson" would apparently neglect, instead, the farmer—shades of Thomas Jefferson!—and all other elements in Germany except labor.

Democracy to me is a government built on no one class or section of the community but equally on all members of the community, to safeguard impartially the individual liberty of each person, each minority of one. Mr. Padover rules out the "upper strata"—and by implication the middle class—as "opportunists" who "supported Hitler because he was successful" and "are collaborating with us because we are victorious." His evidence convicts labor of all this, too, but his conclusion rules labor in.

He convicts Germans in general and German labor in particular of tending blindly to follow the leader. Judging from the case he makes, I would conclude that the best way to create democracy in Germany would be to make the most of whatever truly democratic leadership asserted itself, regardless of whether it rose from the factory or the farm, the middle or the upper class. From this last group, after all, came Thomas Jefferson and other founders of our own individualist democracy.

CLARENCE K. STREIT

Washington, D. C., September 17

A Fully Paid Labor Reserve

Dear Sirs: I. F. Stone calls attention in *The Nation* of August 11 to the fact that Mark Sullivan has come out for "full employment." That appears to line him up with many liberals and others throughout the country. In labor circles there is a real desire for full employment; but in other circles the words denote only as much employment as can conveniently be attained within our present free-enterprise system. They imply a larger or smaller body of unemployed whom industry cannot absorb no matter how great the volume of production. The hope is that if production can be increased to the limit and held there, then unemployment can be reduced so low that it can be neglected. In other words, "full employment" does not really mean full employment.

The unemployed, as distinguished from loafers and the merely idle, are those able and willing to work and anxious to support themselves. Persons who are actually working for pay and also those who are paid to assume a responsibility to work should be considered employed. Shop foremen are not always at work, but they have a responsibility and are employed. City firemen are not always at work, but surely they are employed. Architects and lawyers are sometimes paid a retainer to hold themselves in readiness for work. Is it unthinkable that labor should be treated in the same way?

I propose a "fully paid labor reserve" to include all the unemployed, that is, those able to work and anxious for a job. Such a fully paid labor reserve added to those already having jobs would cover the whole labor supply and would constitute a continuous maximum demand for consumer goods, a steady market on which industry could depend—in other words, real full employment.

The reserve might be a revolving pool; while at first it might be thought that the pool should be as small as possible in order to get maximum production, efficiency of production might eventually be sufficiently high for the pool to be larger. The labor reserve should be paid by the federal government from the proceeds of a personal income tax, which should be a flat tax, not graded. Enrolment in the reserve should be entirely voluntary. An applicant would state his preferred trade or occupation together with alternatives, and might be asked to attend training courses.

A fully paid labor reserve would offer many advantages to both labor and industry. Workers would no longer be subject to outside competition, and as there would be no fear of a lay-off, soldiering on the job would stop, resulting in quicker deliveries and lower costs for industry. Industry would have a pool of ready and efficient workers with which to expand and start new undertakings.

HENRY V. D. ALLEN

Schenectady, N. Y., August 16

Nominating Mr. Welles

Dear Sirs: In the formation of the United Nations Charter and in discussions concerning its implementation, no suggestions have been made regarding possible candidates for the post of Secretary-General. Not only will the Secretary-General be responsible, as an administrator, for directing the machinery of the newly created organization, but as a statesman he will have the power to "bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion might threaten international peace and security."

Thus the Secretary-General has important discretionary power. The League members elected to this post individuals who were administrators and unwilling to assume greater responsibilities on their own initiative than the Covenant permitted. In fact, they did not even speak before the Assembly meetings—a right accorded them in the Rules of Procedure of that body. The delegates were thus denied an interpretation of international trends and possibilities of action which a keen Secretary-General, as top official of the world organization, could so ably have given them.

We cannot again afford to elect an individual who is solely an administrator, for the Charter expressly empowers the Secretary-General with functions of a political nature. A wise and able statesman, as well as a capable administrator, is needed for the task. I therefore suggest the election of Sumner Welles. As ambassador, as Under Secretary of State, and as special emissary of the late President Roosevelt he has on numerous occasions demonstrated his abilities. Moreover, the continued growth and development of the Pan-American Union can be attributed largely to his efforts.

Mr. Welles is known and respected by the leaders of many nations. The public has on many occasions manifested its liking for and trust in him. When he was forced to resign as Under Secretary of State it voiced strong disapproval; his book, "The Time for Decision," and his syndicated newspaper column are read avidly by millions of people.

The keen insight into international affairs, the ability to analyze present problems, and the faculty to foresee future events that characterize Mr. Welles are prime requisites for any Secretary-General if he is adequately to fulfil the political functions assigned him in the Charter. ALVIN B. GLAZER

Tacoma Park, Md., September 10

Louis Boudin Impenitent

Dear Sirs: Because of articles I recently published in the *ORT Economic Review,* Mr. Albert Guérard called upon me, in your August 4 issue, to apologize to the shade of Clemenceau for attacking the Versailles treaty. I do not feel apologetic at all. Speaking of Lord Vansittart's recent book, which put him in a penitent mood, Mr. Guérard said:

> It is the hardest thing in the world to confess an error . . . "Liberals"—Harry Elmer Barnes for twenty years, Harry Emerson Fosdick in 1939, Louis M. Boudin as late as 1945—attacked Versailles and the French policy in terms which had a Hitlerian ring: they have not apologized yet to the shade of Clemenceau, and probably they never will. Well, I too hate to acknowledge a mistake. But, to my infinite embarrassment, I found that I agreed with Lord Vansittart.

As to the "Hitlerian ring" of criticism of the Versailles treaty, long before the world at large was aware of Hitler's existence, the Versailles treaty was denounced by one Nicolai Lenin, whose criticism was substantially in the same "terms" and had the same "ring" as that subsequently voiced by Hitler—as Mr. Guérard will find if he takes the trouble to read Lenin's speeches between 1919 and 1922.

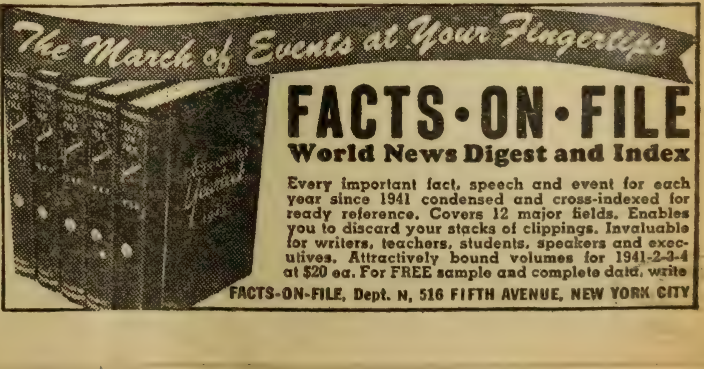
Actually my criticism was never in the "terms" nor had it the "ring" of either Lenin's or Hitler's criticism. And it was entirely different from that of Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, whose position was that World War I was caused by "capitalism" as such, and that all capitalist nations were therefore equally guilty. My position, as stated in a book which I wrote during the war, was that "capitalism" is a historical phenomenon whose character with respect to peace and war has undergone a number of changes; that it had its peaceful periods as well as its bellicose ones. I was of the opinion, and still am, that capitalism was then in one of its warlike moods, and that Germany was the spearhead of this particular warlike phase of capitalism. It was, in my opinion, a serious mistake to assert that Germany was no more guilty than any other capitalist country. But it was an even greater mistake to put the entire blame on Germany—since that would of necessity lead us to the wrong kind of peace.

When "peace" came, I did object to the Versailles treaty. But not, as Dr. Barnes did, on the ground that it was unjust. As a student of history I know that one man's justice is another man's injustice. Like John Maynard Keynes, I was of the opinion that the principal vice of the Versailles treaty was its *stupidity,* since it could not be enforced and would of necessity become a source of mischief. Stupidity in such matters is a far greater crime than injustice: God in his mercy may forgive injustice. History never forgives stupidity.

But my criticism went farther than that of John Maynard Keynes. For the greatest stupidity of the Versailles treaty was not in any of its specific provisions, but in its failure to provide effectively for a lasting peace by setting up a real world organization.

I agree with Mr. Guérard that liberals should now feel in a penitent and apologetic mood. But their apologies are not due to Clemenceau or Vansittart but to those of us, including Lenin, who based their criticism of the Versailles treaty on the fact that it treated the symptom—Germany's eruption—instead of the disease. But I do not expect such apologies. From all appearances, liberals are again going to argue about the justice or injustice of this or that mode of treating Germany—utterly oblivious of the fact that it is the world that needs treatment. Germany may be the sickest of all, but she is not the only patient requiring attention. And quackery will do no more good now than it did at Versailles. L. B. BOUDIN

New York, August 15



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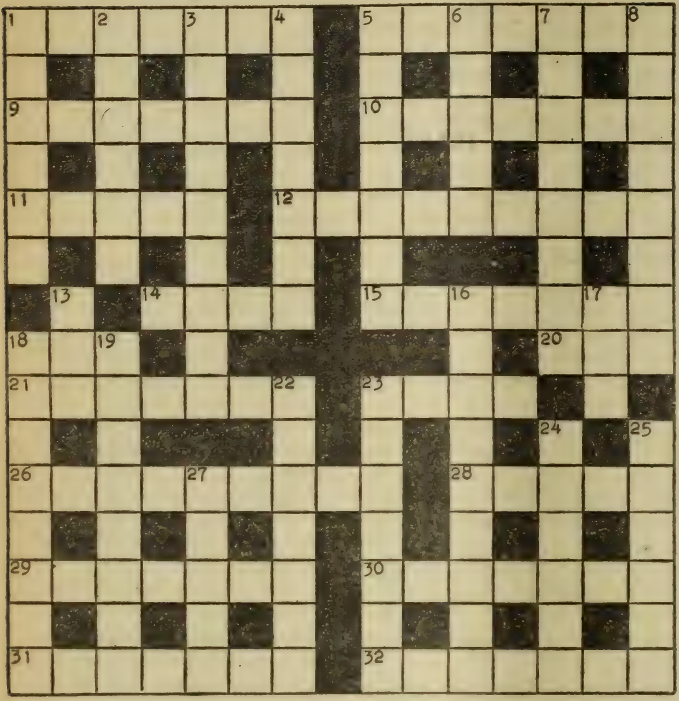
By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Inseparable companions
5 Walpole and White both were
9 Acquit
10 Pup, alas, disorderly in a Swedish university
11 Sounds like a big gun in church circles
12 To have a suspicion (three words, 5, 1, 3)
14 A beastly king
15 Fiery thatch of the hothead? (two words, 3 and 4)
18 Diamonds, in underworld terminology
20 The Frenchman's "no"
21 The field or the shelter may be his place in war
23 It is marked out
26 Oliver Twist ran away from one
28 If you want to raise the dough, try this
29 Of little importance
30 Famous falls
31 Superlatively strong-scented
32 Leaf out of a book by Lamb in his later years

DOWN

1 A sporting attitude
2 Silence usually spells this
3 *Not* as broad as it is long
4 It's quite a hat
5 Arrogance
6 Repulse
7 After telling us the chief speaker needs no introduction, he introduces us to the chief speaker
8 Untidy woman
13 No can do (hidden)
16 This is the place to get your milk, butter and eggs (two words, 5 & 4)
17 A sort of credit note
18 Mr. Porter discloses his identity and business
19 Skin trouble which comes with much smoking
22 A tract that may not attract
23 She offered Fair Rosamond the choice of a dagger or a cup of poison
24 A word in Mexico for postponing the evil day
25 To machine-gun from the air
27 She kept her sisters on a leash, in *Arabian Nights*

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 127

ACROSS:—1 PLEASANT; 5 ISOBAR; 10 STIRRUP; 11 LESIONS; 12 OLIVER; 14 PEARMAIN: 16 AUGUSTA; 17 TERNS; 18 HESS; 20 THE LIAR; 22 ROAD; 24 SAHIB; 26 GROUSER; 29 SPIKES IT; 30 SANDAL; 32 ENTITLE; 33 INVITES; 34 TEAZLE; 35 PRESERVE.

DOWN:—1 PISTOL; 2 EDIFICE; 3 SERGEANT; 4 NAPE; 6 SISERA; 7 BROCADE; 8 RASHNESS; 9 CLUES; 13 RUSHERS; 14 PULL OUT; 15 ATLASES; 19 PROSPECT; 21 RARA AVIS; 23 ARIETTA; 25 INDITER; 26 GENTIL; 27 OILED; 28 ELYSEE; 31 BIER.

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The Shape of Things

SENATOR TAFT'S PROBLEM IN REGARD TO THE Full Employment Bill was to wreck it without incurring the political risks of voting against jobs for all. By winning acceptance of his amendment rewriting the clause providing for compensatory government investment, he has achieved a satisfactory solution from his point of view. What dismays and astonishes us is the way in which the bill's backers persuaded themselves that this and other amendments made no important difference. Fortunately a large group of progressives in the House appear to appreciate to what a degree it has been emasculated. A statement signed by 115 co-sponsors of the measure declares: "We are committed to the principle that the government must make full use of all its powers and functions relating to employment and production and must specifically pledge its financial resources to make good on the assurance of continuing full employment opportunity." Representative George E. Outland, one of the leaders of the group, told reporters: "We'll make a fight for the original language and we think the people will go with us." They will, indeed, if steps are taken to expose to the country the fact that the deadly words injected into the heart of the bill will, unless removed, serve to paralyse it.

*

THE SPECTACLE OF HIROHITO, SON OF HEAVEN, politely doffing his silk hat to a crowd of press photographers is an intensely gratifying one to the average American. But it seems most unlikely that the Son of Heaven planned his tradition-shattering jaunt to the American embassy for the purpose of driving home any lessons to the Japanese people. His purpose was more probably that of impressing the American people with the thoroughness of Japan's regeneration. Under the spur of criticism from this country MacArthur has gradually stiffened his occupation policies. The list of war criminals has been steadily lengthened. All army and navy stocks have been seized, and steps have been taken to control Japan's financial resources and to weaken the potential capacity of its war industries. Some of these steps have doubtless proved a severe shock to the ruling clique, who had hoped to escape with their industrial resources virtually intact. To counter this, the Japanese have launched what appears to be a skilfully planned public relations campaign. First, the Emperor granted two interviews to American newsmen in which he stressed Japan's determination to become a peaceful democratic nation and injected a carefully worded bid for American economic assistance. These were followed by a formal statement by Prince Takamatsu, the Emperor's brother, asking the American people to "extend sympathy toward the Japanese people in their sincere endeavors for peace." Hirohito's visit to MacArthur, with polite bows to all and sundry, was staged some forty-eight hours later. Perhaps it will turn out that the Emperor magic works both ways—on the Americans as well as on the Japanese.

*

THE ONLY SAVING GRACE OF GENERAL PATTON as an administrator is his talent for self-exposure. His complacency toward Nazis and near Nazis and his naive but as ever blustering admission of it, have won him a special interview with General Eisenhower. The only sensible outcome would be the removal to cold storage of a superman who is obviously useless between wars, and we hope his ready promises of good behavior will not be taken too seriously. With the best will in the world General Patton is incapable of changing his unique ways. But it would be a mistake to assume that the removal of one problem general would put an end to the use of Nazis in the governing of Germany. Mr. Padover's analysis of AMG, which appears on another page of this issue, makes it abundantly clear that Patton's complacency is not so much an exception to the rule among officials of the AMG as it is an extreme example of the prevailing attitude. General Eisenhower's own opinions and his stated policy are impeccable. In a showdown Schaeffer, pro-Nazi, is booted out as Minister-President of Bavaria and Hoegner, anti-Nazi, is taken in. But the great question is whether, as a matter of course, the Eisenhower policy will be implemented through an organization honeycombed with people who are "non-political" except that they don't like reds.

*

THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH IS headed by Bela Miklos, formerly one of Horthy's generals, is composed of the representatives of five parties—the Social Democrats, the Communists, the Small Holders Party, the Peasant Party, and the Liberal-Democratic Party—in numbers proportionate to the seats they won in the recent election of the national assembly. However, this Cabinet is chiefly an executive body. Real power is in the hands of Arpad Szakasits, chairman of the Social Democrats; Matthias Rakosi, leader of the Communist Party; Zoltan Tilday, a Protestant clergyman who leads the Small Holders Party; and Emery Kovacs, chairman of the Peasant Party which is nearly as radical as the Communists. Thus the charge brought by Mr. Bevin that the government is undemocratic would seem to be unfounded. It is true that the Communists, being very active and dynamic, appear to be dominant in spite of the moderating influence exercised by their leaders. Mr. Byrnes made recognition hinge on the elections for Parliament to be held November 4; Russia resumed diplomatic relations at once; Britain refused recognition of the provisional government but declared that they had no objection to the American move. What strength the Hungarian parties will show in the November elections cannot be predicted with certainty, but in view of the general trend in Europe it seems probable that the Social Democrats, being the organization of longest standing, and next to them the Small Holders, will gain a majority over the Communists and the Peasants. The Liberal-Democrats have a few followers, chiefly in the cities. Recently a workers' council was elected at the Weiss Manfred Works at Csepel near Budapest, the largest producer of machinery in Hungary. Of the approximately 15,000 workers 75 per cent voted for the Social Democrats and only 25 per cent for the Communists. In view of the fact that Russia has an army of occupation in Hungary and is sending food supplies to the country, this election would indicate that we can take in good faith its declaration that it does not intend to sovietize Hungary. The democratic trend is likely to continue unless the reactionaries at home and abroad interfere.

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THE NEW ANGLO-AMERICAN PETROLEUM PACT, according to the *Wall Street Journal,* is "very different" from the treaty signed in August, 1944, which was subsequently smothered in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. For ourselves, we fail to see much change. Among the ambiguities of the earlier document one fact stood out clearly—the official blessing given to "all valid concession contracts and lawfully acquired rights." This clause which, it seemed to us, served to underwrite the well-established Anglo-Dutch-American monopoly of the international oil trade and to render fairly meaningless pious references in other paragraphs to "equal opportunity," has been left unaltered in the new draft. It was not this aspect of the agreement, however, that provoked the antagonism of the independent American producers who forced its withdrawal. They were perturbed by vague proposals for an international petroleum commission, which they feared might prove an instrument for government interference. Still more, they were upset by the implication that the treaty would facilitate imports into this country to supplement dwindling oil reserves. The new treaty meets their objections, first, by making it plain that the international commission will have power merely to talk, second, by excluding from the agreement operations of the domestic industry and the regulation of imports. Thus what remains is assurance of smooth sailing for the international oil cartel in world markets, aided by harmonization of Anglo-American interests in exploiting resources in the Near East. Of course there is no specific mention of this region but we note that surveys have recently begun for two new pipelines across the Arabian Desert, one to serve the Iraq fields (British) the other the new Saudi Arabian concessions (American). The pipelines of peace, no doubt!

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GENERAL OMAR BRADLEY'S RECENT STATEMENT that some of the doctors in the Veterans Administration were "pretty poor" was a hopeful augury of much needed reform. After all the whitewash, the Congressional inquisition of reporters who made similar statements last spring, and the effusive buttering-up of General Frank T. Hines when he left his post as Veterans Administrator, this frankness was a breath of fresh air. Outspokenness and lack of dissimulation in generals can be a good thing. General Bradley obviously means business, and telling the public the truth must be the first step in giving the Veterans Administration the housecleaning it has so long needed. What remains to be seen is whether the general can do the job quickly and thoroughly enough to prevent long-continued inadequacy of treatment to disabled veterans. The VA now has only 2,300 doctors—including the unknown percentage of men who are "pretty poor"—and 1,300 vacancies, with the overall need perhaps rising to 6-7,000 within twenty years. These vacancies will not be filled easily unless the medical side of the agency is drastically reorganized. Minimum requirements include raising of salaries in all brackets, guaranties that promotion will be by achievement not seniority, and affiliation with civilian medical centers to encourage research and professional advancement. A reorganization along these lines might serve to attract many doctors now leaving the armed forces. Lack of such a reorganization will mean added difficulties in recruiting physicians, and that in turn will mean continued treatment of disabled veterans by physicians who are "pretty poor."

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ON ITS FORMATION THE HOUSE COMMITTEE INvestigating un-American Activities promised not to repeat the scandalous career of the Dies committee, whose heir it is. But heredity and its most influential member, Representative Rankin of Mississippi, have proved too much for it. True to Dies precedents, it has started operations with a general inquiry into the Communist Party, prominent members of which are being asked the kind of questions which used to be the specialty of Japanese "thought controllers." Even more sinister, however, is a formal letter sent by the committee to President Truman requesting delivery of personnel archives of all terminated war agencies, including the OSS and the OWI. In the interests of security such agencies kept elaborate personnel records containing detailed information about employees and their friends, business associates, and former employers. The information was requested, and given, in strict confidence, and to pass it on to a Congressional inquisition would be a breach of faith. In the light of the history of the Dies committee, to whose files favored columnists were given access, the possibilities of abuse are terrifying.

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JUST AS WE GO TO PRESS WORD REACHES US that the Governor of Texas has commuted the death sentence passed upon L. C. Akins to life imprisonment. This is welcome news to the thousands of *Nation* readers who have followed with active concern a case in which race bias so patently distorted the processes of justice.

London Fog

SOME commentators, seeking an explanation for the bad temper and unproductiveness of the London Conference of Foreign Ministers, lay the blame on lack of proper preparation. Sumner Welles, for instance, has asserted that the success of the conference was jeopardized in advance by failure of the diplomatic technicians to secure "prior agreement upon the agenda and upon procedure." This is a just criticism, but in attempting to understand the gloomy spectacle in London we must look deeper. We are then likely to find that the real trouble was not mechanical but a failure to agree on the elementary purposes for which the machinery was to be employed.

The policies of all three of the big powers appear to be based on concepts which were obsolete long before the atomic age opened. They are all clinging to the belief that the first duty of a nation is to safeguard its own integrity, as if security on a national basis were still possible. All of them, of course, pay lip service to international ideals but all of them, quite plainly, regard the United Nations Organization as a secondary line of defense. They are willing enough to prescribe collective remedies for troubles outside their own spheres of influence; inside, they insist on administering unilateral medicines.

A good many Americans are fully aware of the sins of Russia, and to a lesser extent of Britain, in this respect but fail to realize that the United States is playing power politics just as strenuously as its allies. When the Russians demand a free hand in the Balkans or the British take steps to keep the Mediterranean a private lake, we cry shame. But, at the same time, we make no bones about our determination to use our own strong right arm to keep any intruders out of our back yard. We boggle at the idea of giving our Allies even a minor role in the control and reorganization of Japan. We boast that we are the most powerful nation in the world and advertise our intention to maintain that primacy. The United States Air Force and Navy are to remain superlative and the Pacific is to be kept as an American lake with the aid of whatever bases are required for that purpose. Finally we are continuing to manufacture atomic bombs. The secret of their construction is to be released, if at all, on our own terms. In fact there is an inclination, in influential quarters, to preserve it indefinitely, while redoubling our scientific researches, in the hope that we shall be able to keep ahead of the rest of the world.

Such plans suggest that we have little trust either in collective security or in our allies, who, not surprisingly, are suspicious of the uses to which we may put our vaunted power. Yet when Russia seeks to promote its own security we are hurt and indignant.

This is not written in defense of Russia's diplomatic aggressiveness, which, while it sometimes succeeds in exposing Anglo-American hypocrisy, appears to us to be self-defeating. Russia's attempt to bolster its security by building up a thick hedge of buffer states between itself and the West is the *cordon sanitaire* policy in reverse and likely to prove just as futile. Nor do we consider its forays into the Mediterranean and the Red Sea clever strategy. No doubt their purpose was to discourage British interference in the Russian zone but the likely result is to spur the building of the Western bloc which Moscow is so anxious to prevent.

Many problems have been taken up by the Foreign Ministers but no final solutions have been found, and the conference is in danger of breaking up with no more to show for its labors than an agreement to postpone action on all major questions pending further study by experts. This means prolonging the period of uncertainty for a dozen European countries which desperately need a definitive settlement to aid their political and economic reconstruction. Even so, postponement of decisions will be better than hastily improvised compromises or a series of ambiguous decisions which each power would interpret to suit itself. It will, at least, afford an opportunity to prepare for the next meeting of the powers by an attempt to reach an understanding on the foundations of peace.

The question that has got to be settled is: Shall we build the house of peace on the rock of joint responsibility for security or is UNO destined to be no more than a rickety façade behind which power politics are to continue as before? If the second alternative is to be adopted, then let us be candid about it and negotiate on a frankly horse-trading basis which will enable the world to be divided up into clearly recognized spheres of influence. That will be a poor way indeed of providing for lasting peace, but it may very well make possible a longer truce than a settlement based on organized hypocrisy.

Wages, Prices, and Taxes

THE current wave of strikes is being variously attributed to unpatriotic labor leaders, reds, and avaricious employers. Many columns have been written about how small groups of selfish men are delaying reconversion and imperiling the country's economic future. Granted that men are selfish, it is necessary to probe considerably deeper for the basic causes of the existing labor unrest. Logically, the strikes may be viewed, depending upon one's political philosophy, as an inevitable part of the post-war economic readjustment or as a failure on the part of the government to develop an adequate post-war reconversion policy.

Those who believe that the government has no business interfering in economic matters regard the present labor strife, if they are at all consistent, as inherent in the shaking-down process by which wages and prices are finding new levels following the relaxation of war-time controls. Their logic points inexorably to a long, heated period of strife with settlements being reached on the basis of the relative economic power of the various groups. By and large big business faces this struggle with equanimity, since it is confident that industry's war-swollen surpluses, plus the rebates due on war-time excess-profits taxes, will enable employers to outsit labor in practically every instance. At worst, the big business groups feel that they may have to pay compromise wage increases which they will pass on to the consumer. At best, they hope to make substantial inroads on the war-time gains of organized labor so as to recover what they emotionally describe as control over their own industries.

Strikes and lockouts are of course the traditional way of arriving at a new equilibrium of wages and prices after the drastic upheaval of war. The costs of such labor disturbances may be reduced somewhat by effective systems of conciliation or arbitration but are bound to be frightfully high. The alternative to settlements arrived at by the tug-of-war process of industrial strife is a government-imposed price-wage formula such as was enforced during the war by the joint efforts of the WLB and the OPA. Unfortunately, the government has not yet come up with an adequate formula for the reconversion period. President Truman may have felt that he was meeting the situation when he announced that the government would permit wage increases which did not necessitate a rise in prices. But this was essentially an evasion of the issue rather than a practical post-war policy. It ignored labor's deep-rooted aversion to accepting a cut in take-home pay. And it ignored the immense practical difficulties of determining how much wages can be increased without necessitating an increase in prices. Industry is certain to fight to retain its present profit levels, just as labor will fight to maintain its war-time level of take-home pay. Furthermore, an effort to retain the present wage-price level presupposes continued enforcement of the entire war-time stabilization program. This is not being done.

The task of arriving at a satisfactory wage-price formula is further complicated by the necessity of knowing the approximate levels of production and employment at the end of the reconversion period. The steel industry, for example, could readily grant the C. I. O.'s wage demands if it were assured of operating at 95 to 100 per cent of capacity as it did during the war; but it could not pay wages even at the present level without an increase in prices if restricted to 50 per cent of capacity. Experience has shown that capacity operation of our industrial plant depends on the maintenance of consumer purchasing power. Once a deflationary spiral sets in, production is curtailed and unemployment develops. In his recent message to Congress President Truman called for the immediate passage of a series of emergency measures designed to maintain the buying power of workers adversely affected by the reconversion process. None of these measures has so far been enacted. The House Ways and Means Committee has rebuffed the President on the provision of adequate unemployment protection for former war workers. The Full Employment bill has been shot full of holes in the Senate and has not even been considered by the House. The bill for a 65-cent minimum wage is meeting vigorous opposition from Southern Congressmen. Instead of giving first attention to the measures that are needed to support production and employment in the post-reconversion period, the House Ways and Means Committee frittered away a week of its time squabbling over Elliot Roosevelt's personal debts, and now proposes to write a new tax bill. True, tax policy must necessarily play a vital role in the post-war readjustment process. Some lightening of the tax burden is essential both for psychological and economic reasons. A reduction in the withholding tax will increase the worker's take-home pay and lessen the pressure for higher wages; a cut in excise taxes, which fall chiefly on the lower-income groups, would help support purchasing power and stimulate business. But the House Ways and Means Committee is reported to be chiefly concerned with reducing the taxes on business and on families in the upper income brackets—precisely the policy followed with such disastrous results after the last war.

Under the leadership of President Roosevelt the United States came through World War II with much less economic dislocation than it suffered in World War I. This was achieved by an over-all economic policy that embraced production, distribution, wages, prices, and taxation. If we are to come through reconversion without the disturbances that characterized 1919, 1920, 1921, and 1929, we shall similarly have to develop and maintain an over-all policy adequate for this period. We need now a wage-and-price formula which is realistic enough to appeal to labor and management alike. Such a formula should have been worked out before V-J Day. But it is still not too late. If price and wage controls are retained and vigorously enforced until after the reconversion period is over, it should be possible to work out a compromise that would essentially restore the pre-war balance between production and purchasing power. Only then can the controls safely be lifted to permit free play for the normal processes of competition and collective bargaining.

The Fascist Survivors

SPAIN and Argentina have come into the headlines again. And it is not strange that they should appear under a common caption of fascism. The two countries form a double nucleus of the fascist conspiracy with which the world has grown all too familiar: both offer continuing proof of the weakness of our foreign policy.

Fascist Argentina was smuggled into the United Nations Organization by the United States. It is not true, as State Department stooges would have us believe, that the United States was forced to sponsor Argentina because all Latin America was crying out for its admittance. Latin Americans themselves were the first grimly to laugh off this suggestion. Mr. Stettinius's Man Friday in the Argentine maneuver was Mexico's ex-Foreign Minister, Ezequiel Padilla. His helpful role cost him his job in the Mexican Cabinet immediately after the conference had ended.

Argentina's admission to UNO under United States sponsorship was not only not welcomed in Latin America but it awakened deep skepticism from Buenos Aires to Mexico City over our claims to have fought the war for democracy. Inside Argentina itself the bitterness was greater than anywhere else. Argentine democrats could scarcely credit the reports from San Francisco that told of Nelson Rockefeller explaining to several hundred journalists that as a matter of fact the admission of Argentina would *compel* the Farrel-Perón clique to give way to a democratic regime. Of course, exactly the opposite happened. The dictatorship was strengthened to such a degree by United Nations recognition that all the democratic efforts of Ambassador Braden were brought to nought and eventually the democratic elements were forced to revolt.

They demonstrated in a huge public rally on September 19. Perón responded in flagrant fascist style. Argentina entered a state of siege. The police tracked down generals, bankers, business men, labor leaders, editors, professors, students—any who might belong to the opposition. The students called a strike "to persuade all Argentines to join in the disobedience campaign." Over last week-end the government closed the six universities and all dispatches and radio broadcasts of American correspondents ran into heavy censorship. Rumors of a general strike were in the air.

The Argentines arrested include former Foreign Minister José Maria Cantilo, the former governor of Buenos Aires, Rodolfo Moreno, and former Senators Antonio Santamarina and Gonzales Iramain; also Luis Mitre of *La Nacion,* Carreras of *Critica,* Paz of *La Prensa,* Simone of *Noticias Graficas,* and Americo Ghiohldi, editor of the Socialist weekly, *Vanguardia,* and an outstanding Socialist and former Deputy. Even such conservative but anti-fascist persons as Eustaquio Mendez Delfino, president of the Stock Exchange, José Maria Bustillo, president of the Rural Society, Armando Massone, head of the Chamber of Commerce, and Luis Colombo, president of the Union Industrial, the principal association of Argentine industrialists, have been imprisoned. Perhaps in jail they are recalling the comforting reassurances of our officials at San Francisco of the imminent dawn of Argentine democracy!

Our policy toward fascist Spain has been as irresponsible and as inexplicable as our policy toward Argentina. Last week the State Department made public President Roosevelt's letter of March 10, 1945, which was written to Norman Armour on the eve of our Ambassador's departure for Madrid. The letter stated that "our victory over Germany will carry with it the extermination of Nazi and similar ideologies." President Roosevelt saw "no place in the community of nations for governments founded on fascist principles." Why do we only hear of this letter seven months after it was written? Why are the anti-fascist policies so explicitly outlined still not applied to Hitler's Iberian ally? What excuse was there after the war in Europe had ended for continuing relations with Franco?

As *The Nation* revealed two weeks ago, Stalin bluntly asked the United States and Great Britain at the Potsdam Conference to break with Franco. In the Roosevelt letter, defining American anti-fascist foreign policy, President Truman had ample basis for action. A positive stand by the American President would have spurred the British out of their hesitation. It is a grisly thought that the substitution of words for action at Potsdam and the withholding of the Roosevelt letter may be explained by the fact that the mechanics of Franco's "retirement" had not yet been perfected. It now appears that there is more than an outside chance that an effort will be made to reestabish the monarchy. Against such an effort Dr. Negrín recently warned that "those outside of Spain who still flirt with the idea of restoring the monarchy must share the moral responsibility if a new civil war breaks out inside Spain." But throughout the world the forces of reaction move to bring to pass this disastrous event. And in the vanguard of such forces, as Harold J. Laski declared in his recent address broadcast to the Madison Square Garden meeting of September 24, is the Vatican. It is the duty of our government to separate itself from such forces. Its line is quite clear. Break off relations with Franco. Once this is done the State Department need not search for possible substitutes; the only democratic alternative is the Republic.

The Republic enjoys the support of the great majority of the Spanish people—reports from Spain agree that Republican sentiment is stronger than ever. Recently in Mexico it established its institutions of democracy with Señor Martinez Barrio as President and a new government fully recognized even by those parties not now represented in it. We think that important political groups which have not joined the government ought to be included. But that, after all, is a matter for the Spanish republicans to attend to. The duty of the American government is to break relations with Franco, end all maneuvers to impose upon the people of Spain a monarchy they hate and despise, and offer prompt recognition to the Republic in Exile.

The Plight of the Jews

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, October 1

IT WAS William O'Dwyer's final report as executive director of the War Refugee Board, issued on September 21, which first called attention to the Harrison mission, up to then a rather well-kept secret, only known to a few in close touch with Jewish affairs. O'Dwyer disclosed that in July Earl G. Harrison, United States representative on the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, had been sent by the government to investigate the needs and conditions of diplaced persons in Western Europe, "particularly the Jews." The O'Dwyer report declared that while much had been done to improve conditions among these "displaced peoples," Harrison had found "glaring inhumanity . . . prevailing in many areas." On inquiry it was learned that Harrison had made a report to the White House in the latter part of August and that publication had been promised but postponed. It was said in informed circles that the British had objected to release of the report, but it was pretty obvious that there were objections from within the Administration as well. At the State Department the report was in the hands of Loy W. Henderson, now top official for Near Eastern Affairs, and the first off-the-record response was that it would not be made public until Secretary of State James F. Byrnes returned from London. The newspaper *PM* ran an editorial calling attention to the withholding of the report and demanding its release. Late Saturday, some twenty-four hours before Governor Dewey was to address a Zionist mass-meeting in New York City, the White House, without waiting for the return of Byrnes, gave out the text of the report and of the letter Mr. Truman sent to General Eisenhower about it on August 31.

The report, as released, made it easy to understand why some people in the War and State departments and the British embassy preferred to keep its fierce light hidden under a bushel. Harrison is a leading Philadelphia lawyer, long prominent in the civic and charitable life of that city, a former United States Immigration Commissioner, now dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School; his report is gratifying evidence that there is at least one man of heart and vigor on the mummified Intergovernmental Committee. He does not happen to be Jewish; he seems to be, in more than a nominal sense, a Christian. It would take more than a political reporter, it would take a Hebrew prophet, to discuss that report and its implications adequately. For let no one imagine comfortably that Harrison's story concerns only the tragedy of a few hundred thousand Jews and other stateless persons who too often found their liberators as callous and indifferent as their Nazi oppressors had been savage and sadistic; who found a passive replacing an active cruelty, the former in some ways harder to bear. That is only a small part of the tragedy. One who reads the Harrison report with discerning and imaginative mind will see reflected in it the fatal weaknesses of our society, the lurking shadow of a terrible retribution. Events since 1933 would seem amply to have demonstrated the consequences and the cost of anti-Semitism for all peoples and for civilization, the need for resolute action in stamping it out, the desirability of some great and graphic act of justice to the homeless of Jewry as an object lesson for the Nazi-infected peoples. The picture which emerges from the Harrison report is, by contrast, only likely to convince the enemies of world order in Central Europe, at home, and elsewhere that the democratic forces of the Anglo-American world are weak and irresolute, too half-hearted to live up to their grandiose moral pretensions, not genuinely anti-fascist, easily gulled, and perhaps next time, with more luck, to be defeated.

Can anyone be so foolish as to believe that we earn the respect of the Germans by treating their victims as Harrison reveals we have been treating them? Three months after V-E Day Harrison found many of the Jews and former slave laborers of the Nazis living in the same concentration camps, fed a diet "composed principally of bread and coffee," still clothed in hideous concentration-camp garb or, even more ignominiously, in S. S. uniforms left behind by their oppressors, facing fuelless months in quarters "clearly unfit for winter use," and often unable to present their grievances to Military Government authorities "because ironically they have been obliged to go through German employees, who have not facilitated matters." The liberated are treated far worse than the defeated. I do not refer to prisoners of war or war criminals—their food and housing are a paradise by contrast—but to ordinary Germans. Harrison found Germans "still the best-dressed population in all of Europe," with a diet "more varied and palatable," in rural areas at least, than that of their freed victims. Harrison asks—and the point was emphasized in the President's sharp letter to Eisenhower—whether this is the way to implement the Potsdam pledge "to convince the German people that they have suffered a total military defeat and that they cannot escape responsibility for what they have brought upon themselves."

There is another side to this picture which must give the Nazis even greater satisfaction. Harrison went abroad unsympathetic to Zionism. He found that the Nazis had succeeded in spreading anti-Semitism almost everywhere in the occupied countries. He found that of the 100,000 Jews surviving in the camps of Germany and Austria, very few of the German and Polish Jews wished to return to their old homes, nor did many of those from other East and Central European countries. They want to go home as others are going home,, and this for most of them means going to Palestine. They had sought to live as Germans and Poles—and no one can deny what fervent patriots the German and Polish Jews have been in the past—but they were persecuted as Jews, and most of them now wish to live as Jews, to hold their heads up as Jews; they look to the colonization of the Holy Land as their one hope of restored self-respect, their deepest need. Harrison neither applauds nor deplores the feeling, but he recognizes that there is really nowhere else for them to go; covert anti-Semitism and xenophobia greet them even in America and England. Harrison asks that the gates of Palestine be opened to 100,000 at least and cites the past pledges of the British Labor Party as basis for an appeal to this effect by the American government. If the British people, oppressed by their own multitudinous troubles in the wake of a heroic struggle, are inclined to be tolerant of these broken pledges, let them ask themselves if the broken pledges on Palestine are not of the same pattern as the pledges the Attlees and Bevins have made to British labor, and if they do not foreshadow similar disillusion for themselves. They may well ask themselves also whether this reluctance to do justice to the Jews in the matter of Palestine is not of the same pattern as the Chamberlain policies that were responsible for their own ruined homes and cities.

It is to Mr. Truman's honor that he has already acted on both aspects of the Harrison recommendations. He has ordered General Eisenhower to take immediate steps to improve conditions among the remaining Jewish and other stateless displaced persons in the Reich—and Eisenhower has made a personal trip through the Reich to see that this is done. The President has also asked the British formally to grant 100,000 entrance certificates for Palestine. But it will still take much public pressure to achieve these purposes.

The problem of enforcing both the President's recent order and previous directives on the treatment of refugees in the Reich is but part of the general problem of getting the military to obey Potsdam and Presidential directives designed to denazify the Reich. Let no one be deceived by the statements issuing from anonymous spokesmen at Patton headquarters. A New York *Times* dispatch from Frankfurt today reports not only that Patton is unwilling to requisition decent housing for refugees but that "large numbers of American troops are still living under canvas in Bavaria, while Germans, some of them Nazis, luxuriously entertain American officers in fine houses." The problem of Jewish immigration into Palestine is similarly part of the greater problem of substituting Allied cooperation for power politics. Pledges to the Jews on Palestine are being broken because of British imperialist desires to use the thin layer of the Arab ruling class as a pawn in a game of oil politics with America and power politics with the Soviet Union. The Arab League, from which much is being heard, is the creation and the tool of the British Foreign Office. A Palestine settlement beneficial to both Jews and Arabs is possible any time the British government wants it. If Truman can bring that about, he will do humanity as well as Jewry a historic service.

AMG—Innocents Abroad

BY SAUL K. PADOVER

(Historian and political scientist; during the war an officer in the army's Psychological Warfare Division)

IT IS always slightly embarrassing to say unkind words about Military Government officers. They are so vulnerable and yet so innocent, in any sense of the word, that in criticizing them one has the uncomfortable feeling one is supposed to have when one takes the proverbial candy from the proverbial baby. They are, moreover, generally nice people who act to the best of their knowledge and ability. It is not their fault that their knowledge and ability are limited. Whatever shortcomings MG officers may have, they cannot be accused of malice. Least of all can they be charged with abuse of power. The trouble lies elsewhere. It began with the inception of MG.

Military Government was organized as an integral part of the army, with a staff function (G-5), and was expected to be merely an ancillary of the military. It was not properly trained to rule Germany in peace time. During the combat phase MG's objective was, first, to facilitate military operations and, second, to govern German civilians. While the war was on, the army was necessarily more interested in order than in politics. It had to see that there was no disturbance in its rear. This task was intrusted to MG officers.

MG thus entered Germany without any long-range program. If there was such a program, it was a White House arcanum hidden from the MG officers in the field. The short-range objective, the maintenance of order in the period of combat, was accomplished without difficulty. From the first day we entered the Reich the Germans fell over themselves to collaborate with the military authorities. Those who were fortunate enough to get jobs with MG put up signs on their doors proudly proclaiming, "Here lives Herr X, *collaborator* with the Americans." I remember one MG major in a Rhineland town saying with humorless admiration: "They are wonderful people, these Germans; I must hand it to them. At ten o'clock this morning I ordered the evacuation of a number of houses by three in the afternoon for the billeting of troops. By eleven o'clock they were all evacuated. Isn't that a record?" (Incidentally, of the thirty German families evacuated, the heads of only three were members of the Nazi Party; the rest were non-Nazis or anti-Nazis, and they asked bitterly why they were being discriminated against by the Americans.)

It was when the combat phase ended that MG's severe headaches began. It was then that it began to encounter difficulties, mainly political, for which it was not prepared; and friendly observers, viewing its fumbling actions, were obliged to conclude that Military Government personnel was not equipped to govern, least of all to govern Germans.

During the seven or eight months that I was in contact with MG officers in Germany I often asked myself the question: How and why were these men selected? They were so obviously out of place that it was sometimes embarrassing to watch them. They were commissioned civilians, not regular-army officers. Why were they commissioned? I still do not know whether the selection of MG personnel was governed by a deliberate policy of taking only men who had no anti-fascist bias or political convictions. One could not but be struck by the like-mindedness and political apathy of the officers, particularly those of field grade and over, but knowing something about the wheels on which Washington rolls, I am inclined to doubt that there was conscious purpose in the choice of MG candidates. I believe that conservative and "unpolitical" general officers simply preferred men in their own image, men who were "safe and sound," with no liberal nonsense about them.

MG officers were certainly not chosen because they were specialists in politics or experts on Germany. One officer told me that when he was in the Charlottesville school, cradle of MG, discussion of political questions was never encouraged. As regards a knowledge of Germany, the facts are, I think, sensational. MG officers do not know the German language; they rely upon German interpreters, who are frequently dubious characters. Many of them had never been in Germany before. They have no special knowledge of German problems; in civilian life they had no contact with German affairs. There may be some exceptions, but not enough to invalidate these conclusions.

Many MG officers are small-town professional men, reflecting the prejudices and virtues of their backgrounds. Among those with whom I worked were lawyers, judges, newspapermen, fire chiefs, police chiefs, social-service workers, building contractors, chemical engineers, and sanitary engineers. They were chosen precisely because they had certain special skills, for the army's short-range aim was to keep the municipal machinery going. But in stressing narrow skills the army neglected the larger qualifications; it overlooked the fact that one able individual with administrative experience can supervise a hundred plumbers and firemen and electricians. As a result MG in Germany today is staffed with officers who are competent in their special fields and decent in their personal relations but who are psychologically and professionally unprepared for the job of governing a foreign country, least of all a defeated country demoralized by a dozen years of fascism and riven by class hatreds. There are thousands of competent Germans who know how to run fire departments and sewers and water mains and public utilities; their eagerness to work under American supervision makes most of our MG officers superfluous. What MG needs is fewer plumbers and more men with political wisdom and training, fewer officers who want to keep the street cars running and more who are concerned with how to eradicate Nazism.

Most MG officers are "anti-Nazi" in a vague and general way, without any realization of the political and social implications of fascism. In some places, notably in Leipzig, they displayed antipathy for German anti-fascists and threatened to jail them. Of all those I met, only one MG officer had a passionate dislike of Nazis as Nazis and would have no dealings with them of any kind; he was, in my memory, a shining exception. The majority prided themselves on being "unpolitical," and that in a country like Germany meant being morally insensible. They employed Nazi Party members, not out of fascist convictions, but out of political neutrality and ignorance of recent history. I remember the MG officer in a big Ruhr town who regretted that the incumbent Bürgermeister was a notorious Nazi and S. A. man. "He is really a fine fellow," the MG captain said. "He told me frankly that he was a member of the Nazi Party. You know, I respect that man for his honesty. I wish I were allowed to keep him as mayor." I asked the captain what he was in civilian life. "Sanitary engineer," he said.

It was not until Headquarters issued a sharp order last winter—mainly as a result of an investigation made by two colleagues and myself—that the widespread MG practice of tolerating Nazis in office was curbed. Incidentally, it is noteworthy that the higher-ranking officers, especially those on a staff level, have showed themselves to be more anti-Nazi than the juniors in the field. General Eisenhower and his deputy, General Clay, are the best, as well as the highest, examples. General Patton is probably not typical.

The directive forbidding MG to retain Nazis in office or to appoint known nationalists and militarists caused consternation in MG circles. Up to that time it had been easy for an MG officer, ignorant of German conditions and indifferent to political problems, to administer his post by retaining the German incumbent. As a rule office-holders were members of the Nazi Party, either out of conviction or for the sake of their career. Since they were also the men with experience, they had no difficulty in persuading MG that they had been forced to join the Nazi Party but at heart were anti-Nazi, and that they were indispensable. Consequently, Nazi and nationalistic bureaucrats were confirmed in their positions and obstinately defended in the face of protests from German Social Democrats and other anti-fascist elements.

When the employment of Nazis was finally interdicted, MG did not know where to turn to find qualified officials. Germans with a clean anti-Nazi record were not immediately at hand. They were either in concentration camps, or in hiding, or living in obscurity. It took a knowledge of the German language and of German conditions to find them; and MG officers were not equipped with such qualifications. Many of the true anti-Nazis, moreover, were Social Democrats, Communists, or Left Centrists, and MG officers, even when they knew the difference between one German political party and another, were not enamored of the choice before them. They preferred, as a last resort, to employ clericals.

There was another difficulty that hobbled MG. It attempted to operate in a foreign country without a most vital instrument of government—a political-intelligence department. Strange as it may seem, no provision was made to supply MG personnel with political intelligence; MG teams contained no specially trained political officer. Everywhere MG had to depend upon the army's Counter-Intelligence Corps, which is primarily concerned with problems of military security and only incidentally with political matters or persons,. Generally, therefore, MG officers were about the last persons to know what was going on politically in the areas of their jurisdiction; they knew only as much as some individual, either someone in the CIC or Psychological Warfare or a German official, happened to tell them. When my colleagues and I entered a town, we used to win the gratitude of MG by dispensing a little political information.

Last winter a special representative of the White House drily told the MG team in Aachen that the President's objective in Germany was not efficiency but democracy, and that

Roosevelt was willing to "settle for 10 or 15 per cent efficiency" if he could get the right kind of political choices. The MG officers listened courteously—I am not sure they understood what he meant—and then went on doing as they did before. MG is not actively hostile to General Eisenhower's and General Clay's de-Nazification program but is without enthusiasm for it.

If MG officers are not politically neutral or indifferent, they are anti-Germans or anti-reds. Both groups are in the minority, the latter being the larger. The anti-Germans are those who insist that all Germans are alike and that there is no difference between Nazis and anti-Nazis. Consequently, so their argument runs, why bother to make any distinctions, and why not leave the Nazis in office? This attitude is by implication pro-Nazi. If all Germans are equally guilty, one must punish them all alike, but since it is easier to indict than to penalize a whole people, it follows that one must punish nobody. Thus the guilty escape retribution and the innocent are tarred with the brush of obloquy. There is, furthermore, something morally repugnant in the bland assertion that the Germans who suffered tortures in concentration camps are no better than the Germans who inflicted those tortures. The former are, to be sure, in a pitiful minority, but they do exist, and their number runs into the thousands. It is one of the ironies of the whole befogged German situation that MG in no way encourages or favors the German inmates of concentration camps, the K.Z.'s, and usually prefers those who never raised a voice against the Nazi terror. K.Z.'s, far from being accepted as fighters against Nazism, are just tolerated; in some cities—in Munich, for example—they have genuine grievances.

The anti-reds among MG officers allow their attitude toward German problems to be colored by their unreasoning hostility to Russia and their emotional bias against communism. To them anti-fascists, Social Democrats, Communists, and Left Centrists are nothing but reds, and reds are of course worse than Nazis. These MG men are susceptible to pan-German and Nazi propaganda, which tirelessly hammers away at the thesis that Russia, not Germany, is the real enemy, and that Europe is threatened by a Communist revolution. In consequence they develop an almost unconscious predisposition in favor of Nazis, who are supposed to be the champions against communism. The red-baiters justify their attitude by saying that, after all, the Nazis are just a political party, something like Republicans and Democrats at home. To the statement that the Nazis are anti-democratic, the anti-reds reply cynically, "Do you mean to say you are naive enough to believe that we have democracy in America?"

I repeat: the anti-Germans and anti-reds form only a minority of MG personnel. But they do help to set the tone, particularly in view of the political neutrality of the majority of MG officers, and their views affect the carrying out of policy in their jurisdictions. I have said enough to show why a fundamental change in MG personnel and policies is needed. Subsequently I shall describe MG at work—how it operated at Aachen, the first large MG experiment, and more recently at Munich, the metropolis of the American zone.

[This is the second of a series of articles on Military Government and democracy in Germany.]

In the Wind

POLITICAL ECONOMY: "Republican control of the state," said the Chicago *Tribune* of September 6, "is retained by a thread. . . . The party has a good deal of legitimate patronage at the disposal of the state administration. It should be used to strengthen its organization in Chicago. The election returns over the last few years raise a strong suspicion that that patronage isn't going into the right hands."

RACE RELATIONS: Miss Etta McGee, a Negro of Evanston, Illinois, recently called on a friend at the Orrington Hotel there and was told to use the service elevator. Palmer Jones, manager, told representatives of the Evanston and North Shore Civil Liberties committees that the hotel "assumes that all Negroes are servants and therefore directs them to use the service elevator." The Civil Liberties committees are making this a test case under the state civil-rights law.

LABOR RELATIONS: *Business Week* for September 22 carries on the first page of its labor section a photograph with the caption "Preparations for Peace-Time Living." It shows one of two armored reconnaissance cars purchased from the army by the Cleveland police "to augment their fleet of squad cars. The 'cruisers' will mount two machine-guns each."

EDUCATION: A. A. Nichoson, assistant vice-president of the Texas Company, gave this advice to the Kansas City Real Estate Board on September 14, as reported in the Kansas City *Star*: "As for the selling of the post-war product, Nichoson pointed out that the salesman must learn to reach the emotions of the prospective buyer in preference to his reasoning. 'Education has fallen down,' he said, 'when it has failed to enlarge its methods in teaching emotion while the emphasis has been on reasoning.' "

EUGENICS: Scientific note from Pamphlet No. 40 of the Eugenics Society of Northern California: "Displacement of our native robins by immigrant English sparrows is described in *Condor* Jan.-Feb., 1945, number by Mr. Frank Richardson. . . . If this story could penetrate the consciousness of every Senator and Representative at Washington, it would end carelessness in immigration-control legislation. . . . If U. S. A. had been wiser as to immigration control, Pearl Harbor might have been avoided."

WRONG NUMBER: From the script of the Fred Waring show on N. B. C. September 18: "Now we turn our attention to South America, where so many countries are celebrating their independence—all this week. Here's 'Down Argentine Way.' "

HANDS ACROSS THE SEA: The Shirley Food Stores advertised sliced ham in the Washington *Post* of September 14 thus: "Ah! Slices of ham browned a bit . . . and cream gravy and mashed potatoes, and green peas! Enjoy it like people would in England!"

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

Diplomats in Conference

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

(Professor of political science at the University of London and chairman of the British Labor Party Executive)

London, September 15

THE big automobiles draw up elegantly at Lancaster House. The little crowd presses nearer to catch a glimpse of the statesmen who pass swiftly through the entrance. The secret police take a sharp look around to make sure that no dangerous character of the political underworld has slipped past them. As the Foreign Ministers enter, to the click of fifty cameras from the newspaper photographers of twenty nations, they try to look indifferent to the knowledge that they are already a part of history and that at tomorrow's breakfast tables their wives and children, friends and enemies will be gazing at the scene. After the last one has arrived, the policemen good-humoredly move the crowd on with the assurance that the show is over for the day.

Within, everything is ready for the statesmen to begin their work. Their deputies sit beside them, with their papers neatly arranged in the exact order of the agenda for the session; behind the Ministers are their secretaries, with duplicate papers in case of mishap; and behind the secretaries are the experts—learned historians who know everything that was said and done at the Congress of Vienna, sociologists who have twice taken an ethnic census of the population of Trieste, eager young American lawyers who can compile a brief on the Trentino almost as easily as one on the Teamsters' Union in Seattle. The experts have never shared the lives of the men and women whose fate they will help to decide; they have been chosen because they have read in the unpublished archives of half a dozen countries the *aides-mémoire* of earlier experts long since in their graves, or because they once suggested a happy phrase to a Minister who had got stuck in the middle of an important sentence, or because they read papers for an important personage and thus save his eyes and time. In the row behind them are the secretaries to the secretaries, miraculously capable of recording every word said; late in the evening they will deliver to the next grade in the hierarchy a flawless transcript, and later still the experts will explain to the Ministers the exact meaning of the things to which they have committed themselves and to which they have delivered up the patient masses who have no function but to await the decisions made for them.

All concerned realize the importance of the work they are doing at Lancaster House. It is a complex and massive task for tired men, many of whom learn of a problem for the first time when they have to decide it. They are all oppressed by the defective preparation, the overwhelming amount of material, the absence of clear directives, the difficulty of coordination. Did Mr. Molotov make his point precisely clear to Mr. Bevin? Did Mr. Byrnes grasp just what was behind that emphasis of M. Bidault which caused the British experts such acute perplexity? To the distress of all the others each one of them makes separate agreements, throws out separate "feelers" to this state or that, passes swiftly from the unity of war aims to the division of unreconciled philosophies of peace. Though all agree that only the great powers can really direct the process of peace-making, each is careful to consult the representatives of the smaller powers, who, excluded from the inner discussions, find compensation in lobbying and memorializing and getting this or that eminent journalist to publish their propaganda or to launch some useful, if sinister, rumor.

There are also the dinner parties and the receptions without which no conference is complete. Most of them are magnificently staged, and to all but the old hands a little bewildering, even awe-inspiring. Just what does it mean that the Yugoslav Minister was invited to this dinner but not to that? What is behind that earnest smile on Mr. Noel-Baker's face as he talks to the French Ambassador? Is it significant that Mr. Bevin is listening in a corner to the obviously vivid talk of the Italian representative, who gesticulates as eloquently as he speaks? When Mr. Byrnes was talking to that high-ranking British officer, what was the rest of the sentence of which the visiting French diplomat caught only the words "atomic bomb"? Is there some special reason why the reserved British Prime Minister and the smiling but shy Benjamin Cohen, of the American delegation, seem when they meet to engage in a game of dumb crambo? Is the sum total of ministerial exhaustion at the evening entertainments balanced by the delight of the academic experts in these threats to their digestions? Is this long succession of receptions to half the world and dinners to the influential few a really useful way of making contacts without journalistic interference, or is it part of that dreary diplomatic ritual which made Colonel House, a quarter of a century ago, write angrily in his diary that "much of the time of the conference was wasted in a grotesque effort not to offend"? One day, perhaps, Sir Edward Crankshaw, who seems less weighed down with responsibility and innermost secrets than was Lord Hankey as Secretary to the British Cabinet, may try to measure the moral and intellectual value of his skill in arranging post-prandial contacts which, despite the protocol, are intended to appear spontaneous.

I doubt whether anyone who watches, even at a properly respectful distance, the eminent and less eminent actors in this elegant if slow-moving ballet can help contrasting the hot-house world in which it is staged with the cold facts of the world outside. Millions of people—when there are millions they become a meaningless abstraction—are on the road in Europe—old people and young people; men, women, and children; soldiers, airmen, and civilians; Poles, Germans, Jews, Spaniards, and Italians. The wrongs they have done or the wrongs done to them now seem to matter less than the fact that they must be divided into those who will die this winter and those who will not die. Most of them are penniless, all are hungry, many are stricken with disease. In terror of the police, they dream that beneath the uniform of a British or an American soldier they will find the kindly heart of a powerful magician. They do not know where they are going, or whether they will ever arrive. They die afresh every day while diplomats in conference and military governments in occupied territories prepare against the need to bury them. If the meetings of Ministers make a noble minuet, is it exaggeration to describe these mass-migrations as a dance of death?

I think of a lonely girl in a Chelsea flat, fearing, hoping, always waiting. Her husband was last heard of, wounded, on the land side of Singapore, the day before its surrender. All these years she has waited for the telegram that does not come. She telephones in a fierce frenzy to this friend or that who may perhaps have access to some eminence in the War Office willing to send an urgent telegram of inquiry to Singapore. She goes to the War Office and fights her way to the room of a tired but kindly officer who tells her that all is being done that can be done, that every speck of information is being collected that it is possible to collect.

I should like to put this girl for whom life is tortured waiting, or some tired old Jew from that uncounted army of marching derelicts, into the conference room at Lancaster House. They might symbolize to the Council of Foreign Ministers, to their alternates and experts and secretaries, the inner reality of their discussions. They might convince them that they meet, not at St. James's, London, but at Golgotha, where they must seek to prevent a new crucifixion of mankind.

Some Don't Wear the Purple Heart

BY FRANK N. TRAGER

(After thirty months of service as an army psychologist, Mr. Trager has recently regained civilian status. He is the author of an article in The Nation *for July 14 signed Militaris.)*

IN THE First World War one fighting man out of every seven casualties suffered from neuropsychiatric breakdown. According to competent authority each such casualty cost $34,000. In this war, in which the total casulties were much greater than in World War I, no final figures have been released. The dollar costs will undoubtedly be relatively as well as absolutely higher. As of October 1, 1945, disability pensions for neuropsychiatric injuries have been awarded to approximately 300,000 men and women. By the time demobilization has been completed, the ratio to all casualties will probably be higher than the earlier one of one in seven.

In World War I the typical psychoneurotic breakdown, known as "shell-shock," was actually a form of naive hysteria with conversion symptoms producing temporary paralysis and/or loss of some sensory reactions. In World War II the typical diagnosis has been "anxiety reaction." Its elements are fear, startle reactions, tremors, guilt feelings, gastro-intestinal upsets, irritability, restiveness, and the like. It occurs usually as an end product of a series of traumatic events, either during or after combat. For example:

> S/Sgt. R. C., twenty-seven years old, married, no children, almost three years in the Pacific, fine mechanic, rotated for regular furlough, "broke down" in this country and had to be discharged. He is a sober, conscientious individual who always won commendation for his meticulous performance. But he could not return to duty, for he could "take" no more. He felt guilty for "quitting," could not understand that three years' service plus two attacks of dengué fever and various traumatic experiences which included finding a dismembered marine and the head of a Jap had worn him out.

or

> Sgt. B., twenty-three, only survivor when his plane collided with another; he plummeted in the split-off tail and managed to get out at about 1,000 feet. He hated planes after that, kept "seeing" his buddies burn, felt he should not be alive, or should "at least" be avenging them, but could not get into combat again.

These men, and others like them, are suffering from deep-seated anxieties which get worse the longer they remain untreated. Their emotional disturbances are as real and as serious as any disabling wound. They require careful psychiatric attention unless we are prepared to repeat the errors of omission and commission perpetrated upon the "shell-shocked" veterans of the last war.

Thus far few explanations have been offered for the sharp difference in the soldiers' psychic reaction to the two wars. True, this war has lasted longer; there have been greater hazards; flying, a major part of World War II, is in itself more difficult to "take" than land warfare. Dr. E. A. Strecker, consultant to the surgeons general for the army, navy, and air forces, believes that the present clinical manifestations of anxiety neurosis mean that "deeper emotional recesses have been penetrated . . . that we have come perilously close to the saturation point of human emotions, and that while there may be no limit to the resources of engineering genius in perfecting machines of war, there is a limit to the capacity of human emotions to survive the psychic devastation and degradation which are produced."

To restore to health men functionally disabled in this war, the public, the government, and the Veterans Administration must cooperate as they never have before. Medical science has made great advances; the armed forces have been awakened to the gravity of the situation by sheer professional persistence; personnel, though still insufficient, has been made available in greater numbers. Only the will and the wisdom to carry out promptly an adequate therapeutic program are needed.

Certain fundamental facts must be kept in mind. In the first place, men who receive a medical discharge from the armed forces are sick or wounded men. The more obvious instances, the amputation cases, always excite sympathy. The others, functionally or organically wounded, are often ignored. It should be remembered that the armed forces discharge these men as soon as it is medically possible, that is, before *complete* restoration. In the second place, the soldier with a neuropsychiatric wound will *appear* to be a whole man. In fact he will be as much a wounded veteran as if his body bad been pierced by bullets or shell fragments. Emotional disorder needs treatment even though no purple heart is awarded for it. Moreover, if the organically wounded soldier is disabled either for a long time—as in regeneration of nerve injuries—or permanently, he needs psychiatric as well as physical medical service both before and, frequently, after he is discharged.

Once the public has an elementary appreciation of his condition, it will recognize its responsibility for the wounded veteran—and I mean both the physically and the psychically wounded man. The armed forces have developed excellent convalescent programs for these men while they are still in "service," and there is no reason why they should not get equally good physical and emotional care during their period of civilian adjustment.[*] However, the present Veterans Administration does not yet supply it. A program which can truly help a man to recover from combat must be based on three principles: (1) integration of medical services, so that a man is thoroughly examined organically and functionally and not bedded unless necessary; (2) freedom of choice for the soldier among such beneficent activities as shops, classes, games, and sports; (3) vocational preparation for renewed army duty or civilian life.

The program developed by the army should be examined and adapted to civilian life. Its out-patient concepts should be applied in the Veterans Administration and community agencies. But something else is needed: public and private institutions must be educated to the continuing needs of the discharged veteran. The army discharges a man as "improved" who has achieved the maximum benefit under its administration but who is not cured. He will need further help in civilian life, especially when the initial excitement of the return has worn off and when adversity hits him, in his emotions or his pocket-book.

I doubt whether the army, as constituted at present, can help in this task of public education. Many men resent the army's rigid caste system, so thoroughly un-American in its structure and function. Perhaps the air force, which pioneered in this field and has been less affected by caste, can help the public to understand the problems of the returning men.

The public must learn that the sensitive, permanently wounded veteran can acquire a secure place in society if he is given a chance to regain his inner equilibrium. The public must realize that the psychoneurotic ex-soldier is *not* "crazy" or "going insane." He is a man whose emotional balance has been sharply disturbed by the fears and anxieties legitimately created by participation in man's greatest social evil—war. It is almost certain that this balance can be restored completely by a program of medical guidance, gainful activity, and love.

The public can provide the security, the family the love. Competent professional assistance is more difficult to obtain. Even after doctors have been released by the armed forces, there will not be enough psychiatrists to meet the need. It should be possible, however, to provide adequate care for ex-soldiers through guidance clinics and out-patient treatment, through greater utilization of trained psychiatric social workers and psychologists, and through accelerated training of regular medical doctors, who can be fitted into civilian clinics much as "assistant psychiatrists" were trained by the AAF.

Obviously, we are not yet prepared for such a program. The Veterans Administration, which should have been geared for this, is handicapped by the dead weight of its past. Perhaps General Bradley can move this dead weight. Already, partly in response to public pressure, the neuropsychiatric division of the VA has been given the signal to expand after years of humiliating stultification. Counseling services should be set up at all Veterans' Service Centers and comparable social agencies; similar services should be provided by the personnel departments of industry and particularly by unions. The returned soldier does not need maudlin sympathy or coddling; he may need a helping hand to restore his inner reservoir of emotional strength. Take, for example:

> Sgt. R. O'C., twenty-three years old, married, no children. He was evacuated from one of the Marshall Islands after repeated exposure to enemy bombs. His outfit, a headquarters company, had little or no means with which to "fight back." Sgt. O'C. got "the shakes," couldn't sleep, and when he arrived at the Convalescent Center he was twenty-eight pounds under weight, still shaking, and sweating profusely. He couldn't keep food down, had nightmares, and almost literally jumped at unexpected sounds. He was treated with pentothal, one of the "uncovering" drugs, on the basis of which a program of counseling and activity was prescribed. Ten weeks later he was discharged for anxiety neurosis. He was given every advantage of the convalescent-hospital program—including vocational testing. The outcome indicated the type of job he should seek. During his treatment he was given time to go home, arrange the details with his wife—it will be their first home after two and a half years of married life—seek employment with a concern which could use his indicated skills. He was vocationally tested by this company, confirming the above findings. Today he is thoroughly on the road to complete recovery. He has security and love, is reacquiring contact with reality, and is thus able to dispose of his fears. The traumatic events of the past will disappear because he has been facing, *not* repressing them. He knows that he can find counseling services if he needs them. For all purposes he is "set."

The anxiety-ridden veteran is not unlike the child who slowly and painfully has to socialize his individual world of fantasy—and nightmare. The veteran has to a certain extent

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[*] The AAF pioneered in this field. The key man has been Colonel Howard Rusk. In December, 1942, encouraged by Air Surgeon General Grant, Colonel Rusk began the job of persuading some 250 AAF Station Hospitals to accept in principle the theory of an *active* convalescence. His program restored men to health and duty faster and reduced the incidence of relapse. In September, 1943, the Surgeon General of the army showed his approval of the program by adopting it. In the AAF it was called "convalescent training"; in the army "reconditioning." In November, 1943, Colonel Rusk pushed on. He organized a seminar for twenty-two medical and administrative officers (I was the only enlisted man at this first seminar) who should plan and launch a program for eight new convalescent centers. He enlisted the experience of the New York Institute for the Crippled and Disabled and, again with the blessing of General Grant, formulated the policy which guided these new centers. In short order, the Surgeon General followed suit.

"regressed" to a dependent, childlike state. His return to an adult world of reality can surely be predicted. He can be aided, not by babying, scolding, bribing, but by treating him progressively as a real person with rights and duties. The family setting, parental or conjugal, can provide much of this; but just as contemporary experience proves the wisdom of treating both the parent and the child when the child has become a problem, so, too, the family as well as the soldier can benefit from expert advice. Rest and isolation are not the therapy for these men. In most instances they do not need long vacations. They do need gradual participation in the life about them, along with the security and affection and insight which society and the family can contribute to their recovery. This much we have learned: in a third world war emotional devastation would probably parallel the devastation of atomic power.

The Driver Was a Nice Guy

BY EDGAR BROOKE

(A native of Richmond, Virginia, now an officer in the United States Naval Reserve)

IT TOOK me about an hour and a half to fly from the army's Bolling Field, at Washington, to Winston-Salem, two-thirds of the distance to Union, South Carolina. The remaining third took ten and a half hours. The operations-duty officer at Winston-Salem regretfully explained that no southbound planes were leaving the field until the next day. My only recourse was the Greyhound bus. I found the platform jammed, which made me among the last to get on the bus, and so I had to stand, up front near the driver. That night on this and other buses made me feel as if I had been projected back fifty years in time. It was because of the people.

There is apparently something about driving a bus which affects the personality of the driver, as appearing on the stage affects an actor. Our driver was an engaging example of his trade. He was the blond, heavy type that we see labeled fullback on the sports pages. He radiated good cheer, was pleased with himself and the world. Everyone liked him. His manner infected the passengers and established a friendly atmosphere. His occasional sallies and his accounts of the local landmarks drew an intimate response, as in a little theater.

My naval officer's uniform obtained a special mark of favor from him. He pulled down a concealed seat to his right, just inside the door, and cordially insisted that I occupy it. Over my head passed a conversation which disclosed something of his background. A lean young man who might have been painted by Thomas Eakins was evidently an old friend of the driver's. It developed that they had graduated together from the Statesville High School, known the same people, gone with the same girls. They were probably called by their first names by half the people in Statesville.

The driver and his friend were affectionately insulting each other, running down each other's tastes, habits, and progress in life to date, when the driver abruptly broke off the talk, slammed on the brakes, and brought the heavy bus to a halt. The voice in which he then spoke, as he glared into the mirror over his head, bore little resemblance to the lazy, amiable tones of a minute before. It was cold, menacing, hostile.

"You nigger," he shouted, "get out of that seat! Get out! That stuff doesn't go on this bus. No nigger sits down when white people are standing. That's right. Now you, sir—" to a white man in the aisle—"you take that seat." The passengers reacted to this episode with apathy; no one said a word. Soon we pulled into a village, and the driver called out, "Ten-minute stop!" The bus station here was a drugstore, toward which the driver headed. A policeman sauntered out to greet him, a tall, white-haired, red-faced man, with slouched, powerful shoulders. The driver laughingly told him about the nerve of the "damn nigger" in taking the seat and about how he had told him off. The cop listened with relish, and his seamed face grinned evilly. "Nigger took a seat on the bus," he said softly, raised his clenched fist, shook it meaningfully, and said, "Bus' him in the head! Bus' him in the head!"

The next incident occurred an hour later in Statesville, where we made a thirty-minute stop. The passengers were sauntering in twos and threes out of the restaurant by the station and going back to their seats in the bus. As I stood on the platform, my attention was caught by a group off to my left. A short Negro soldier, a private, wearing combat and good-conduct ribbons, was bidding his family goodby. They were all emotional, and the eight-year-old daughter's eyes were glistening with tears. "Don't cry, honey," the soldier said, "I'll be back soon." He turned and headed for the bus, lurching a bit in his emotion, which was heightened perhaps by a couple of drinks. Inadvertently he walked between two white couples conversing nearby. He muttered an apology and boarded the bus. He had got halfway down the aisle when the bus driver raced over, hammered on the side, and bellowed, "You, nigger! Get off that bus! Get off!" The Negro went back toward the door, and the driver caught his arm and pulled him off. "Now get away from here and don't come back."

"I got my ticket. I got my ticket," the Negro protested. "I'se got to git back to camp. I ain't done nothing."

An electric change had come over everyone standing around the platform. The Negro soldier slowly walked back to his family, who were shocked into stillness. His wife began to reason with him. "I've worked for you," she said with low fierceness. "Now be quiet. Don't git in no trouble."

"Lock me up," the soldier began in a chanting voice, "Let 'em lock me up. I ain't done nothing. Lock me up."

A group of young Negro men and girls on my right were arguing in undertones. I heard enough to know that the men were threatening violence and the girls were urging them to keep out of it. A Negro girl of about twenty, at this point, came up behind me where I stood alone and deliberately bumped me as she passed. A comprehension of the evil feelings among all the whites and Negroes there went over me, and the hopelessness of the situation so affected me that a cold sweat broke out on my forehead and my stomach churned with nausea. I had to sit down on a platform step to regain physical control and did not entirely succeed until I had found a seat on an extra bus which was added here and we were under way with the cool air blowing in the window. As we pulled away from the station, I saw two big policemen with the bewildered Negro soldier between them, force-marching him down the street, obviously to the jail.

Perhaps the nausea which assailed me came from a sense of guilt in my having made no effort to intervene, to protest, to assert the injustice of the treatment which the Negro had received. I had wanted to take the Negro's side against the bus driver but had desisted out of a conviction that my effort would be futile and a fear that it might be the spark to set off general violence. A riot was very close.

The most dismaying feature of the whole situation was this: it was clearly impossible for either whites or Negroes here to achieve tolerance toward the other race, and nothing else will really do. No man could make that Negro soldier alter his way of thinking and feeling; nothing could adequately lift his powers of understanding; nothing soften his sense of persecution and permit forgiveness. And, clearly, no one could make that bus driver realize how tragically guilty, sadistic, unjust he was. "I hate a nigger," he had said. Who could teach him better?

Spanish Prison

BY PERCY WINNER

(Percy Winner, a newspaperman and radio commentator, was on General Eisenhower's staff as chief of propaganda operations in North Africa; later he became deputy director of the Overseas Branch of the Office of War Information.)

IN MADRID the American colonel couldn't figure it out. "What's got into the folks back home?" he demanded. "Why are so many of them yapping about conditions over here, and what's wrong with conditions anyway? I walk all over this town and everybody I see and talk to is all right." The colonel wasn't with me that night when Pedrazza, who still limped from the wound he'd got in Russia, drove me toward a pool of light which hung over the dark streets. As the car passed the high walls behind which were the glaring flood lights that illuminated the sky, Pedrazza was busy watching the street ahead. "You use Nazi methods," I said. Without looking at me Pedrazza said, "They got them from the Russians." It was the first of the many prisons I was to see in Spain, some from the walls, some inside. All were crowded; so were the concentration camps I saw: they were crowded with the men the colonel didn't see or talk to.

The biggest camp in the north was Miranda del Ebro, but they let me see that only from the outside. At Barbastro the stench in the street outside the jail was so strangling that we hadn't the intestinal courage to go in. At Lérida we were in the territory of Captain General Moscardó, the "hero" of the Alcázar, and there wasn't a chance, but we had good luck at Jaca. The cartons of Lucky Strikes and Chesterfields we carried ostentatiously under our arms made the fat little warden eagerly cooperative, and we spent two hours talking to men who had escaped from France. The interviews took place in the low-ceilinged administration room on the second floor. We saw but weren't allowed to talk to the Spanish prisoners, and the foreigners were led in to see us one at a time. For form's sake—there was some sort of vague rule about it—we went through the motions of talking to them through an interpreter. Actually I talked to the men quite freely, as did Mrs. Stebbins, the wife of an American in the embassy, who was also making a tour of inspection. Occasionally the warden would break in with a "What does he say?" and the gaunt, shifty-eyed clerk would make a little speech which seldom had anything to do with the questions and answers. All went well until Mrs. Stebbins asked about the food. The French *chef de groupe,* whose dignified bearing contrasted oddly with ugly sores all over his face and shaved head, replied haughtily that it wasn't food which concerned his men; it was the length of time they had to wait to be free. "Of course," he said, "I wish to say, free to fight. It is the only freedom that interests us. Time presses." The clerk-interpreter hesitated, looked down at the two cartons of cigarettes on the ink-stained wooden table. Before he could find words for his speech, the *chef de groupe* interposed: "One can tell him that the nourishment is sufficient, that is to say, we eat better than the Spaniards." The interpreter looked frightened; then he translated: "He says they are treated well, the food is good." Pleasure loosened the folds of fat of the warden's cheeks. He shouted a sentence I did not understand, and presently the door opened to admit two little men carrying between them a large tin bucket. In it was a pale mustard-colored fluid with green gobs floating on the surface. This, the warden explained, was the superior soup prepared specially for the foreigners. Mrs. Stebbins lifted the spoon, sniffed, tasted, and swallowed once. She nodded her head as in approval, but in English said, "Good God! Let's get out of here." In the car she was sick.

Some of the jails in the frontier area were much worse than the one at Jaca. The best of the large prisons was at Pamplona. It was large, fairly new, relatively clean. The day we saw it there were many foreigners in the cells—Frenchmen, Poles, Czechs, Dutchmen, Belgians, a few German deserters, and even a tragic little Hungarian Jew. In most cases, especially among the Frenchmen, it wasn't bad food, vermin, or ill treatment they complained about. They wanted to be free, and free in order to fight; they were worried that the fighting might be finished before they were liberated. We were permitted to talk to all the prisoners, except the Spaniards, individually or in groups, and there was no nonsense about interpreters. One of the Frenchmen, a former army officer, was suspicious of Mrs. Stebbins, and to reassure him she told him we represented "the American government." Letting her sense of the dramatic carry her away, she added, "To tell the truth, my colleague is the personal representative of the President of the United States." That exciting bit of misinformation must have spread quickly through the prison, for several Spanish prisoner-trusties appeared at the doorway of the room in which we were working and stood there staring at me. They left after a while, and I followed them across the corridor into another, smaller room. In the small room I found a uniformed guard sitting on a table against the wall, his rifle slanting between his legs. Standing near him were the three trusties. Smoking American cigarettes from Mrs. Stebbins's store, they remained silent, watching me.

I knew I wasn't supposed to talk to them, but they were the first Spanish prisoners I had been able to get close to. I asked one of them how much longer he had to serve. He replied, "I think I have been here five years. They gave me thirty years. How much does that make?" He knew how many, of course. He may even have known how many months and days, but he was being careful, he was telling me, carefully, that a *rojo,* a Republican, still alive, in jail, and a trusty to boot, cannot be too careful with a stranger who has the run of a Franco jail. I said I had just come from America. He arched his brows, registering polite interest, but his face showed he wasn't going to be any the less careful. I said I was going back to America to make a report. That was why I was questioning the foreigners. I had come in here for a rest from the interviews. By the way, did they have enough cigarettes? Yes, they had, he said. I said I had been in many prisons and this was a good one. Yes, it was, the trusty said. I waited. None of the Spaniards said anything. I said I didn't think I'd mind so very much being in this kind of a prison if I had to be "inside," but I supposed I'd want very much to be "outside." Didn't he? There was a pause, a rather heavy pause, and I turned my head to see whether there was anyone at the door. The trusty slowly, carefully took the cigarette out of his mouth, looked first at the other trusties, then at the guard, finally at me. "Why?" That was all he said. "Why?" I echoed. "To be free, of course. Doesn't everyone want to be free?" "*Claro,*" the trusty agreed; "everyone wants to be free. But why should I want to be outside?" One of the other trusties chimed in, "We are well here, we eat, we live; why should we want to be outside?" The guard laughed. I must have looked pretty blank, for the guard spoke to me as if it was plain that I was a foreigner, needing to be helped. "Look, Mr. American," he said, "they wish to say that a man is not free outside. Not now. *You* are free outside. For us, it is not worth the pain to be outside. Not for a *rojo*. Not for a National like me either. I myself, I say it." The guard was a man of tact and generosity; he liked American cigarettes very much, but the Caudillo supplied his bread and filled his wine glass. He grasped his rifle, slid off the table, brushed straight the folds of his uniform, and walked out of the room.

"What do you want to know?" the first trusty asked quietly after the guard was out of the room. "Whether we," he gestured toward the cell block, "want to be free? Yes. We want Spain to be free, and then we Spaniards can be free." "But," I interrupted, "don't you want to help Spain free herself?" "Look, Mr. American," the trusty replied, speaking slowly and making an effort to be patient, "I know that those others, the foreigners, want to be outside. They want to go where they can fight for their country. Good. Let them go and may they have good fortune. We fought and we lost. We fought for them too, and they did not know it. Now it is their turn. They want to fight, and they have the chance to fight. Now it is our turn to wait." I turned to the others and asked whether these were their thoughts too. They said they were. "You must remember," the first man began again, "that we were defeated by foreigners. Time was against us then. It works for us now. The men in Madrid know it too. That is why they try to destroy us—so that when the time comes again to fight, there will be few of us left. It is their kind of war. They must be many against few. They must have arms against men who do not have arms. Yes, Mr. American, any Spaniard who wants to be free can do worse than to wait here, inside, for a chance to die with a gun in his hand like a man. Outside, now, a Spaniard cannot live like a man and he cannot die like a man." He stopped. The guard was at the door. The session was finished.

A few days later I told a group of friends the story of the Frenchman who was in a hurry and the Spaniard who wasn't. We were in the cafe of the Hotel del Norte in Irun. M. A—— of the French Red Cross replied. "It is a question of the chapter," he said. "We have a volume of history to write with our work, our blood, our faith. We Frenchmen and the Spaniards are working on different chapters. They fought for freedom first, they fought against the same enemies, they were defeated first. Only they fought for us too, and now they have the right to wait while we fight for them." A Spaniard spoke. "If you will permit me," he said, "we have the duty, too. Yes, the duty. The first task of a Spaniard who wants freedom for his country—and how can a man be free if his country is not free?—is to survive. And for a Spaniard who wants freedom for his country it is not easy to survive, even in prison. Day by day, week by week, month by month, Spaniards have been taken outside, to die. In Spain it is now the highest social duty to survive. It takes the greatest heroism to wait quietly for the time to act. When that time comes, we cannot expect the graves to open to give us Spaniards. We cannot expect help from outside the prison which is Franco Spain. No. We must survive for a chance to die—and to die well, so that Spain can live again, a Spain where a man can be a man. Freedom? Yes, of course. But it is not enough. There must be dignity and pride and honor, too. There must be love and the passion of faith."

Late that night, M. A—— and I stood looking over the Bidasoa toward France. The air was soft and perfumed. "It is hard to wait," he said. "But neither for France nor for Spain is the present chapter the last. There remains much to be done. But we shall do it, with love and the passion of faith."

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Back Number Talk

THE GERMAN TALKS BACK. By Heinrich Hauser. Henry Holt and Company. $2.50.

WITH the rhetoric of sales talk the publishers headline the advertisements of this volume with the question: "How dangerous is a book?" They would have done better to ask themselves, and seriously: "How dangerous is a book *title?*" The one they recklessly chose for Herr Hauser's attempt to *"épater l'Américain"* is, to say the least, grossly misleading. Heinrich Hauser is a German. He is not "the German" any more than, say, a Lavalist is "the Frenchman" or Senator Bilbo is "the American." Germans will talk back some day, those Germans who were betrayed in their fight against the Nazis by the big powers which found Hitler useful against one another. Those Germans will talk back, as will the Austrians, the Spaniards, the Czechs, the Greeks, and all the others who were sacrificed before Hitler forced his open or secret allies to become "liberators." The prematurely aged, bombed-out children of Coventry and Berlin will enter upon a great dialogue. But Herr Hauser's harangue, intermittently hysterical and sentimental, or flippant and monocled, is not the opening voice of this future chorus. His publishers, however, have persuaded themselves—as they explain in an uneasy notice to the reader—that this exposition of Hauser's state of mind can "honestly be issued as a representation of a dominant state of mind in contemporary Germany"—as if, to begin with, there were any certainty that such a thing exists at all or can at this juncture be recognized. To issue the rantings of Gerald L. K. Smith as representative of contemporary America would be an equally justifiable publishing scoop.

The publishers' claim will be admitted only by those readers who out of one emotion or another are disposed to believe every absurdity so long as it is anti-German. And these may not even notice that it must be quite impossible for the German people, especially after their experiences of the past few years, to have the thoughts and feelings of a man, adventurous by disposition, who has spent twenty of his forty-three years outside Germany, the last six of them in the United States. The objective reader will take this "document" of mental and moral atrocity for what it is, the self-exposure of a dated German variety of a type which can be found in any nation—the haughty, ambitious individual who thinks of himself as "élite" and of the common people as canaille. It is no accident that Herr Hauser learned his first political lessons as a member of the *soldateska* which murdered Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, and countless unknown fighters who, whatever their illusions were, knew as early as the end of World War I that it was time to get rid of the militaristic rulers of Germany.

Professor Hans J. Morgenthau of the University of Chicago repudiates, in a preface, the more obvious fallacies of Herr Hauser's concepts and in footnotes points out his ignorance and his habitual disregard of facts. Yet the learned historian is not free of the usual misjudgments which result if one treats a nation in a state of civil war, whether latent or active, as a homogeneous entity. He accepts Hauser's thesis that the humanistic tradition of Germany's classical period had long been dead, or had become a charming pastime, because it served the power-wielding class as little more. Yes, Hindenburg prided himself on never having read a book, and after World War I the discharged professional officers and the sons of the impoverished middle class did without books. But from among the people the cry rose, *"Nie wieder Krieg!"* and the German General Staff needed Hitler's terror, and in addition a world economic crisis, to suffocate it. Like Herr Hauser in his superficial glance at American life, so the American historian in his view of Germany ignores the fact that when new means of production (and war) are introduced in any country, "classical traditions" are for the time pushed into the background—this does not mean that they are dead. And where is the happy nation which is able simultaneously to absorb modern technology and to stress the values achieved during more reflective periods?

Professor Morgenthau is to be thanked for contradicting, partly at least, the publishers' contention as to Herr Hauser's significance. He says that while this German does not speak for the German people as a whole, "he certainly speaks for the politically active intellectual élite." But this is still an overestimation. The *Tatkreis* to which Herr Hauser belonged was a group of nationalist speculators who took care to climb on the Nazi band-wagon when the time came. The German people's true intellectual spokesmen, like Carl von Ossietzky, to name only one, were thrown into concentration camps and murdered by Himmler's predecessor in command of the terror, Marshal Göring, to whom Hauser dedicated one of his books at the time—a fact he forgets to mention now.

Hauser's avowed purpose in talking at all is to interpret Germany to America, and he promises in the future to interpret America to Germany. The kind of service which he renders and will render in this capacity can be judged from his axioms: Democracy is under no circumstances whatsoever suitable for the Germans; Prussianism equals socialism; American democracy is irresponsible mass-rule *and* slavery, typified by the Taylor system. With Hollywood, the commercially misused radio, high-pressure salesmanship, and similar manifestations he is, of course, justly irritated, as is everyone else. But he confronts Babbitt not with the German *Koofmich* but with an abstraction—the spartan Prussian who serves his people unselfishly and knows no other impulse than the Categorical Imperative. It is one thing to criticize manifestations, another to diagnose their causes. Herr Hauser fails here, as his already obsolete political prophecies show. The realities of the dawning atomic age will prove stronger than the historical neurosis of nationalists.

The interpreter Hauser never sees the world as a whole, nor how much of it exists outside of America, Germany, and Russia. He does not see the creatures called human slowly emerging from a wilderness of scarcity and disease, still obsessed by once reasonable but now obsolete fears; nor is he able to draw useful conclusions from their not so very different phases of development. He does not understand the meaning of the concept that "all men are created equal," and he does not perceive that the privileged among men who look down at the "masses" and mock them, instead of feeling responsible for their plight, are separators, not interpreters. FRANZ HOELLERING

Ends and Means of Education

IS social planning compatible with democracy? This is probably the greatest single question of our day. The liberal would answer, "Yes, if the means can be devised by which people may learn how to solve their problems cooperatively on every level, from that of the local community to that of an international order." The basis for this positive freedom, the essence of which is rational agreement for the attainment of common ends, could be provided by a system of education which would produce a socialized intelligence capable of applying the methods of science to the problems of society. As John Dewey has said, "Democracy must be born anew every generation, and education is the midwife." The dominant issue in education today is whether it should be designed to promote such enlightened participation of everyone or be based on the assumption that the organization and control of society are the prerogative of a hereditary or self-constituted élite.

The contributors to "The Authoritarian Attempt to Capture Education," a collection of the papers delivered at the second annual Conference on the Scientific Spirit and Democratic Faith (King's Crown Press, $2.50), are clearly aware of the issue. Each of them attempts to define it in relation to his particular topic. The several papers are uneven in merit. One or two of them are brilliant. John Dewey's brief preliminary essay, The Democratic Faith in Education, gives a wholly adequate definition of the problem before the conference. Arthur E. Murphy's criticism of Tradition and Traditionalists (that is, St. John's College and the Education for Freedom programs over the Mutual Broadcasting System) is the most trenchant analysis of that particular brand of authoritarianism that I have yet encountered. But as I continued reading these essays—which deal with the newspaper and the radio, the role of science in our increasingly complex society, the contribution of progressive education, the ends of liberal and vocational education, the place of religion in a democracy—an increasing sense of disappointment grew upon me. The book as a whole seemed to provide definitions without diagnosis. Its authors were meeting the challenge of the authoritarians on their own ground. It was essentially an exchange of arguments. The main battle had not yet been joined; and after such a skirmish each side might retire in good order.

Discussions of this sort do not, I think, go to the root of the authoritarian threat. In combating the theories of articulate and highly sophisticated proponents of authoritarianism, these writers seem to turn their backs upon the vastly more potent but inarticulate and surreptitious forces of which those theories are a comparatively insignificant expression. There are no analyses in this book of the way in which our public schools have been covertly used to reinforce class standards in the community, as Warner, Havighurst, and Loeb have shown in "Who Shall Be Educated?"; or of the disturbing evidences of increasing racial tensions and class hatreds, disclosed by Marie Syrkin in "Your School, Your Children"; or of the way in which business associations, fraternal orders, and church groups have brought pressure upon the schools to insure that the right things are taught in the right manner; or of the way in which the cults of guidance, mental tests, objective examinations, and "scientifically" constructed curricula are tending to set up a system of machine-like education for the masses, a factory-like process to produce more factory workers.

It is said in the preface to this volume that "certain organized movements in education constitute a threat to the scientific spirit and democratic faith." Such a threat can be met only by counter-organization. Intellectual leaders in a democratic society must construct working hypotheses that work. Therefore, they must do more than hold conferences. Philosophers must join with social scientists in cooperative research to discover the concrete means of implementing democratic aims. GAIL KENNEDY

The Rocking Chair

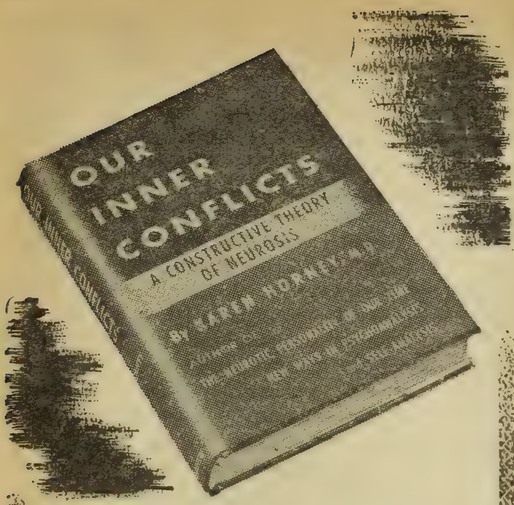
It seconds the crickets of the province. Heard
in the clean lamplit farmhouses of Quebec,
wooden, it is no less a national bird,
and rivals, in its cage, the mere stuttering clock.
To its time, the evenings are rolled away;
and in its peace the pensive mother knits
contentment to be worn by her family
grown-up, but still cradled by the chair in which she sits.

It is also the old man's pet, pair to his pipe,
the two aids of his arithmetic and plans,
plans rocking and puffing into market-shape;
and it is the toddler's game and dangerous dance.
Moved to the verandah, on summer Sundays, it is—
among the hanging plants, the girls, the boy-friends—
sabbatical and clumsy, like the white haloes
dangling above the blue serge suits of the young men.

It has a personality of its own,
is a character (like that old drunk Lacoste,
exhaling amber, and toppling on his pins)
it is alive, individual, and no less
an identity than those about it. And
it is tradition. Centuries have been flicked
from its arcs, alternately flicked and pinned.
It rolls with the gait of St. Malo. It is act

and symbol, symbol of this static folk
which moves in segments, and returns to base—
a sunken pendulum: invoke, revoke,
loosed yon, leashed hither, motion on no space.
Oh, like some Anjou ballad, all refrain,
which turns about its longing, and seems to move
to make a pleasure out of repeated pain,
its music moves, as if always back to a first love.

A. M. KLEIN



A Constructive Theory of Neurosis

OUR INNER CONFLICTS

by
KAREN HORNEY, M.D.

Author of *The Neurotic Personality in our Time, New Ways in Psychoanalysis* and *Self-Analysis*

Karen Horney's books, notable for original thinking and clear expression, are very widely read and discussed. In *Our Inner Conflicts* she breaks new ground. Here is a book which should benefit all of us who want to know ourselves. It goes beyond the range of merely technical matters or abstract theory. Most of us who live in these difficult times are caught in some of the conflicts here described and need all the help we can get. Though the author makes it clear that severe neuroses belong in the hands of experts, she expresses her conviction that with persistent efforts we can ourselves go a long way toward disentangling our own conflicts. Thus conflicts can be resolved, she says, by changing the conditions within the personality that brought them into being. $3.00

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BRIEFER COMMENT

Introduction to Brazil

GILBERTO FREYRE'S "Brazil: an Interpretation" (Knopf, $2) can be firmly recommended as a mature discussion, from the viewpoint of a somewhat eclectic sociology, of the main cultural forces in Brazilian life. The book opens with a suggestive chapter on the European background of Brazilian history, in which Senhor Freyre attempts a description of the social and psychological characteristics of the original Portuguese colonizers. It is extremely good, though one may think that in attributing the readiness of the Portuguese to consort with Indian women to tradition derived from contact with Moslem conquerors in Iberia he speaks somewhat slightingly of plain concupiscence. There can be few reservations about the chapter called Frontier and Plantation and none at all about Senhor Freyre's discussion of ethnic conditions. This generous, sober-minded, and completely unembarrassed chapter of itself would make the book important to liberals seriously concerned with racial problems in this country. Brazil, says the author, "is a community inclined toward ethnic democracy." Upon the evidence he might have claimed more. At least, if a North American liberal could wake up tomorrow morning to find that the public mind had overnight journeyed one-quarter of the way toward the Brazilian position he would be hugely relieved. If I was less impressed by the section on Regionalism, it is because a foreign reader, particularly one whose earlier background was European, needs greater proof than the author gives of the vitality and wilful energy of Brazilian regionalism. The least valuable chapter, it seems to me, is that which deals with foreign policy. There is a necessarily brief account of the relation of Brazil's modern literature to its social problems.

The faults of the book are obvious enough. One cannot "interpret" a country with so few concepts as Senhor Freyre employs. The sociological method of the book has led to certain lacks. Again, that method is usually accompanied by a vagueness which derives from the habit of taking as dynamic forces what are merely colorations of mind. And this defect is occasionally present. But the merits of the book are many. Within its areas it is rich in fact and suggestive thought; it is generous in temper and as a rule quite candid. There is no padding, and its style is rather better than readable. Senhor Freyre, who has a long-sustained interest in this country and much experience of it, does not see his own country through North American spectacles; yet his North American experiences have enabled him to grasp the nature of his audience. The result is a most serviceable introduction to the study of Brazil. RALPH BATES

Genetics and Physics

"WHAT IS LIFE?" by Erwin Schrödinger (Macmillan, $1.75) offers further proof, if it is needed, that the step from physics to metaphysics is a non sequitur. The book in substance is a brief, extremely condensed account of the present state of genetic studies, sufficiently clear and compre-

PAUL SCOTT MOWRER

THE HOUSE OF EUROPE

Behind the irrefutable aims of the peacemakers are the necessary compromises, the ambiguities, the elaborate system of checks and balances that make the peace work or ultimately wreck it. Paul Mowrer watched the weaving of the peace after World War I, saw it grow and saw it warp and disintegrate. As foreign correspondent of the Chicago Daily News for 30 years in Europe he has had an unparalleled view of power politics in France, in the Balkans and in Africa. Few analysts have had such an opportunity to observe at first hand why that peace failed. Few books could be more timely in a year when we must try again to make the peace stick.

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hensive to commend itself to anyone interested in such matters; but in addition Professor Schrödinger, by profession a physicist—a very distinguished one, by the way—proposes to show that biological principles are formally no different from physical ones. In fact, he is persuaded that biological processes exhibit more fixity, order, and regularity than any others.

Dr. Schrödinger bases this paradoxical view on the statistical nature of modern physics, its inability to predict or control the behavior of anything but large numbers of minute entities. What distinguishes live matter from dead, he feels, is that it consists of an immense multiplicity of disparate individuals, each of them embodying a unique order, continually struggling to replenish that order from the surrounding world. Various speculative notions, such as quantum mechanics and the entropy principle, are invoked to expound this distinction; but it chiefly hinges for Professor Schrödinger on the fact that although the determinants of heredity are in all likelihood molecular, or sub-molecular, they nevertheless display a highly calculable design—except, of course, for those spontaneous mutations that have persistently puzzled geneticists but, as Professor Schrödinger shows, are intelligible enough from the point of view of quantum physics.

Professor Schrödinger's strength as an expositor lies in the relative innocence with which he approaches much of the material he deals with; he warns us that he is a "mere physicist" with no first-hand acquaintance with what he is talking about, that his knowledge of genetics is only book learning. The result is that there is the requisite amount of wonder and incredulity in his discussion to convey the sense of discovery that properly belongs to any subject in its historical aspect. On the other hand, his thesis about organisms possessing "regularity and orderliness unrivaled by anything we meet with in inanimate nature" seems to be largely verbal; it mistakes a formal or methodological condition for a factual or metaphysical one. Admittedly, method in any field is conditioned by subject matter; but in the case of quantum physics the most modest and reasonable assumption—perhaps even the most fruitful one—about the present necessity of formulating laws statistically rather than mechanically is that it stems from the fineness, remoteness, and elusiveness of quantum phenomena.

There is an epilogue, On Determinism and Free Will, propounding a form of Buddhism that suggests, even if the rest of the volume doesn't, that the shoemaker should stick to his last. But on the whole this book is certainly interesting and worth while. MARTIN LEBOWITZ

The PREDICAMENT of MODERN MAN

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HARPER

Congress Versus Executive

"CAN REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT DO THE JOB?" by Thomas K. Finletter (Reynal and Hitchcock, $2) packs a maximum of argument into a minimum of space. In 179 short pages Mr. Finletter first shows convincingly that the "ends to which we have committed ourselves and our means of governing are out of balance" and then advances a scheme for bringing them into harmony. At the core of the breakdown, he argues, is the running conflict between the executive and the legislative branches. "You cannot have a government capable of handling the most difficult problems that peace-time democracy has ever faced, with the two main parts of it at each other's throats." So far, so good. But Mr. Finletter's solution would seem to raise as many problems as it solves. In the direction of substituting a much-needed improvement in liaison between Congress and the Executive he goes much farther than the Kefauver proposal for having Cabinet members appear on the floor of Congress, and even beyond a joint executive-legislative Cabinet. He would amend the Constitution so as to give the President the right to dissolve Congress and call a national election in the event of a deadlock between the two branches. Moreover, he would establish a single six-year term for members of both houses, to run concurrently with the Presidential term. The objective is a homogeneous government, but if the joint Cabinet is to be solidly of the President's party, as Mr. Finletter urges, and Congress is expected to follow its lead, wouldn't the national legislature have the black-and-white alternative of following the executive unswervingly or forcing a new election? Mr. Finletter's plan would assign a much greater degree of power to political parties than they now possess. Perhaps such a development would increase their sense of responsibility, but is it desirable, or even possible, in a country where political parties are merely machines, without ideological distinction? Mr. Finletter's study gets at the heart of an American governmental weakness which is of extreme gravity. However the reader may feel about its specific recommendations, the book deserves a wide circulation and a good deal of thought. R. D.

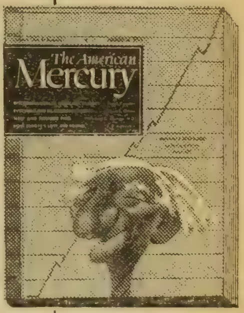
JEWS, CATHOLICS, NEGROES, AND THE MEDICAL COLLEGES

We were advised and cautioned not to print this article. It would rub too many people the wrong way. The survey on which it was based has already stirred up a hornet's nest. But we can't neglect or ignore the subject. When schools like Harvard, Cornell, Yale, Johns Hopkins, Columbia deny to youths the right to become doctors —not on grounds of scholarship, character, personality and other criteria of fitness— but solely on grounds of race and creed, the public ought to know the facts. The matter is long past due for an airing, not only on the score of fair play to minorities, but also for the future welfare of the medical profession. Read "Discrimination in Medical Colleges" by Frank Kingdon, in the October AMERICAN MERCURY.

SLEEP AND SLEEPING PILLS

The nerve strain of war and its aftermath have destroyed sleep. Four million sleeping pills are consumed each day. We read of suicides and accidental deaths ascribed to overdoses. Legislation against the pills is being debated. What is the truth? What makes us sleep? What keeps us awake? Can sleeplessness be overcome without pills? Just how dangerous are the pills? Dr. Theodore G. Klumpp presents all aspects of the problem, and corrects much popular misinformation, in "Sleep and Sleeping Pills."

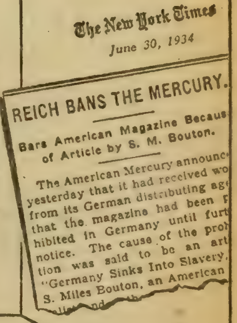
THE AMERICAN MERCURY—for October—NOW ON SALE



What are the Germans like today after five months of defeat? What are they thinking, doing, planning? An O.W.I. official just returned tells you in *Everyday Life in Germany Today*... Your radio may soon "print" your morning newspaper in your own home while you sleep. Read about a sure-to-come development that can revolutionize newspaper publishing, in *The Facsimile Newspaper*... Everybody has heard about the "Beveridge Plan," but few Americans know the fascinating story of its author. William Bayles, noted correspondent, has sketched a dynamic, on-the-scene profile of *Britain's Beveridge*... How would you like to be a Russian official in Washington, beset by spies and informers, with every aspect of your private life strictly supervised? Read *The Life of a Soviet Official Abroad*, by Victor Kravchenko... How can Hitler's concentration camp victims find their American relatives? How can Americans trace their desolate families uprooted in the old country? Read *How Europe's Lost Are Found*... Many other articles in the October issue offer rare reading pleasure, including the regular MERCURY features—*The Library*, the *Check List*, the *Open Forum*, several poems, and a distinguished short story.

A Prophecy Hitler Didn't Like

Recently a friendly reader sent us a clipping from the New York *Times* from way back in 1934. The headline said: "Reich Bans THE MERCURY." It was news to be banned in those days. Later, of course, it became almost disrespectable not to be banned. Our offense was in an article entitled *Germany Sinks Into Slavery*, by S. Miles Bouton, which contained this prophecy: "The Nazi leaders declare that their Third Reich will endure 'forever.' If history has any meaning and if all human experience is not a lie, they are mistaken by a good many millennia. The end will come sooner than a horrified civilization... as yet dares to hope. The only thing uncertain is whether the end will come through revolution or through war. If it be war, that will also be the end of Germany." Think back. That was a daring phophecy in 1934.



The New York Times

June 30, 1934

REICH BANS THE MERCURY.

Bars American Magazine Becaus
of Article by S. M. Bouton.

The American Mercury announc
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that the magazine had been p
hibited in Germany until furt
notice. The cause of the pro
tion was said to be an art
"Germany Sinks Into Slavery,
S. Miles Bouton, an American

Lawrence E. Spivak PUBLISHER

Listen to "MEET THE PRESS"—*The American Mercury radio program over the Mutual network, Friday, Oct. 5, at* 10:30 P.M., E.S.T. *Eric Johnston holds a press conference on the relations between capital and labor.*

FALL BOOKS

NEXT WEEK'S 40 page Fall Book Number will bring *Nation* readers rich and varied commentary on literature and the arts, at home and abroad.

CYRIL CONNOLLY, writing from London, will discuss the effect on life and letters in Britain of the Labor victory, war's end, and other vast events. Mr. Connolly, editor of *Horizon* and author of "The Unquiet Grave," wrote the lively account of Paris Regained which appeared in *The Nation* last spring.

MARGARET MARSHALL will resume her Notes by the Way.

RANDALL JARRELL, one of the most distinguished of contemporary poets, will contribute a long war poem, "Burning the Letters."

KAY BOYLE in "The Jew Is a Myth," gives a dramatic picture of an episode of the Occupation in France, based on the volume, " 'Step-children' of France," by Dr. Charles Odic, recently published.

FICTION IN REVIEW. Diana Trilling will discuss Sinclair Lewis's new novel, "Cass Timberlane." F. W. Dupee will write about significant new poetry in the VERSE CHRONICLE.

IMPORTANT CURRENT BOOKS will be reviewed by George Genzmer, Keith Hutchison, Merle Curti, Rolfe Humphries, Reinhold Niebuhr, Ralph Bates, Clement Greenberg, Delmore Schwartz, and others.

THE ARTS. Joseph Wood Krutch, B. H. Haggin, and James Agee will contribute their regular columns on the Drama, Films, and Music.

NEXT WEEK
in
THE *Nation*

FICTION IN REVIEW

EVERY so often this department comes across a novel which, though it is not worth reading and certainly not worth recommending, is sufficiently meaningful from a social or psychological point of view to be worth writing about. The latest instance of this discrepancy between literary value and sociological interest is "Woman Without Love" by André Maurois (Harper, $2.50). Having lost track of Mr. Maurois's work back in the Ariel-Byron days, I began "Woman Without Love" with, as I see now, a quite inadequate notion of what I should find. Mr. Maurois's new novel is at once less substantial than one might expect from a writer of Mr. Maurois's scholarly commitments and less frothy than I anticipated from a novelist advertised for his "uncanny insight into the mind and heart of a woman." The history of a woman who is unsuccessful in her two marriages because she is sexually frigid, "Woman Without Love" bolsters its unhappy love story with one of those knowing, and thoroughly unrevealing, accounts of contemporary politics which are becoming regulation in French fiction. And its unhappy love story is itself informed with that curious tone of sexual pedantry which one encounters in so many French novels, whether grave or gay, and which is such a contradiction to their supposed sophistication in sexual matters. That is, "Woman Without Love" is one of those books that, in a peculiarly French fashion, simultaneously take everything and nothing for granted.

Of course, the announcement that a male author is notable as an analyst of the female mind is always provocative to the female reader. But myself, I fortify the cliché of resistance to this masculine presumption with the opinion that there is no such thing, for either sex, as being a novelistic specialist in either sex. None of Mr. Maurois's characters, either men or women, have any vital dimension. The virginal heroine of "Woman Without Love," the self-made industrialist, the "myth-eaten" poet, the prudish English governess, the mistress of the industrialist—these are all familiar fictional figures. The fact that Mr. Maurois stays so largely in the mind and heart of a woman, while it may prove a special interest in this woman's problem, proves no special knowledge of women.

What caught my attention in Mr. Maurois's novel is what one might call its unconscious social atmosphere, the insight that—all unaware, I think—Mr. Maurois gives us into the attitude of his section of French society toward the relation of the sexes. Omitting the governess character, who is not only English but portrayed as a bit on the pathological side, "Woman Without Love" opposes to Claire, its frigid heroine, a whole gallery of Frenchwomen whose sexuality the author seems to regard as standard and desirable. There is the free-lance lady who is able to capture both of Claire's husbands; there are Claire's happily married cousin and her twice happily married best friend; there is Claire's mother: all these women, having the unpleasant habit of getting together to discuss the failures of poor Claire, give clear expression to Mr. Maurois's ideas of a proper female attitude toward love and sex. And so far as I can make out, this proper attitude is for a woman to be so engrossed in her husband's career and so ambitious for her family fortunes that she overcomes her own innate non-sexuality in favor of her husband's grosser needs; her marital devotion will then very likely be rewarded with a certain pleasure, for herself too, in the physical intimacies of marriage. Or, in the case of a mistress, a resolute determination to please her lover—that is, to listen to him when he wishes to talk about himself, but never to talk about herself—will similarly be rewarded with satisfactions both physical and financial. Admittedly, this process of a woman's accepting her sexual role requires some schooling and will-power; it is Claire's tragedy that until almost the close of her life she is far too egotistical, too idealistic and romantic, too bluestocking to be able to force this discipline on her body. She herself recognizes her incompetence and suffers miserably from her sexual coldness. She even takes her distress to her gynecologist and to a psychoanalyst. But evidently French medicine shares Mr. Maurois's impatience with a woman who lacks the sense to respond to a good husband. Claire's first husband was one of the richest men in France, her second a famous literary man: what better cure for sexual frigidity could a woman ask?

In other words, Mr. Maurois, setting out to give us a candid study of a sexual disability, gives us instead, and approvingly, the picture of a society in which female sexuality is still thought of as essentially an adjunct of financial security and social advancement. I have no way of knowing, of course, whether or not this is a true representation of the feeling of the educated French middle classes, but I see no reason to doubt that it is. And if it is, perhaps the moment has come to discard the assumption bred of long years of Anglo-Saxon sexual inferiority—"they order these matters better in France." For instance, a new British novel which is also on the sexual theme, "Leave Cancelled" by Nicholas Monsarrat (Knopf, $2), is like a breath of healthy air after "Woman Without Love," and this despite the precious tone of Mr. Monsarrat's little idyl of an English war marriage and despite the very precious packaging in which its publishers offer it. Whatever the inadequacies and over-conscientiousness of Mr. Monsarrat's example of contemporary British sexual sophistication, it surely comes closer to a desirable mark than Mr. Maurois's French "wisdom."

If Mr. Monsarrat's book can be thought of as a product of the newer generation of English literacy, Clemence Dane's "He Brings Great News" (Random House, $2.50) is a product of the there-will-always-be-an-England generation that is still primarily concerned with the thrills of national pride. Miss Dane's novel is about the death of Nelson and the bringing of the news of the Trafalgar victory to England. It is very brightly told, full of interesting antiquarian detail, and can be recommended to anyone with a taste for historical fiction.

"Three O'Clock Dinner" by Josephine Pinckney (Viking, $2.50), being off to a glamorous commercial start—Literary Guild, fabulous movie sale, etc.—is one of the new novels you will no doubt be hearing about. I am afraid that I found Miss Pinckney's narrative of semi-traditional everyday life in Charleston homely without being warming, tedious without compensations of virtue.

DIANA TRILLING

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

TENNESSEE WILLIAMS awoke one morning last spring to find himself famous. Very shortly thereafter the Critics' Circle voted his play the best of the year, and a little later it won also the Sidney Howard Memorial Prize. Not since Odets produced "Waiting for Lefty" had there been quite this sort of hullabaloo about a new *playwright* as distinguished from merely a new play, and the author no doubt thought pretty highly of critics. Last week, however, some of the same reviewers who had hailed him as the theater's new hope turned on his second Broadway play to rend it limb from limb. "This," they said, in various accents and with varying degrees of exasperation, "will never do."

In actual fact the difference between the two plays when measured in terms of the absolute value of each is by no means so great as the reviews would indicate. Or, rather, the lack of difference is about what anyone wise in the ways of critics might expect. At his second appearance any intemperately praised new writer is very likely to suffer from the results of the hangover which intemperance produces, and critics who have gone out on a limb are all too likely to vent their irritation on the man who enticed them there. "The least you could have done," so they seem to say, "was to write something which would have made my former enthusiasm seem prophetic. All you *have* done is to leave me feeling a little bit foolish."

"The Glass Menagerie" deserved attention and praise. The author was obviously no merely routine playwright. His play revealed flashes of power and exhibited moments of insight unusual enough to justify hopes. It was also often forced, often overwritten, often fumbling. In a word, it was the work of a man who might some day do great things but was obviously immature, both emotionally and as a craftsman. Precisely the same things might be said with equal truth of "You Touched Me!" his new play now current at the Booth Theater. Mr. Williams might possibly have grown to full stature in the course of five summer months. Miracles like that do happen. But they can hardly be taken for granted, and he is here at about the same point on the road to maturity he had reached last spring. On the basis of internal evidence it would be impossible to say which play was written first, and for all I know, "You Touched Me!" may have been composed before "The Glass Menagerie." If they had been produced in reverse order, then, I strongly suspect, the one now damned would have been hailed and the other dismissed as a bitter disappointment.

"You Touched Me!" is by Mr. Williams in collaboration with one Donald Windham, hitherto unknown to Broadway. On the program it is described as a romantic comedy (which it isn't) "suggested by a short story of the same name by D. H. Lawrence," and the plot is, basically, the familiar one which tells how a manly young man rescues a timid young girl just about to be suppressed into neurotic spinsterhood by a prurient and parson-ridden maiden aunt. In this case the young man is egged on by the Rabelaisian reminiscences of the girl's father, an ex-mariner driven to drink by the same maiden lady. This bibulous father supplies most of the comedy, and the thing which distinguishes the play from the usual treatments of similar stories is the fact that it is told, not from the standpoint of romantic comedy, but as an intense, half-symbolical drama in which boy-getting-girl seems intended to represent the triumph of good over evil. The best individual scenes—and some of them are genuinely moving—are those in which the hero and heroine try to understand the ardor of the one and the fears of the other. The worst are those in which the attempt is made to give this personal drama some significance both political and cosmic.

I have either overlooked or forgotten the Lawrence story, and so I am unable to say how many of the confusions are present in the tale as originally told, how many result from the addition to it of the ideas struggling for expression in the mind of Mr. Williams or of Mr. Windham. I suppose, however, that the hero's concern with the post-war world and his revulsion against the destruction for which he, as a flier, has been responsible, must be new matter. Undoubtedly, on the other hand, the now rather old-fashioned earnestness about sex stems from Lawrence, and the two do not always succeed in achieving a very satisfactory integration. There may be some connection between phallic worship and a new league of nations, but it is not to me immediately a very clear one. Almost at his first appearance we see the hero playing a penny flute, and no reader of Lawrence needs to be told what that

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means. Very shortly thereafter he is in the midst of a passionate speech about a new world order, and to me it never does become quite clear whether society is to be saved through better international understanding or whether, as Lawrence sometimes seemed to think, all we need is more and better copulation.

In this production as in the previous one, Mr. Williams enjoys the advantages of fine performances. Edmund Gwenn, the mariner, very nearly steals the show. Catherine Willard is excellent as the menace of virginity. The others are all at least quite satisfactory.

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STATE OF NEW YORK } ss.
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Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Hugo Van Arx, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of The Nation, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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HUGO VAN ARX,
Signature of Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 17th day of September, 1945.

[SEAL]
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Commissioner of Deeds,
New York County Register's No. 6C34.

My commission expires March 21, 1946.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

IN ADDITION to the Casadesus recording of the Saint-Saëns Piano Concerto No. 4 that I received and discussed several weeks ago, Columbia's September list offers a volume of passages from Wagner's "Tristan und Isolde," performed by Helen Traubel, Rodzinski, and the New York Philharmonic-Symphony (Set 573; $5.50); Bach's Concerto in D minor for two violins, performed by Adolf Busch and Frances Magnes with the Busch Chamber Players (Set X-253; $2.50); and Samuel Barber's Symphony No. 1, performed by Bruno Walter with the New York Philharmonic (Set X-252; $2.50).

After the spaciousness, clarity, clean definition, brightness, and sensuous beauty of the marvelous Victor recordings of the Chicago and Boston Symphonies that I reviewed last week, it is astounding to hear the dull, murky, muddy, buzzy sound of the New York Philharmonic in Columbia's "Tristan" set, or the shrill, brash, and otherwise disagreeable sound of the Bach concerto performance. Another point about the "Tristan" recording is the sudden cutting-down of volume at the climax of the Prelude, so that the long crescendo builds up and up and up to—nothing. On the other hand, the balancing of voice and orchestra is good; one hears the orchestra clearly around the voice. The sound of the Barber Symphony performance has spaciousness and clarity, but none of the warmth and glow of the Victor recordings.

The "Tristan" set offers the great orchestral Preludes to the first and third acts, part of Isolde's first-act narrative, which I find boring, and the finale of the opera. I said the crescendo of the Prelude builds up and up and up; it would be more accurate to say that, as performed by Rodzinski, it plods up and up and up. As for the vocal passages, they shocked me with the evidence of the deterioration of Traubel's voice in the few years since she recorded the "Götterdämmerung" finale with Toscanini: its upper range has lost the amplitude and ease it had, and is now thin, tremolo-ridden, and shrieky.

The wonderful slow movement of the Bach concerto also plods at the excessively slow pace set by Busch; and the fast movements are given rough, insensitive, and tonally unlovely treatment. There is still no good version of this work available on records.

From Barber's symphony I get again the impression I got when I heard it performed by Rodzinski in New York and Salzburg in 1937, and that I have had from whatever else I have heard since then: that Barber is one of the people—they may be composers, they may, as I have just had occasion to observe, be choreographers or even dancers—who have a facility in the use of the resources of an art that enables them to go through the motions of artistic creation without being able to make these motions effective as the medium of genuine artistic communication.

I have had the same impression from the works of Villa-Lobos, who is represented on Columbia's September list by No. 5 of his Bachianas Brasileiras, an aria which, to my ears, has some relation to Brazilian popular music but none to Bach. It is well sung by Sayao, with Leonard Rose, solo cellist, and seven other cellists and bass under the direction of the composer (71670-D; $1).

On another single disc (17377-D; $.75) is Chopin's Polonaise in A flat, played by Egon Petri. Whether the competition with Victor's Iturbi record of the piece is intentional or not it is successful: Petri's performance is, in its own ways, as poor as Iturbi's and as poorly recorded. And I forgot to mention last week a Victor single (11-8824; $1) on which three of Shostakovitch's Preludes Opus 34—the usual Shostakovitch rubbish—are well-performed by William Kapell. On the reverse side is Rachmaninov's Prelude in C sharp minor.

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Letters to the Editors

German Labor's Record

Dear Sirs: Mr. Padover's article in *The Nation* for September 22 was informative and extremely fair. I venture to mention two or three factors which in my opinion help to account for the attitude of German workers he describes. For one thing, the long internecine conflict between the Social Democrats and most of the trade union-leaders on the one hand and the Communists on the other contributed to the lack of spirit and faith among the workers. Each faction called the other liars and traitors, and the workers came to believe that both were right. To this is largely attributable, I believe, the tragic fact that when Hitler was about to come to power there was not even a gesture of violent or non-violent resistance by the mighty German labor movement. Many of the Social Democrats and trade-union bureaucrats lacked any genuine will to resistance. The Communists, as Mr. Padover points out, had actually helped the Nazis in many instances, because they were convinced that the republic must be destroyed first and then Hitler could be tackled.

In the second place, the victor nations after World War I gave the German workers no reason to believe that they had "much to hope for from democracy." The story need not be repeated here.

In the third place, resistance in the occupied countries was inspired to a considerable extent by patriotic opposition to the foreign invader. The German working class did not have this incentive. In both cases, working-class groups were acting on narrow and largely mistaken nationalistic motives. So long as workers support sovereign nation-states and the institutions they represent, and permit themselves to be drawn into war by these states, tragedies of this kind will multiply.

A. J. MUSTE

New York, September 26

Disagreement?

Dear Sirs: Commenting on Admiral Halsey's remarks, "I would have liked to kick each Japanese delegate in the face," *The Nation* informs America that this "expressed the emotions that must have boiled through the veins of most of his fellow-countrymen," and that the declaration "was very exact and satisfying—and somehow reassuring."

The Nation hardly advances the cause of liberalism by presenting this "kill-Japs, kill-Japs, kill-Japs," admiral as the mouthpiece for thousands of peace-loving Americans who in the depths of their hearts are troubled by what such loud-mouthed war leaders are doing in Japan today. In Korea they are keeping the Japanese war lords and civil administration in control. In Japan they are leaving untouched the feudal-industrial structure in which the Tojos and the industrialists and the landlords have a gentlemen's agreement. And at the top they are strengthening the Emperor, who symbolizes the racial, religious, and military ideology against which we have been fighting. By their actions and words the war-loving Halseys are revealing their fundamental lack of faith in the potentialities of the Japanese people. They are satisfying and reassuring to reactionaries but to few true liberals.

DAVID S. BURGESS

Memphis, Tenn., September 11

[Our concern over American policy in Japan and Korea is quite as great as Mr. Burgess's, and we think it should be obvious that we approved of Admiral Halsey's remarks exactly because they were not directed toward the Japanese people but toward the military leaders who were responsible for the war and for the system of government that supported it.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Occupation for War

Dear Sirs: Since early May I have been in Austria with Military Government and I consider the Austrians even more disgusting than the Germans, mainly because of their enormous hypocrisy. In 1938 they heiled Hitler and continued doing so during the Anschluss. Now they say they have never been Nazis and were the first country invaded and enslaved by the Germans.

The American army, that is, MG, in its efforts to prepare Austria to become a "free and independent nation" is according it a benevolence and sympathy almost unbelievable in the case of a defeated enemy. The Austrian population is infinitely better treated by the army than the unfortunate "dirty" displaced persons, slave laborers, and K.Z.'s from other countries. I have seen some concentration camps and some Jews who by accident survived; and the fact that the camp guards will obviously not be punished, or at least not nearly as much as they deserve, makes my blood boil. Ever since I have been stationed in Austria I have considered it my duty to fight local Nazis and have put a good number of fascist swine, like *Ortsgruppenleiters,* in jail. This has involved me in serious trouble with my superiors. I was finally transferred from a position of responsibility to one in which I do nothing but drive a jeep on occasion, and have ample opportunity to write letters and jot down my observations, some of which are destined for the United States Congress, if the United States is still a free parliamentary country by the time I get home. I might add that the situation in the United States occupation zone of Germany, although not identical, is similar, and that it would in my opinion be prudent to expect another German war in ten or fifteen years.

SERVICE MAN

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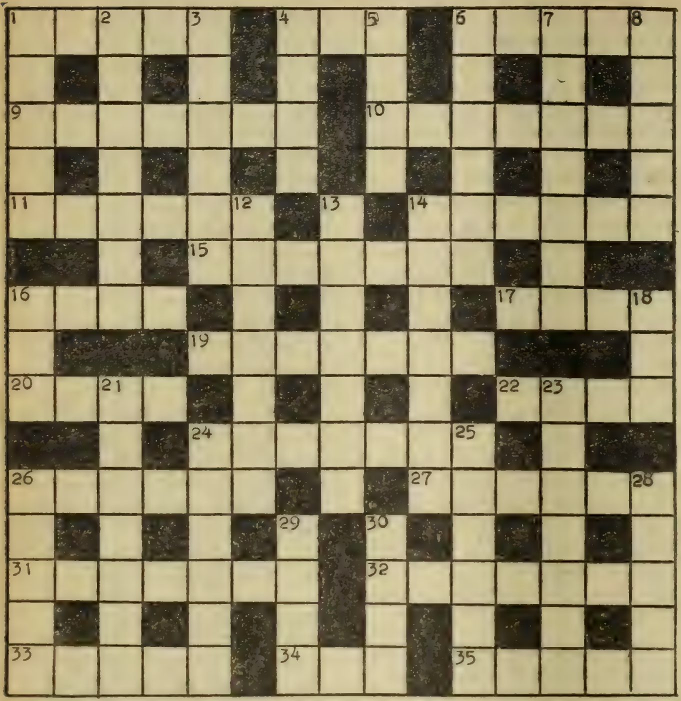
Crossword Puzzle No. 129

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Bottled? Just the reverse (two words, 2 and 3)
4 Sleepy? Yes
6 In cab? No, on shipboard
9 Locomotive Americans swear by (two words, 3 and 4)
10 She combed her hair with a golden comb, the siren!
11 The doctrine of belief
14 Composer of *Slaughter On Tenth Avenue*
15 One of Napoleon's marshals goes on tour
16 Barrel containing sack
17 Where the castle's defenders held fast?
19 New York's famous horizon
20 Not a mistake in the practice of graft
22 Love made Jupiter turn himself into one
24 The man on the flying trapeze, undoubtedly
26 Black ones wear white robes, and vice versa
27 Sounds like a suitable story for the breakfast table
31 Question of personal ability which is answered with a smile
32 O in silk I can defy the weather!
33 The right hat for Pat?
34 She turns in welcome
35 American philosopher (1855-1916)

DOWN

1 Attack on the radio?
2 Meddles
3 Ripest type of clergyman
4 World's longest river
5 Impossible to shine in such company
6 Green bottle full of acid
7 Regard as true, though it contains a lie
8 Slain, as Sisera was by one
12 A different head would give them long ears
13 This nut candy might be plainer
14 High color
16 On account of salad?
18 "The tongue of the mind"
21 The first letter
23 Over 4,000 brands of the Scotch variety alone
24 Descriptive of those who lived in Grub Street?
25 The trick, apparently, is to get this bank clerk to listen
26 This old German appears to be an outspoken fellow
28 Weapon which became obsolete in World War I
29 We're here!
30 O gay, but now ascetic

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 128

ACROSS:—1 SHADOWS; 5 HORACES; 9 ABSOLVE; 10 UPPSALA; 11 CANON; 12 SMELL A RAT; 14 LION; 15 RED HAIR; 18 ICE; 20 NON; 21 MARSHAL; 23 EXIT; 26 ORPHANAGE; 28 YEAST; 29 TRIVIAL; 30 NIAGARA; 31 RANKEST; 32 RAMPAGE.

DOWN:—1 STANCE; 2 ASSENT; 3 OBLONGISH; 4 STETSON; 5 HAUTEUR; 6 REPEL; 7 CHAIRMAN; 8 SLATTERN; 13 OCA; 16 DAIRY FARM; 17 IOU; 18 IMPORTER; 19 ERUPTION; 22 LEAFLET; 23 ELEANOR; 24 MANANA; 25 STRAFE; 27 AMINE.

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The Shape of Things

DEBATE ON THE QUESTION OF WHO KILLED THE London conference is now in full swing. Secretary Byrnes, while restrained in his language, has placed the blame squarely on the Soviet delegation, which, he charged, sought to dictate to the other conferees. His Republican assistant, Mr. Dulles, has suggested that the Russians devised the procedural controversy to test whether American principles were stronger than the American desire for unity. In so doing, he added, they were within their rights and the result was a useful demonstration of the fact that the United States really did mean to stick to its principles. What would be more convincing, however, is a demonstration that American, and British, principles are not for export only. In Moscow, continued references to Greece remind us of the danger of name-calling by pots. Further, while on this side of the world we are very prone to accuse the Soviet government of breaking its word, Russian commentators maintain that it is Byrnes and Bevin who have violated both the spirit and the letter of the Potsdam agreement. Examination of the text shows that this charge has some technical basis. The weakness of the Soviet position lies in Molotov's willingness to proceed for ten days in accordance with a broad interpretation of the Big Three's directive to the Council of Foreign Ministers. His subsequent insistence on the text, and nothing but the text, appeared therefore as a rather obvious maneuver to outflank the solid front of the western powers.

*

EVEN SO THIS MANEUVER WAS NOT A TOTAL failure from the Russian point of view. Mr. Byrnes's compromise proposals, outlined in his broadcast, seem to concede the substance of the Soviet demands on procedure. They would leave the preparatory and exploratory work on the peace settlements with the various enemy powers in each case to the signatories of the surrender terms. This would exclude France and China so far as the Balkans and Finland are concerned. But their views and those of other powers would be heard at a later conference in which not only the Big Five but all European members of the UNO, together with non-European nations which had given substantial military aid during the war, would take part. This plan appears to meet the objection raised by *Pravda*: If France is to share in Balkan treaty-making, why not Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia, which are more intimately affected? Not only these states but the Ukraine and White Russia would be eligible members of the suggested conference. On such lines there appears some hope of loosening the procedural knots tied in London. The basic problem, how to soften the mutual suspicions of Russia and the west, remains.

The best that can be said is that London has highlighted the difficulties of collaboration and the dangers of disunity.

*

THE SUCCESS OF THE WORLD LABOR CONFERENCE in Paris is in striking contrast to the failure of the Foreign Ministers' meeting in London. Where Byrnes failed to reconcile Bevin and Molotov, Sidney Hillman achieved a compromise between Sir Walter Citrine and Vasili Kuznetsov. On the eighth day of the conference the formation of a World Federation of Trade Unions was announced. The Russian demand for permanent organization was met and so were British reservations. As a result, the Executive Committee of the permanent W. F. T. U. can amend the constitution during the next two years subject to confirmation by the general council. During that period also officials of the old I. F. T. U. can be absorbed into the new body as individuals and negotiations can be carried on for adherence to the W. F. T .U. of existing international trade secretariats. On the question of voting, the credentials committee reported last week that Russia, representing 27,000,000 workers, will have forty-one votes; Great Britain and France, each credited with about 6,000,000 workers, will have twenty-three votes each; and the United States, represented only by the C. I. O., will have twenty-two. By refusing to participate in the new labor organization, the A. F. of L. and John L. Lewis have insured a great preponderance of votes to the Russians. Sir Walter Citrine has been elected president of the new body, permanent headquarters of which will be Paris. Louis Saillant, the secretary-general, comes from the French resistance, in which he gave able and daring leadership, and the new formation needs strong leadership if it is to play its role in the transition to a democratically planned society.

*

IT IS HEARTENING TO NOTE THAT AFTER A slow and sorry start, occupation policies in Japan have moved more rapidly and in a better direction than we had reason to anticipate a month ago. The elimination of Japanese censorship, the opening of political prisons, the weakening of the Gestapo-like police system, preliminary sallies at the *Zaibatsu* and State Shinto, and the promise of support for trade unions, peasant unions, and other democratic groups, are all highly commendable steps. The publication of the basic American directive on September 22 and the application of some of its tenets precipitated the shift in the Japanese Premiership from the reactionary Prince Higashi-Kuni to the "liberal" Baron Kijuro Shidehara. The removal of the totalitarian Home Minister Iwao Yamazaki and the freeing of political prisoners were first called for by *The Nation* in Andrew Roth's articles. It would be disastrous, however, if liberal pressure abated at this critical juncture. Premier Baron Shidehara is liberal only by comparison with other members of the reactionary ruling oligarchy. He is related by marriage to the Iwazaki family, which controls the giant Mitsubishi octopus, and is far removed from the common people. It is dangerous to put our trust in Shidehara, and in phony liberals like Yusuke Tsurumi and Yoshihiko Kawaga and ersatz socialists like Dr. Iso Abe. In the past they mouthed liberal, Christian, and democratic phrases to "explain" and support Japanese aggression. Today they hope to siphon off mass discontent into innocuous, oligarchy-controlled parties which will indulge in fulsome talk but leave intact the feudal land system and the intensely monopolistic financial overlordship which are the twin breeding plots of fascism and war in Japan.

*

WE HAVE CRITICIZED GENERAL PATTON FOR over-tolerance of Nazis, but we never suggested that he shared Nazi views. This accusation comes from his ardent defender, John O'Donnell of the New York *Daily News*, who alleges that "foreign-born political leaders" such as Justice Frankfurter and Sidney Hillman were out to "get" Patton because when he slapped a soldier in Italy he accompanied his blow with the words "yellow-bellied Jew." In thus smearing the General with his own anti-Semitism, O'Donnell appears to be living up to his normal standards of inaccuracy. For the slapped soldier, who has been identified as Herman Kuhl of Mishawaka, Indiana, is of German extraction, and has denied that the General used O'Donnell's phrase. Poor Patton! He may well sigh, "God save me from my friends!"

*

WE AGREE COMPLETELY WITH THE STATE Department decision not to conclude a treaty for hemispheric defense with fascist Argentina as one of the signatories. But the Rio conference at which the collective security alliance was to have been drafted next week should not have been called off. On the surface our summary action in "suggesting" that it be "postponed"—read cancelled—looks like the old Yankee imperialism at work again. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has formally protested because neither it nor the Latin American countries were consulted until after the machinery for calling off the Rio conference had been set in motion. Chairman Tom Connally said that if the Administration had really wanted to make an effective demonstration against Argentina it should have gone to the conference and refused to cooperate with the Argentine delegates in drafting a security pact. He is right. Actually if the conference had been held and if the delegates had agreed that Argentina was a threat to hemispheric peace they could, in accordance with the Chapultepec agreements, have taken any one of the following measures: "Recall of chiefs of diplomatic missions; breaking of diplomatic relations; breaking of consular relations; . . . use of armed forces. . . ." Even the first of these measures would pose a ticklish problem. Perón is not the only dictator. He has his peers in Brazil, Bolivia, and Paraguay, to mention only three outstanding examples. And neither they nor the heads of state in many other Latin American countries want to establish a precedent of forcing a change of government through outside intervention. This is the issue the State Department dodged in calling off the Rio conference.

*

THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY-POWER PROJECT began to be visible through the political fog as a result of President Truman's appeal for swift Congressional approval. "Public and private agencies," Mr. Truman said, will be able to pass on to consumers "all the advantages of this cheap power." What still remains unclear is whether there will or will not be public transmission lines. If not, transmission will be entirely in the hands of private utilities. President

Truman's reaffirmation of faith in the Tennessee Valley and Columbia River developments would indicate that he wants public lines. His deft avoidance of a commitment can perhaps be attributed to fear that the whole project might be blocked. This fear seems now to be unjustified, in view of the speed with which Congressional action may develop on the Senate resolution (S. J. 104) authorizing the development. There are signs that it will get a favorable report by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Clarification, however, is as much a responsibility of Governor Thomas E. Dewey's New York State administration as of the federal government. In his repeated avowals of support for the project Mr. Dewey has conspicuously avoided any mention of transmission lines. Since the resolution pledges in effect that New York State will handle the American end of the United States-Canadian establishment, and since the international agreement would be subject to approval by the New York legislature as well as by Congress, a plain statement of policy on transmission is needed immediately.

*

THE NOMINATION OF RAYMOND S. McKEOUGH as a member of the Maritime Commission has been rejected by the Senate Commerce Committee. In voting, the committee divided on orthodox political lines—that is to say, two reactionary Southern Democrats, O'Daniel of Texas and Overton of Louisiana, teamed up with a solid Republican bloc to beat the Administration forces. One count made against McKeough was that he lacked intimate knowledge of maritime affairs, but according to Senator Bailey, chairman of the committee, the deciding factor in his defeat was opposition registered by the American Federation of Labor. Because he had recently been associated with the C. I. O. as a regional director for P. A. C., the A. F. of L. turned thumbs down on a man who could have been relied upon to give sympathetic consideration to labor viewpoints on a key policy-making body. It is shortsighted factionalism of this kind which is doing so much to weaken labor's influence in Washington.

*

SIXTH AVENUE IN NEW YORK CITY MUST feel like Cinderella. Not many years ago it was an ill-dressed thoroughfare oppressed by an elevated railway. The El was torn down some time ago. And one morning a couple of weeks ago, Sixth Aveneue woke up to find that a powerful prince, Fiorello, by a wave of his wand and a surprise coup in the City Council, had changed its name to Avenue of the Americas. Some people say that Fiorello is a politician not a prince. Others suggest that real-estate interests with property on the avenue had something to do with the miracle, and some feel that it is less than diplomatic to have an Avenue of the Americas that leads straight to Rockefeller Center. Finally, there are critics who maintain that it is silly to drop a good findable designation like Sixth Avenue and that it will mean a lot more questions—and confusing answers—about "how to get to . . . ," thus making work for the Missing Persons Bureau and swelling the ranks of the lost generation. This last objection seems to us worth consideration. Why not compromise and call it Sixth Avenue of the Americas? That would make the name even longer and more pompous, besides giving it exactly six times as much significance as a symbol of hemispheric solidarity.

Horse-Sense in the Atomic Age

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S long-awaited message to Congress on the control of atomic energy was a neat, politic, and cautious approach to the—literally—most explosive problem which has yet confronted Western man. It was the sort of message befitting a man from Missouri—well-balanced, undogmatic, waiting to be convinced. Unfortunately, in the standard Missouri scale of values and virtues imaginativeness does not rank high; and in this message, delivered in a season when imaginativeness is the most urgently desirable and necessary of all public virtues, there was little trace of the functionings of imagination.

The President proposed that the Congress create an Atomic Energy Commission to control and promote the development of atomic power for peace-time uses in the United States. He revealed that he is planning direct negotiations with Great Britain and Canada, coholders with the United States of the immediate key to this Pandora's box, and later with other nations not named, "in an effort to effect agreement on the conditions under which cooperation might replace rivalry in the field of atomic power."

The bulk of the message was devoted to the domestic phase of the problem, and the recommendations here seem sound: that the Atomic Energy Commission be given all jurisdiction over government-owned facilities, mineral sources, research, and industrial or commercial applications of atomic energy. It proposed supplanting the army with the civilian authority in these matters, and made it clear that private enterprise was not to gain control of this tremendous development built up by public servants and public money.

Even Senator Connally could not fail to see the horse-sense of these proposals. When the President turned to hint at the international phase of the problem, however, one was left with the faintly sinking sensation that horse-sense is not altogether adequate. "The hope of civilization lies in international arrangements looking, if possible, to the renunciation of the use and development of the atomic bomb, and directing and encouraging the use of atomic energy and all future scientific information toward peaceful and scientific means," the President said. "The hope of civilization," "renunciation," "encouraging," "peaceful"—this, indeed, is where we came in. One had imagined, rather wistfully, that "hopes" might be set aside in the face of this colossal dilemma, that a modicum of wisdom and imagination would be brought to bear and would point a clear path toward the establishment of world law.

Hoping for renunciation is a luxury not to be enjoyed with impunity in this catastrophic season. We pay for it immediately with jangled nerves and the jitters. We will pay for it eventually with an explosion that will blast all hope. Any policy of attempting to control the greatest power in the universe by "hopes" and "arrangements" to "renounce" its use in war would be a singular manifestation of what Melville calls "the weakness of mere unaided right-mindedness and virtue": the effect of "outlawing" a weapon is always that only the outlaws use it, while the nice people shake their heads sadly over so much wickedness. Had Mr. Truman lived in Missouri during its frontier days, he would presumably not have offered to protect the lives and property of citizens by inviting them all to renounce the use of six-guns. He would have mustered a police force, or invited the federal marshal to open an office, or at least gathered together a vigilante committee.

The last course, in fact, is what the loudest voices in Washington are now proposing, and the most effective part of the President's message is that in which he undercuts the fatuous hopefulness of this position—the position that the United States should "keep the secret" of the bomb, keep ahead of other countries in development of atomic energy, build bigger and better bombs, and police the world with them. Every responsible scientist connected with the work has said that there is no secret; the layman can assure himself that this is true by reading the extraordinary and fascinating official report on the project, "Atomic Energy for Military Purposes," by Henry D. Smyth of Princeton. Other nations will be able to produce better atomic bombs more easily, cheaply, and inconspicuously than we did: because of the press of time we tried four methods, of which three worked, and were lavish in the expenditure of money, men, and materials. The Smyth report recapitulates the basic data on atomic fission in handy form, is on sale at your bookseller's, and should allow you to build a bomb yourself after a few years of research to work out the production details. So the question, "Should we keep the secret of the atomic bomb?" (to which a majority of Congressional answerers said yes) is similar to the old trick question, "Have you stopped beating your wife?"—and just about as pertinent.

Equally pertinent are schemes for defense. "The protection . . . is to go underground," says Mrs. Luce; "There has never been a weapon against which man has been unable to devise a counter-weapon," says Admiral Nimitz. Well, Niels Bohr, General Groves, and all the others associated with the project say no defense is possible *against the bomb,* but only against its carrier; and who has suggested a defense to keep completely away all rocket-propelled, radar-directed, atomic-explosive missiles, launched from over the oceans?

Yet Nimitz asks for a large navy, Barkley and Vandenberg quarrel over which committee of the Senate would consider the problem, Truman hopes for a Sunday School reformation in man's warlike character. Scott Lucas made the relevant comment: "We are fooling around with horse-and-buggy rules while the world is threatened with atomic destruction."

The world will continue to be threatened with destruction as long as men continue to deal with the atomic problem in horse-and-buggy terms. As long as the nations remain separate, dividing men from one another, we shall continue to view this first truly global affair of life or death from a national viewpoint; and we shall never be able to settle it from a national viewpoint. By all means let us have a new, broad-based commission to study the problem and make recommendations. By all means let us accept Senator Vandenberg's suggestion that Congressional leaders confer with the President on the problem. By all means let us pass Senator McMahon's bill for a mutual and free interchange of information and research among all the United Nations, clearing through the Security Council and granting it the power to inspect all munitions plants and laboratories in all nations. But let us recognize that our danger lies not with atomic energy but with the present organization of society, which tends inevitably toward conflict just because it sets nations apart from one another; and let us raise a clamor for the establishment of world government under world law, so that we may find a new and broader sovereignty under which atomic energy will not be a threat but a promise.

Relief for Park Avenue

THE Stock Exchanges have been pushing ahead with their peace boom in the past week in anticipation of good news from Washington, where Congress has at last turned to the really important subject of tax reduction. We are keeping our fingers crossed, however, until we see who is going to get the benefit. Taxes are an economic matter and ought to be settled by bankers and other practical thinkers, but unfortunately one can't keep politics out. Lots of Congressmen have thoroughly sound instincts. They would like to do something to brighten the pinched faces on Park Avenue, but they cannot forget for long that the votes are elsewhere. So instead of starting to cut income taxes at the top, where the burden is the heaviest, they tend to begin at the bottom.

In putting the Treasury's proposals before the Ways and Means Committee, Secretary Vinson said, "Taxes must be fair among the people." A nice platitude! But as Mr. Krock asks in the New York *Times,* "How can taxes be fair among the people when more than twelve million of them are in the same breath released from them?" It would be much more just to make a horizontal reduction for all taxpayers, as some of the Republican Congressmen have suggested. That should satisfy laborers, who have been earning more than they know how to spend sensibly, and, to quote Mr. Krock again, "would permit the very prosperous few to regain some of their former purchasing power." Those of us in the top brackets would still be giving the Treasury nearly three-quarters of our incomes, but out of a net income of $1,000,000 we would have $280,000 left instead of a beggarly $100,000 as at present.

There is one thing to be grateful for: in spite of his New Deal taint Mr. Vinson has been made to see the light on the excess-profits tax. He realizes that this is really a way of controlling profits and that to continue it in peace time would deprive corporation executives of any incentive to go on breaking their backs to provide a brave new world for everybody. It is too bad that the Ways and Means Commitmittee should not have accepted his proposals in full, deciding instead to continue the tax during 1946 at 60 per cent. Of course this is better than the present confiscatory rate, and the committee has done something to mitigate its error by cutting the corporation surtax from 16 to 12 per cent.

A clean sweep of the excess-profits tax, however, would give a bigger fillip to business and particularly to those large corporations which are the mainstay of our economy. The real beneficiaries, according to one very respectable authority, the *Wall Street Journal,* would be consumers in general, for, it contends, all corporation taxes are really paid by the public with the corporations simply acting as tax-gatherers for the government. That is to say, corporations treat taxes as part of costs and therefore add them to prices. Of course, under sharply competitive conditions, it may not be easy to pass taxes on to the public in this manner, but in the big, well-organized industries, where cutthroat competition is regarded as unethical, price schedules can usually be administered in such a way as to insure a proper margin of profit after taxes.

However, while the *Wall Street Journal's* arguments are of great interest, we feel it is rather unwise to give them publicity at the present time. For ignorant people might make the over-logical deduction that since excess-profits taxes have been absorbed in prices, their elimination should lead immediately to reduced prices. They might notice that a certain liquor company has been handing over some $20 per share in excess-profits taxes, and suppose that as soon as the tax is dropped, the price of whiskey would drop too. But, of course, that isn't the idea at all—not so long as there is a sellers' market. What is really encouraging about the prospective abolition, or at least reduction of the excess-profits tax is that it will give business a period of excess profits *without the tax.* That is what Wall Street is counting on when it bids up the stocks of companies which have been particularly successful in collecting this tax for the Treasury and now have a chance to go on collecting it for their shareholders. Our brokers tipped us to buy Schenley on this basis soon after V-J Day and it has risen over twenty points since. Really, it is almost like the days of dear Mr. Mellon.

Chinese Powder Barrel

REPORTS that heavy fighting has broken out between Chinese Communist and Kuomintang forces at several points emphasize the explosive nature of the Chinese situation. The danger of civil war persists even though the Chungking negotiations appear to be making progress. For while most of the basic issues dividing China's two great parties remain unsettled, agreement has been reached on the procedure for setting up the framework of a democratic political structure. A political council is to be established containing equal representation from each of four groups—the Kuomintang, the Communists, the Democratic League, and non-party independents. The decisions of this council are to be binding on all parties. This procedure promises well not only because the center and non-political groups can mediate in the seemingly insoluble disputes between the right and left, but because these groups, to a greater extent than either the Kuomintang or the Communists, can be counted on to insist on an effective democracy with guaranties of basic civil rights.

Foremost among the issues facing this new council will be the method of selecting delegates to the People's Congress which is to be intrusted with the responsibility of drawing up China's new constitution. The Kuomintang has heretofore insisted on convening the Congress that was chosen in 1936, even though many of the delegates chosen at that time have died or have been guilty of collaboration with the Japanese. This insistence has been based on a desire to obtain ratification of the Draft Constitution that was promulgated in 1936. The Communists and the Democratic League have opposed this constitution, chiefly because it concentrates too much power in the hands of the Chief Executive and fails to make provision for regional and provincial differences. Since the Kuomintang-picked delegates of 1936 would presumably uphold the Kuomintang-prepared constitution of that year, the Communists have been unyielding in their demand that the Congress delegates be chosen again, this time by popular vote. They believe that the Congress should then draw up a completely new constitution providing for a more decentralized form of government. Such a constitution would make possible a solution of the Kuomintang-Communist controversy along traditional Chinese lines of regional spheres of administration and at the same time lay the basis for the emergence of a modern democratic state.

All this represents substantial progress toward Chinese unity. But the difficulties which remain should not be minimized. The negotiators have thus far been unable to reach an agreement on the crucial problem of the Eighth Route Army. Chungking is reported to be willing to permit the Communists to retain twenty divisions—less than one-sixth of the Central Government's forces—provided they accept Kuomintang governors in the northern provinces under their control. The Communists have indicated that they will accept this arrangement only if they are permitted to name the governors. The most explosive problem, however, concerns the disarming of the Japanese and puppet troops in the Tientsin-Peiping area. Acting under orders from Chungking, the Japanese have refused to surrender their main body of troops to the Communists who dominate the area. American marines have landed at Tienstin to take over control of that city, but the Japanese still control Peiping. The Communists do not object greatly to the use of American troops to disarm the Japanese. But if the United States carries out its previously announced intention of convoying Kuomintang troops into North China to seize this region, trouble is bound to develop.

It has been evident for some time that a settlement of China's internal problems requires a neutral attitude on the part of the United States. A reporter in Chungking says that a mere suggestion of change in American policy has had a "barometric effect" on the Kuomintang-Communist negotiations. Left to themselves, the negotiators will probably compromise their differences, since neither side feels strong enough to wage civil war. But if American military assistance encourages the Kuomintang to force the issue, a conflict is almost certain. Nor should we assume, as some Americans do, that such a war would be a minor affair now that Russia has abandoned the Communists. Russia has indicated that its treaty of alliance and friendship applies only to a united and democratic China. If Chungking, with our help, were to attempt to enforce unity by arms, Russia might feel that its conditions had not been met. Similarly, if we continue to pour troops into North China, Moscow, with some color of excuse, might reconsider its undertaking to withdraw from Manchuria. Foreign intervention at this stage in China's internal affairs can only serve to enhance the possibilities of an explosion.

Will There Be Jobs?

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, October 8

THE latest report made by John W. Snyder, Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion, touches but gingerly on the question of coming unemployment. "By next spring," the report says, "with demobilization running at better than a million a month, unemployment may rise to about eight million." The next sentence seems to imply that this will be temporary. "The total," the report continues, "will depend on how fast reconversion and expansion can be accomplished." But from the information available here we seem to be headed at the best toward chronic unemployment after reconversion: optimistic estimates add up to about 7,500,000 jobless by the end of next year; pessimistic, to 10,500,000.

As in the early '30's, business organizations are again putting their faith in hoopla; there seems to be a feeling that full employment can be achieved if only business men will jolly one another and the country along, like good fellows at a Rotary Club get-together. The Committee for Economic Development has become a leading practitioner in the field of synthetic cheer, with Walter D. Fuller of the Curtis Publishing Company as director of optimistic statement. Yesterday, on the basis of a "spot check" in 884 cities, the CED announced that by next fall there would be 7,000,000 to 10,000,000 more jobs available than in 1940. The basis of computation was not disclosed, but Fuller's earlier press release, of September 10, did provide some way to assess the value of the CED estimates.

"Survey Predicts Job Total 24 per cent Higher than '40 Level" was the New York *Times* headline on that earlier survey. It covered 100 cities and counties but did not get the same type of data from all of them; in 47 the figures covered both industrial and commercial employment. The survey showed the number employed in 1940, the number employed at the peak of war production, and the number expected to be employed after reconversion. In the forty-seven cities and counties giving figures on both industrial and commercial employment, the CED survey showed a rise of about 36 per cent in the number of jobs from 1940 to the war-time peak and an expected decline of about 10 per cent after reconversion. That seems to be a pretty good sample. The actual figures on nation-wide employment in industry and trade as given by the Bureau of Labor Statistics show a rise of 31 per cent from 1940 to 1944.

If we apply the percentage of decline shown in the CED findings to the actual BLS figures, we get a loss of about 2,300,000 jobs in industry and trade combined. To these 2,300,000 lay-offs we must add 1,500,000 lay-offs by government. For civilian employment in war agencies, largely arsenals and shipyards, rose from 241,000 to 2,052,000 during the war. In addition, demobilization will release 9,000,000 from the armed services. This gives us a total of 12,800,000 looking for work. This number will be reduced, however, by the number of married women, young people, and older folk who worked during the war but will return to their homes or schools after the war. The net withdrawal from the labor market from this source is estimated at 3,000,000. This reduces the number of job seekers to 9,800,000.

Where can jobs be found for them? No great expansion in employment is visible in transportation, where the railroads have been carrying a load 25 per cent greater than that which would come to them under peace-time full-employment conditions. The output of public utilities will likewise drop after the war. Increased mechanization made it possible for mining to boost output during the war, despite a decline in employment from 916,000 in 1940 to 835,000 in 1944; return to the pre-war level of employment will not make a substantial dent in joblessness. In finance, service, and the miscellaneous trades average employment during the first six months of this year was 4,220,000, as compared with 4,310,000 in 1940; obviously not much expansion is possible there. The one sizable source of new jobs is in construction, where employment fell from 1,722,000 in 1940 to 679,000 in 1944. The Federal Works Agency estimates a somewhat lower level of construction next year than in 1940, but let us assume 1,000,000 restored jobs in the building trades. That would reduce the number of jobless after reconversion to 8,800,000. If the professions absorb 100,000, if 700,000 go into business for themselves, and if 500,000 go back to the farm, we would still have 7,500,000 jobless, or about the same number we had in 1940.

The secret of our coming difficulties lies in another sentence of the Snyder report from which we quoted above. "During the war we have increased our national output 75 per cent, and we have done so with 12,000,000 of our strongest and youngest men and women in the armed forces." The increase in productivity is so great that even the pent-up demand to be expected in consumer durables immediately after the war will not take up the slack in employment. The automobile industry, for example, hopes for a 60 per cent increase in output over the pre-war level but expects a 40 per cent cut in jobs from the war-time peak. Thus in the automobile industry during the peak period of meeting pent-up demand there will be a big net loss in jobs. Peak employment during the war was 700,000. The post-reconversion peak is expected to be 425,000. Pent-up demand for consumer durables will not create full employment even temporarily.

Nor is there any prospect of new private capital investment large enough to do the job. Let us take as our measuring rod the generally accepted estimate that about $40 billion of investment annually would be necessary for a $200 billion full-employment level of national income. Peak investment during the war period came in 1941, when private and public capital outlay was $21 billion, the highest in our history. This declined to $14 billion in 1942 and $7 billion in 1943.

But in these years, with that capital investment, we built a whole new synthetic rubber and aviation industry. We raised aircraft output in value from a half million to $30 billion annually. We increased shipbuilding from three-quarters of a million tons to twenty million tons annually. We boosted steel capacity by one-third, aluminum capacity more than ten times, and turned out more machines and machine tools in four years than in the whole previous generation. After that vast splurge of expansion who is going to put new money in any quantity into shipbuilding, aircraft, steel, aluminum, radio, electronics, or petroleum—which expects to produce a billion barrels less in peace time than it did during the war? The Department of Commerce Survey of Current Business, in a recent study of Capital Outlay Plans of Business, managed, by many shaky assumptions, to forecast $12 billion in investment next year but admitted in an aside that this estimate lumped together "plans having varying degrees of definiteness. They range all the way from firm commitments . . . through the desirable expansion or modernization which will take place if general conditions are more or less in line with present expectations to those tentative projects which depend on technological or competitive developments."

Some look to expanded foreign trade for full employment. But this cannot take up the gap left at home by cessation of war spending by government. The United States is so enormously rich in productive capacity that it required both a vast domestic expansion and an equally enormous rise in foreign trade to achieve full employment during the war. Exports rose to $8 billion in 1942, $12 billion in 1943, $14 billion in 1944. But it took abnormal war-time imports of materials plus a huge lend-lease program to make these exports possible. In foreign trade, too, we face a sharp deflation.

Our problem is our wealth of productive capacity, our dearth of brains, our prejudice against planning. Even spending for social improvement on a scale beyond that of the New Deal will not suffice to give us full employment of machines and men. Let me offer a few figures. Against that $40 billion of annual investment necessary for full employment, measure the fact that the whole TVA project since its beginning has cost only $1 billion, that $3 billion a year for fifteen years would wipe out every slum in this country. Peripheral spending to prime the pump is not adequate. The time is coming when we shall have to plan output, industry by industry, in terms of need rather than the "normal" hit-or-miss market of a scarcity economy. Only that way lies full employment. Only so can the Midas of nations cope with its golden touch.

Britain Expects Action

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, October 1

PERHAPS to say that enthusiasm for the Labor government has evaporated in the past six weeks would be an overstatement. A parliamentary recess which lasts from August 24 to October 9 is not long enough for a fundamental change in the attitude of a mass electorate. Labor meetings in the three by-elections now in progress have been drawing big audiences ready enough to cheer; increasing shortages in the shops, from cigarettes to children's shoes, from cleaning materials to (mystifyingly) kitchen salt, are borne with good humor; and there is still solid confidence in the legislative program outlined at the beginning of the session. Yet there are visible beginnings of an estrangement between the government and its supporters. Though disillusionment might be too strong a word, the feeling is widespread that in the broad field where action is possible by administrative decision Ministers are taking an unconscionably long time to do anything positively Socialist in character, and that their approach to the problems which touch everyday life is excessively cautious and rigid.

In particular, the Cabinet has apparently been unable so far to adjust the Bevin plan of gradual demobilization—on an "age-plus-service" basis—to the new conditions created by the collapse of Japan. Though certain areas, such as South Wales, Tyneside, and the Clyde valley, which are hit by the cancelation of war contracts may not be over anxious for "the boys" to return and swell the queues outside the employment exchanges, the general judgment of the country—witness the emphatic resolution passed by the Trade Union Congress this month—is that Britain simply cannot afford to go slow with demobilization when the whole business of "revival," home production and export trade alike, depends so largely on the speedy redeployment of man-power. Suffering from the acute shortage of personnel on the railways, in road transport, and in the telephone system—to say nothing of in building and other essential industries—the public impatiently asks why, and gets no convincing answer.

Demobilization is only one example of the issues in which Ministers are conveying the impression of inaction. There are, however, exceptions. Sir Stafford Cripps shows welcome signs of energy; he is hustling the Lancashire cotton industry into setting its obsolescent house in order, and he clearly intends to press vigorously for new methods and closer collaboration with labor in all the old, staple British trades not earmarked for nationalization. At the Ministry of Fuel, too, Mr. Shinwell is creating an encouraging "go-getter" atmosphere. Having removed all pains and penalties for absenteeism, he is appealing to the miners to work hard for the community, and has tried the interesting experiment—on "poacher-into-gamekeeper" lines—of appointing a Communist miners' leader, Mr. Arthur Horner, as national production officer to step up output. But save for these two, and setting aside for the moment Mr. Bevin's efforts in the political strip-poker sessions of the Big Five, Ministers have tended, during the recess, to slide out of sight. "What are 'our men' doing?" ask the electors.

They are asking this not least of the Minister of Health. Popular, dynamic, self-opinionated, and the "star" performer of the left wing in debate, Aneurin Bevan has been given a portfolio whose dual-compartmented size he may rue. Not only has he got to evolve a National Medical Service in the teeth of opposition from the diehards of the British Medical Association; he has also got to make good the worst shortage of all—houses. So far, except for a limited number of prefabricated "temporaries," building has quite simply not begun, and winter, with bad weather for building operations, is close ahead. Mr. Bevan has decided not to license any luxury construction and to give no subsidies for privately built houses until insistent working-class demands for houses to rent have been met. The question is: who is to do the building? The Minister is credited with the intention of relying entirely on municipalities as his building agencies. (Actual construction, of course, would be carried out under contract by private firms.) The difficulty, however, is that municipalities cannot obtain from their already burdened rate-payers the money needed for interest on the immense fresh capital involved, that their technical housing staffs are scattered through the armed services, and that as the building workers are, very slowly, demobilized, they drift back to their old homes and employers without regard to the fact that present-day building needs, determined as they are by war damage, do not correspond at all to the pre-war geographical pattern. If the local authorities prove a broken reed, as may well be the case, Mr. Bevan will probably have to have recourse to a National Housing Corporation—controlling mobile labor and the resources of the big war contractors—to supplement municipal efforts. But of this there is as yet no hint; nor is there evidence of the walls of a single permanent house going up.

Aneurin Bevan

Add to these "slow-motion" impressions the government's failure, so far, to announce definitely that old-age pensions are to be raised before all the lengthy "Beveridge" legislation is through, or to meet complaints that many elderly people are dying before they get their compensation for "total-loss" war damage or can cash the some-day-repayable "credits" due on account of war increases in the income tax. Add, again, the fact that the Compensation for Industrial Injuries bill is found to be identical with that drafted by the Caretaker government and to provide benefits quite unacceptable in trade unionists' eyes. Add, if you like, the government's "caginess" over the awkward, unsolved problem of how workers are to be attracted into essential but low-wage export industries when the unpopular powers of labor "direction" are, as promised, rescinded. All this totals up to a lot of minor disappointments.

Underlying these particular causes of discontent is the government's lack of good "public-relations" sense. Broadcasting to a nation made up, be it remembered, of pretty tired people faced with pretty drab living conditions, Mr. Attlee adopts the style, Olympian yet deflating, of a pedestrian Pericles preaching "patience." Herbert Morrison as always has been talking sound economic sense, with refreshing robustness; but by and large Ministerial speeches since Parliament adjourned have been chilling: difficulties rather than the resolve to overcome them have been the keynote. And there has been a signal and damaging failure to organize, so far, any machinery for giving the country what in its present sober mood it wants above all else—the hard facts about practical problems: food and raw-material stocks, shipping resources, numbers needed for armies of occupation, and so forth. Journals as divergent in policies as the *Times* and the *New Statesman* have been urging the government to realize that without a better supply of factual information it will be impossible to obtain sustained, intelligent co-operation from the electorate in the difficult job of reconversion. Not, perhaps, wholly in vain: it seems likely that a Bureau of Information headed by a respected Labor journalist will be set up, attached to the Cabinet offices. But the question how Ministers are to keep their policies alive in people's minds and project the affairs of state vividly into the common man's home remains to be answered.

The Tories, of course, are quick to see that their best hope lies in exploiting the rift—narrow as yet, but significant—between the Cabinet and Labor rank and file. In the expansive mood of the after-dinner stage they will tell you that Churchill, who can be feline as well as swashbuckling in debate, counts on producing in a year or two a situation in which the Labor front bench, irked by back-bench mutinies, will "do a MacDonald," ask for a dissolution, and after an election form another "National" coalition. This is wishful day-dreaming: the Labor Party is much too solid for such a split between "moderates" and left wing to be likely, and the Cabinet is of very different stuff from the men of 1931. Moreover, the Tories, in these fond calculations, are leaving one important factor out of account: whatever disappointment may be felt by restive Socialists at hesitant, "look-before-you-leap" progress on the home front, developments in foreign affairs look, on a short view, as if they would rally Labor voters, and many others, solidly behind the government.

In the light of the Foreign Secretary's peculiar achievements up to date this may sound paradoxical. In one sense it is. In the judgment of every liberal-minded person who has an inkling of what has really been happening, Mr. Bevin is a disaster. Not only has his attitude toward Greece and his brusque disregard of the Resistance in Europe lowered our stock among our best friends on the Continent; he has been largely to blame for the series of head-on disagreements which prevented the Lancaster House conference of the Big Five from achieving one single constructive settlement. Obsessed by the narrow idea that communism is inherently inimical to the trade unionism which gave him power, he supported—and, indeed, encouraged—Mr. Byrnes in offering blank opposition to every Russian proposal, good or bad. His hope, apparently, is thus to secure American backing for his conception—not so very different from Mr. Churchill's—of British imperial interests, a conception which has led him to claim a naval base in Eritrea, to refuse to cede Hongkong on any terms to the Chinese, and generally to join with elephantine gusto in the present big-power game of animal grab, at the cost even of alienating the British dominions.

But though this is the view of a small "informed" minority, it would be an error to suppose that the picture looks like this to the mass of Labor supporters. Staunch friends as they are of the U. S. S. R., they are inclined to listen when they are told that Mr. Molotov is a bit dictatorial. Above all, they are stoutly determined that British policy at home shall not be determined by Wall Street. Nothing wins louder applause at Labor meetings than the assertion that Britain must "stand on her own feet"—and, if need be, do without American food, petrol, tobacco, and films. Mr. Shinwell gets orchids for insisting, in his oil pact with Mr. Ickes, that Britain must have the right to "regulate" imports, a proviso which, incidentally, makes nonsense of the "non-discriminatory" professions of the agreement. Halifax and Keynes are immensely popular because it is believed, rightly or wrongly, that they are taking a "tough" line in Washington. No one yet dares to ask, at least in public, the question whether Britain is now a big-enough power to be able to afford truculence. So Mr. Bevin gets away with it, in the role of a downright, "penny-plain" Socialist Palmerston, ready to "take on all comers."

It will be ironical if the first Labor government to hold real power atones, in the public eye, for timidity and inertia in domestic issues by defending valiantly, against both American capitalism and Russian communism, a social democracy which it is doing little as yet to make Socialist or democratic. But then, the pen which writes history is often dipped in gall.

France Swings Socialist

BY ORESTE ROSENFELD

(Editor-in-chief of Le Populaire, *organ of the Socialist Party of France)*

Paris, October 4 (by cable)

FRANCE has entered into a month-long election period. Cantonal elections took place on September 23 and 30; on October 21 French voters will go to the polls to elect a Constituent Assembly.

The cantonal elections were for the purpose of choosing the General Councils. These councils have no voice in the big problems of domestic and foreign policy; their sole concern is local administration. In the past they designated the Senators, that is, the members of Parliament's upper chamber. But the Senate provided for by the constitution of 1875, which enjoyed the same prerogatives as the Chamber of Deputies, no longer exists, and the new constitution will certainly not resuscitate it, at least not in its old form. In general, therefore, the cantonal elections are not political.

This time, however, the situation was different. Many of the pre-war general councilors had betrayed France by entering the service of Marshal Pétain. Thus the elections offered the voters a choice between the spirit of the Resistance and the spirit of Vichy. The Resistance won: pro-German collaborationists, anti-republicans, anti-democrats were swept out of office; the reactionary and conservative parties, which had compromised themselves during the occupation, were smashed. The Radical Socialist Party, whose record is not without blemish, emerged from the contest greatly reduced in strength. What is more, the whole liberal-capitalist regime was found bankrupt. The French people voted for the parties which stand for a profound reform in the structure of government and against the parties which would preserve the social status quo. Thus the usually "non-political" cantonal elections took on a sharply political and social character.

The Socialist Party won the greatest victory. It received more than a fourth of the votes cast and a similar proportion of the seats. The Communist Party ran a close second in the popular voting, but the system of double-balloting worked against it in the matter of seats. The Socialists, with slightly less than four million votes, gained 800 Council seats; the Communists, only 370. The Radical Socialist Party—the party of Messrs. Herriot and Daladier—lost a third of its seats; the reactionary parties, half of theirs. On the other hand, a new party, the Christian Democratic Party of Foreign Minister Georges Bidault, emerged as an important political force. It obtained 12 per cent of the votes and 230 seats.

These figures are eloquent, and yet they do not give a true picture of the situation. Personal factors played an important part in the elections and blurred the meaning of the results, particularly in certain districts where the voters supported well-known candidates, notably Radical Socialists, who had built up a following over a long period of years. Actually the country is farther left, more Socialist in temper, than is revealed by the election figures. This fact will emerge clearly in the elections for the Constituent Assembly, which will not be conducted by the double-balloting method but by a system of proportional representation in each department. They will not, however, result in true proportional representation, such as the Socialists and Communists have demanded, for despite the efforts of the three Socialist Ministers and contrary to the advice of the Consultative Assembly, the De Gaulle government has set up an electoral law which distorts the meaning of proportional representation. As a result, the number of Socialist and Communist seats in the new Assembly may not correspond to the number of votes those parties receive at the polls, for the less populous agricultural regions are favored at the expense of the industrial centers. However, the disparity should not be too great, particularly if the Socialist sweep which is indicated materializes.

Both the Socialist Party and its leader, Léon Blum, have tremendous popular support. The French people like clarity. The Socialist Party offers them a clear program, logical and daring: it calls for a sovereign Assembly whose job it will be to draw up a democratic constitution, for the abolition of monopolies, and for thoroughgoing economic reforms, including the socialization of key industries, natural resources, and credit. In foreign policy the party favors collective security. It has neither concealed nor camouflaged its aims.

The same cannot be said of the Communists. Their domestic program fails to face squarely the problem of socialization of industry; their foreign policy appears equivocal on the critical question of collective security. Their influence has suffered as a consequence of the position taken by the Soviet Union at the meeting of the Foreign Ministers in London, which collided with the position of the French delegation. Moreover, the Communist Party has entered into an electoral alliance with the Herriot Radicals. And finally, in many localities the Communist candidates are running on two tickets—Front National and Union des Républicains. Frenchmen do not like such camouflage, and it is reasonable to believe that the Socialist Party will register further gains on October 21. That does not necessarily mean that the Socialists will have a clear-cut majority. They foresee the necessity of a coalition government which will include the Communists and perhaps the Christian Democrats, provided the latter do not oppose the system of secular education to which the Socialists are firmly committed.

How the Nazis Stay In

BY SAUL K. PADOVER

(Historian and political scientist; during the war a member of the army's Psychological Warfare Division)

IT WAS in Aachen that MG first acquired practical experience in governing Germans, and the methods used in Aachen were apparently so satisfactory that they were applied in other cities, notably in Munich. The fact is that MG made a thorough political mess of Aachen, and had it not been for war-time censorship, the American press would have had a scandalous story to spread before the public.

Aachen is no longer within the American zone, but the tale of what happened there last winter provides the necessary background for understanding what is going on in Munich this autumn. It is also, of course, a part of the strange MG saga. I shall relate it here, as briefly as I can, for the first time.

MG's first act in setting up a civil government in Aachen last October was to consult the Bishop, and for many days afterward no step was taken without the advice of the head of the church. It was the Bishop who not only proposed but also introduced Franz Oppenhoff to MG. Oppenhoff was made Oberbürgermeister with the specific assurance by MG that the American army would have no objection to the employment of Nazis; he was given full powers to hire anybody he chose. Thus allowed a free hand, he chose eight Bürgermeisters to serve under him—as compact a clique of ultra-reactionaries and fascists as could be found anywhere in Germany.

Oppenhoff was undoubtedly an interesting character. I spent many hours in conversation with him and found him to be a vigorous and aggressive individual who knew exactly what he wanted. He had been a lawyer for the Aachen diocese and for the Veltrup works, the biggest armament plant in the region. To his credit be it said that in the terrorized thirties he was one of the few lawyers in Aachen with the courage to defend in open court Jewish firms and Catholic clergy. Like most of his colleagues, Oppenhoff was neither a Nazi nor a democrat. He was a fascist in the original sense of the term, in the same sense that Mussolini was a fascist, or Dollfuss, or Franco; and he did not hide his convictions but proclaimed them with passion and vehemence.

Oppenhoff was a believer in the *Ständestaat,* the authoritarian corporate state with a paternalistic small-scale industry based upon a hierarchical, unfree labor system. He favored a labor force consisting of skilled artisans and divided into masters and apprentices, with the masters in absolute control. His fear of labor was an obsession, almost as great as his fear of political parties. He wanted to see workers placed in fixed categories, without any right to political action or economic demands. "Only such a system," he told us, "can prevent agitations, votings, and elections. This is my idea of democracy, true democracy. This is my philosophy, and I tell you honestly I would refuse to appoint anyone to any responsible post who did not share my basic ideas."

The reason he collaborated eagerly with the Military Government was his fervent hope that for a decade at least Germany would be spared political parties and trade unions. *"Gott sei Dank,"* he said to us, "that the Military Government and not the Germans will rule. Government by the military will exclude all talkers, politicians, and agitators." His hatred of labor was so intense that he pleaded with us not to make any appeals to German workers under any conditions. "You must promise them nothing, nothing."

The men with whom he surrounded himself were anti-democratic and anti-labor and anti-Russian, and some of them were anti-Ally. The roster of these men, operating under the protection of the American flag, is impressive. The Bürgermeister for Labor, Gerhard Heusch, was a Wehrmacht major who had done occupation duty in Pskov, Russia. A member of five Nazi-affiliated organizations, he was exposed by the Counter-Intelligence Corps but defended by Oppenhoff and retained by MG. Army Intelligence finally arrested him as a potential war criminal. The Chief of Police, Schefer, had spent the period of the war working for the Wehrmacht in Berlin. The Bürgermeister for Law and Administration, Pontesegger, was an Austrian Russophobe who had been an ardent follower of Dollfuss. The Bürgermeister for Schools was a chauvinistic clericalist and church politician who had not seen the inside of a school for some forty years. The City Treasurer, Pfeiffer, was a wholesale merchant who had joined the Nazi Party in 1933 and then became a member of five Nazi-affiliated organizations. The Bürgermeister for Housing and Construction, Mies, the least reactionary of the Oppenhoff appointees, had been a manager of a war industry in Cologne and was decorated by the Nazis with the *Kriegsverdienstkreuz* in 1943. The Bürgermeister for Food and Commerce, Hirtz, was a rich textile manufacturer who hated labor and loved Nazis; he told us that had it not been for the Jewish blood of his mother he would not have stayed out of the party—rumor in Aachen had it that this unsavory reactionary had tried persistently but vainly to join. The Bürgermeister for Economic Affairs, Faust, was an armaments engineer and a dour fascist. Finally, Oppenhoff's executive assistant in charge of personnel, a man with the strange name of Op de Hipt, was a high official in the Veltrup plant and a notorious informer who was responsible for the denunciation of foreign slave laborers to the Gestapo and perhaps for even worse deeds.

There was not a Social Democrat, a democrat, or a liberal in any top position, or in any secondary position, or in any third-rank position, although in the last free election, in 1932, Aachen had voted 20 per cent Social Democratic and 5 per cent Communist. Of the seventy-two key positions, so defined by Oppenhoff himself, twenty-two were held by Nazi Party members. One of these, an official named Anton Felser, was placed in charge of licensing food shops, a vital post. Herr Felser issued sixty-three licenses—thirty of them to Nazis or their wives. As a consequence Aacheners said bitterly, "Under the Americans you have to be a good Nazi to get permission to open a business"—a gibe about 50 per cent true. Another individual in an influential secondary position was Bolognini, a member of the Italian Fascist Party and one of Aachen's big war contractors, who had a rotten record as an employer of foreign labor. Oppenhoff appointed him to the potentially fat job of municipal building contractor. Upon the insistence of CIC a few Social Democrats were made policemen.

The people of Aachen, the overwhelming majority of whom were anti-Nazis, as they had proved by their defiance of S. S. attempts to evacuate them, viewed the situation with dismay. In the absence of established channels of communication, rumors multiplied the evils of the government a hundred-fold, although the bare truth was bad enough. People saw the massive *Regierungsgebäude,* once the home of the Gestapo, occupied by a new group of German masters, whom they dubbed variously the "clique" or the "*Herrenklub,*" and they asked cynically what difference there was between Nazi rule and American rule. Two intelligent middle-class girls whose father was in a concentration camp said to us: "It's the same old racket. But nothing can be done about such things in Germany. Germans have always been like that, and they will always be. We ask ourselves why a city of 11,000 people needs eight or nine Bürgermeisters? Before the Americans came, we had one Bürgermeister with one assistant. Now these *Herren* drive around in official automobiles while there is no gasoline to transport necessities for the people." And a Social Democratic worker, whose fifteen-year-old tubercular son was working on a public body-burying detail, at a time when members of the middle class were not forced to do communal labor, remarked: "We imagined it was going to be different. The British radio had said that all the Nazis would be wiped out. Now you see them everywhere in fine jobs and opening up stores."

The army's alert CIC investigated the situation, was alarmed to find so many Nazis and ultra-nationalists in power, and recommended their dismissal. MG, however, stood on its rights. The primary task of CIC being military security, it could recommend dismissal on the ground that an individual was a threat to the army, but it had no power to enforce its recommendation. To take the bite out of the Nazi-hunting CIC, MG appointed its own Special Branch to make separate investigations—as if there were any doubt about these men.

It turned out, however, that MG's own Special Branch made exactly the same recommendations as CIC, and so did my two colleagues and I when we were sent in to make an independent survey. All of us, separately and together, pointed out that the Oppenhoff administration was a reflection on America's intelligence and on the Allies' integrity. But Oppenhoff, the shrewd lawyer, and MG, his patron, had tied up things so cleverly that it was virtually impossible to rid the administration of undesirable characters. "Once a man is in office," an exasperated Special Branch lieutenant remarked, "it takes blasting to get him out."

The way the bureaucratic mechanism worked reminded one of a Rube Goldberg cartoon, except that it wasn't funny. A typical case would be that of Herr X. Oppenhoff appointed Herr X. CIC, in the course of its routine security check, found that he was a Nazi and recommended his dismissal. The name of Herr X was then sent to Special Branch for scrutiny. Special Branch approved CIC's recommendation and wrote out an "Action Sheet." The Action Sheet was sent to the MG head, who sent it to the American officer in charge of the department that employed Herr X. If this officer agreed with the recommendation, which he frequently did not, he forwarded the Action Sheet to the German chief of his department. The latter then took up the matter with Oberbürgermeister Oppenhoff. And Oppenhoff rushed to see the MG Officer and protested that Herr X was absolutely "indispensable." Oppenhoff, moreover, reminded the MGO that he had been originally assured the right to hire and fire whomever he pleased. As a rule, the MGO took Oppenhoff's word that Herr X was "indispensable" and retained him in office. There were 750 employees in the Oppenhoff administration, all of them more or less "indispensable."

On the rare occasions when the MG Officer braved Oppenhoff's displeasure and dismissed an objectionable individual, the Oberbürgermeister calmly appointed him to another position. When that happened, the whole cumbersome machinery was set in slow motion again—CIC, Special Branch, Action Sheet, MGO transmittal, American officer's recommendation, German division chief's complaint, Oppenhoff's protest—and in the meantime the official remained in power despite CIC's insistence that he was a threat to military security. A case in point was Dr. Brehm, one of Oppenhoff's Nazi friends whom he placed in a key post in the police department. CIC, objecting strongly to a Nazi in so strategic a position, put up a fight and had him kicked out. Oppenhoff then obtained for Brehm a license to practice law in Aachen, the first issued. CIC protested, and the license was revoked. Oppenhoff then made Brehm chief of the important *Wohnungsamt* (Housing Bureau). Again CIC, with the backing of Special Branch, managed to force him out. I left Aachen soon afterward and do not know where the ubiquitous Brehm turned up next. A similar case was that of Dr. Görres, an active Nazi Party member who had earned the Nazi commendation of *Wehrwirtschaftsführer* (Leader of War Industry). For this reason Oppenhoff and MG appointed him City Manager of Trade. CIC was able to have him dismissed, but he was given another job, this time not by Oppenhoff but by the MG legal officer, who made him technical consultant to investigate the affairs of an American corporation in Aachen.

Why did MG behave in such a strange way? Were MG officers consciously pro-Nazi? I think not. I am convinced that it was a case of political ignorance and moral indifference. They not only knew nothing about German problems or the German language, but with one or two exceptions they had no understanding of or interest in the causes and problems of the war, and hence no feelings about Nazism, either for or against. They were men who should never have been put in MG positions in the first place. Politically color blind and completely insensitive to the moral questions involved, they thought mainly of efficiency, and when they were told that a given Nazi or reactionary was "indispensable," that clinched the case for them. After we sent in our shocking report to Headquarters, the responsible MGO was summoned before his superior, a West Point colonel, and told sharply to clean out the Nazi-nationalistic gang. The MGO returned to Aachen and did very little. A few of the small fry were dismissed. As for the rest, MG officers argued that it took time to find qualified non-Nazis to replace the "indispenable" men. They made no sincere effort to locate non-Nazis.

After Oppenhoff was assassinated last winter—at the instigation of his own colleague Faust, the fascist armaments engineer, according to my informed Aachen friends—MG appointed Pontesegger, the Austro-fascist, to his place. I do not know whether he is still there, now that Aachen is under the British. Men of good-will can only hope that the British MG is a little more concerned with democrats and a little less tolerant of fascists than the American.

Six months after MG went into Aachen, it entered Munich and duplicated its earlier performance, but this time on a much vaster scale. As in Aachen, so in Munich the first thing MG did was to consult the head of the church. This time it was not a bishop but a cardinal, and the one was no greater lover of democracy than the other. Cardinal Faulhaber is reported to have described the democratic Weimar Republic in 1928 as founded on "perjury and treason"; now MG took his advice in setting up a civil administration. The Cardinal had the reputation of being anti-Nazi, but a Catholic priest who has spent years in concentration camps told friends of mine that "Faulhaber's activities against the Nazis were much overrated."

As a result of his influence MG handed over power to men of one political party, the reactionary Bayerische Volkspartei, on the assumption that it was truly representative of overwhelmingly Catholic Bavaria. The record, however, shows that the B. V. P. was actually a minority party, smaller than the Social Democrats. The figures of the last democratic election, that of November, 1932 (the election of March, 1933, was not representative, since it excluded the Communists), show that the Catholic B. V. P. polled only 25 per cent of the total vote, while the Social Democrats got 29 and the Communists 10 per cent. Today there is reason to believe that the Social Democrats have retained their strength and the Communists gained a considerable following.

The B. V. P. under the leadership of Oberbürgermeister Scharnagl, a figurehead, and Bürgermeister Stadelmayr, the real ruler, kept itself and its friends in power by means of skilful maneuvering. Of the eight department heads appointed by Stadelmayr, two were B. V. P. (Berrenburg and Ochs), one was non-partisan (Hamm), one was a Social Democrat (Preis), and four were Nazis (Meitinger, Keller, Kleeblatt, and Hindelamm). When the question of forming a new city council came up, Scharnagl chose the year 1929 as a base on which to apportion the candidates. In that year the Munich council of fifty contained seventeen Social Democrats, twelve B. V. P.'s, and three Communists, the rest being Nazis and Nationalists. Since this would have given the parties of the left twenty seats as against twelve for the B. V. P., Scharnagl asked the Social Democrats to cut their representation to ten and the Communists to two. The rest of the posts he arbitrarily apportioned among business and religious circles, and thus effectively smothered the left.

In setting up the provincial administration the B. V. P. under Minister President Friedrich Schäffer used similar tactics. The left was systematically kept from power, either by the appointment of the oldest and most weak-kneed Social Democratic politicians, whom even the Nazis could not find dangerous, or by procrastination. Four sexagenarian Social Democrats (Rosshaupter, Preis, Schieffer, and Wimmer), so tired and disillusioned that they were always muttering, "It could be a lot worse," were appointed to unimportant positions. Young and vigorous men of that persuasion were kept out of office. As early as last May 22 President Schäffer told the discontented Social Democrats—the Communists did not enter the picture—that if their chief, Dr. Wilhelm Högner, would return from exile in Switzerland he would be given any post he desired in the Bavarian ministry. Early in June Dr. Högner arrived in Munich, but nothing happened. It was not until General Eisenhower shook up the whole Bavarian administration late in September that Högner emerged from the obscurity to which the B. V. P. had relegated him and took over power.

Under Schäffer and Scharnagl the church exercised great influence. Schäffer was always in the company of leading church personages, including Cardinal Faulhaber. "Never," said one Social Democratic official, "have so many churchmen been seen in the Rathaus as now."

The policy of the church and the administration toward the Nazis, militarists, and reactionaries in Bavaria, I shall discuss in my next article.

[*This is the third of a series of articles by Mr. Padover on Military Government in Germany.*]

What About This Bureaucracy?

BY RUTH LANDES

(Miss Landes's Washington experience was in the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and the FEPC. Previously she had been a member of the Anthropology Department of Columbia University.)

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S announcement that he intends to overhaul and streamline the multitude of offices in the executive branch of the government and the start already made in the Labor, State, and Commerce departments have raised the old cry of "Washington bureaucracy." This epithet has long been thrown at New Deal officialdom, and especially at the war-created agencies. It is used most freely by those who feel that the set-up in Washington—it may be the OPA, the WLB, the WPB, the Department of Agriculture, or some other agency with wide regulative authority—is agin' them. It is an opposition term, a pejorative that says plainly that Washington procedures are usually incompetent, often unnecessary, and possibly suspect.

Where there is this smoke, there must be some fire. The opposition may be hitting too hard and too wide, but it has something to hit at. Government employees in Washington *are* out of touch with responsible public opinion. Indeed, they are supposed to remain out of touch in order to retain their official integrity. The Hatch act penalizes frank political activity, and a Congressional statute of 1874 withholds the suffrage from the District of Columbia. Generally speaking, appointed officials in the executive branch of the government cannot give unauthorized speeches or interviews or receive formal recognition of their personal accomplishments. (They are not even supposed to receive a gift at Christmas time from a person of subordinate classification.) All assertions of individual thinking, whether in speech or writing, are discouraged by the requirement that they must first be submitted to a member of the legal or public-relations staff or to a supervisor. Study and reflection about the job are belittled on the ground that federal agencies are committed to action, not to planning programs.

The theory appears to be that government officials are simply anonymous exponents of agency policy. The responsible force is the administration, not the officials through which it acts. This is true not only of individual administrations like the AAA or the Veterans Administration or the War Department, but of the whole grand federal Administration. The reason why the theory falls down, and government officials are called bureaucrats—which often means "autocrats"—is that anonymity of this sort is thoroughly irreconcilable with the political practice of democracy. Anonymity of the bureaucratic type belongs properly in a totalitarian sphere of reference, where it is generally understood that an official is not a responsible authority, and where the public knows that it has no right of criticism.

What happens in Washington is that officials grow more and more remote from the flow of public needs. Paper work stacks high on their desks, and all communications must be handled through so-called "channels." One is in the government only a short time before one runs smack against "channels." In my case, it happened the third day after I was hired. I had to interview the newly appointed chief of a newly created emergency office, and the interview was arranged by the familiar device of phoning for it. Everything seemed fine, until some time later my boss was taken to task by the head of the personnel branch of an over-all agency. He said it was his job to clear such arrangements as I had made by telephone. It appeared that everybody involved in that interview should have been certified by this official, who to our uninitiated understanding had no discernible connection with it.

Knowing no freedom from "channels" after that, I understood the electric significance of an item printed several months ago to the effect that Mr. Stettinius, then Secretary of State, had substituted telephoned communications for routed paper work. (The WPB in its earlier period also encouraged the use of the telephone to expedite "preparedness," but this realistic procedure was soon superseded by tradition.) "Channeling" means recognizing authority while stressing anonymity. It means that no step can be taken without informing or inquiring of the person next highest in authority, who then passes it higher up, and so on. This is all done in writing, and as the desks are already piled high with memoranda, any particular communication may require some time for clearance, and occasionally gets lost.

Swamped with paper work, confused by forms, forbidden to exercise initiative or their critical faculties, office-holders are also protected from exposure to criticism. This is accomplished by that wall of anonymity which sometimes seems to the public like irresponsibility. When criticism or question appears in the press, most officials cannot answer except through channels. Most of them prefer not to answer under such circumstances, especially as it is bad form to come too often to the notice of the administrators. So little of self-esteem is allowed indeed to many federal officers that they look to sources like the lists of the old Dies committee for assurance that they still matter. Only last year a Washington official showed me proudly a copy of testimony filed with the Dies committee about his alleged subversive opinions.

It is a striking commonplace that most government workers in Washington complain of chronic fatigue—in spite of the fact that they enjoy very superior conditions of work. They have good food, good incomes, good medical facilities, ample sick leave and recreational and even mental-hygiene facilities. I imagine that this fatigue is a form of neurosis resulting from the suppression of practically every manifestation of their personality. Psychiatrists, including a former chief of the mental-hygiene section of Selective Service, believe that our nation's capital is an enclave of personality disorders.

Though anonymity is a shield against criticism, it is linked with an insecurity of employment that does not help morale, and that can contribute to arbitrariness. People are often dismissed without notice, and no one knows where the lightning may strike next. The agencies and the Civil Service Commission provide appeals machinery, but the procedure involves such delays that some plaintiffs prefer to forgo their rights. Since their personal opinions are usually the cause of their dismissal, they feel that they are made to suffer more humiliation than they find it necessary to tolerate.

There is also uncertainty about promotions. It is a mystery why a hard-working official of proved capacity should be passed over while another with no obvious qualifications is promoted. In this anonymous sphere there should be a machine-like progression of promotion. I believe there is some such theory, but under the war program men have been suddenly jockeyed up out of nowhere. There was the young man, twenty-seven years old, with merely high-school and clerical experience behind him who was suddenly presented with a $4,225 job—about which he did have the grace to express embarrassment. There was the union official brought in as a labor adviser at a superior salary, though his qualifications were confined to the field of union organization, who waited around while abler heads rolled in the gutter and finally found himself in the very top job in his department.

Anonymity is the basic evil in the Washington administrations. Possibly it once was desirable; it was part of the philosophy of small, peace-time agencies when government was largely a symbol of federation and touched the lives of voters at few points. But government in the executive branch has grown vastly since then. The hand of government is felt now in most of our major preoccupations. Who is responsible for the acts of the appointed officials?

Theoretically and ultimately the President is responsible, as the head of the executive branch of the government. Whether the agency has been created by executive order or Congressional enactment, the top executive officer is nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate; the staffs are hired through the Civil Service Commission. The immediate responsibility for carrying out the program of the various agencies rests with the staffs, that is, with those whose salaries range from about $8,000 a year down to $2,300. They are the technicians, the statisticians, the letter-writers, the lawyers and reviewers, the field investigators, the prosecutors. They are "the government."

By the nature of federal administration they are removed from the real situations in which the general citizenry finds itself trapped. They tend to seek solutions through paper work and closed conferences. This evil is less prominent in the field offices that are set up close to local problems and often staffed by local men. Washington has no roots in local situations. It is only the central office, to be appealed to when local facilities cannot handle a problem. The local staff feel local pressures and try to respond to them; their reputations can be made or marred there. The personal fortunes of Washington officials are touched only when the four-year cycle of Presidential elections wheels around. Then they may get thrown out. Yet even this cannot touch them professionally. They know that they are thrown out not because of their performance but because of party fortunes.

Under our present system, I doubt that the opposition could improve the performance if it filled all the posts with its own men. The remedy does not lie in a mere substitution of Mr. Brown for Mr. Smith. Washington officials are unreachable and consequently can be irresponsible because of the administrative philosophy that refuses to allocate responsibility to them. In no other career or scheme of organization are men conscious of so meager a sense of belonging, of contributing.

Our administrative system is outmoded. It clashes with modern notions of the procedures proper to a democracy. It smothers responses and adjustments to the country's changing needs. And it is a waste of much good human material selected conscientiously to handle our problems.

In the Wind

SCIENCE: "Every sensitive humanitarian," says a letter in the San Francisco *Chronicle* of September 26, "has reacted in horror to the savage atomic bomb. As a socialistic project under a New Deal brain trust of starry-eyed professors it is a flagrant example of the dangers of government meddling in the field of free enterprise. These same reformers now want a federal department of science to allow these same dreamers to continue their experiments, the end in view being, no doubt, to develop such new cheap sources of power as to undermine our way of life under private enterprise."

RELIGION: The Camelback Inn, Phoenix, Arizona, states in a brochure, "Clientele is rigidly restricted to 125 Gentiles. Priding itself on the quality of its patrons, the inn's 100 per cent restricted policy has met with wide approval from old guests."

MEDICINE: Lonnie Hearon, a sixteen-year-old Negro, was badly burned in a gasoline fire at a Memphis garage on September 26. In response to a call a private firm sent an ambulance to take him to a hospital. But it was an ambulance for white people only, and when the driver saw that the victim was a Negro he left him lying on the ground and drove away. An ambulance for Negroes came some time later. Lonnie Hearon died next day.

GOVERNMENT: Tamon Mayeda, who was Japan's Minister of Education in the Higashi-Kuni government and has been reappointed by Premier Shidehara, was formerly director of the Japan Institute, a pre-war propaganda outfit with offices in Radio City, New York.

QUESTION: William E. Laurence of the New York *Times*, who observed the effects of the atomic bomb in New Mexico and over Nagasaki, stated recently, "Atomic energy is here to stay; the question is whether we are."

STRIKE! "If we are really serious about sometime inculcating the Japanese with our democratic doctrines," said the New York *Herald Tribune* on September 26, "baseball would seem to be an excellent way to start."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

BRITAIN: THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

BY CYRIL CONNOLLY

London, October 1

I AM writing on a sunny morning in my new house in Regent's Park. It is in a terrace of twenty-six houses, twenty of which are uninhabited. All suffered from bomb damage last summer, and the labor and expense of rendering them habitable is greater than the Borough Council will allot, even to private individuals who would pay for it themselves. One or two homeless people may be able to find a way around the regulations, but the majority of these lovely Nash houses will be turned into government offices by the Office of Works. I have been in my house since July but have not yet been able to take a bath there. For three months I have been down on a gas-and-electricity and a coal merchant's list. When one of these can supply me, preferably the coal merchant, I shall feel properly installed, but I shall still be without curtains, chair-covers, and stair-carpets, for all these materials are rationed, and only those who have been bombed out or have been married since the war are accounted in sufficiently grave plight to receive them. Before me stretch the 600 acres of Regent's Park, half of which is closed to the public till next summer because the turf over the bomb-disposal craters has not yet grown and because there are no chestnut stakes to make fences around them. I am smoking a large ladies' cigarette about six inches long, which I was lucky to find on sale, and reading the *New Statesman*. I stop to meditate on this sentence from the editor's diary: "Up at Smethwick the other day, where Patrick Gordon Walker is fighting the first of the autumn by-elections, I was amazed at the roar of approval which greeted the suggestion that we must stand on our own feet, even if this means tobacco rationing and fewer films next year. If it goes on being tough and outspoken to the Americans, the Labor government stands to score its first really big victory." My first reflection, inspired by my six-inch cigarette, is horror of the Anglo-Saxon puritan complex, in which the victim derives more pleasure from saying no than yes, and which makes it possible—in a country where everyone wears braces—for the idea of "belt" to suggest immediately the pleasure-reflex "tighten." Next I wonder if the incident means that this country is profoundly anti-American. The answer is, certainly not, and I think that by explaining what is behind the crowd's approval I shall be able to illustrate the present mood of England clearly enough to justify this long digression.

The power of a country is the power of its industrial potential, its coal-iron-oil. All "realists" accept this. But it is also more, and it can best be measured as a combination of coal-iron-oil with man-power and with an intangible, the validity of its myth. Where the myth is weak—as in czarist Russia or the old Austrian Empire, or France today—statistics are meaningless. The American myth, which I will call dollar democracy, is very strong, for it is a passionate belief in the union of liberty with comfort. Liberty makes you enjoy life. Comfort makes you forget death. An excellent combination. The Russian myth, equally powerful, is Stalin's invention, Blimp Communism—a collective economic socialism without liberty, wrapped in the flag of whichever nation accepts it. What is the English myth? A long pause. One knows what it used to be. The great, just, generous, free-trading, respectable, battleship-crowned British Empire of the nineteenth century. Then the last surviving form of that, the aristocratic green-lawns, gold-plate England of Baldwin and Chamberlain, with the City breathing appeasement, profit, and old port over a grateful world. That, too, has gone. And now there is only the last myth—the "finest hour," "blood, toil, and sweat"—the myth of 1940. That still is strong, and any appeal to it—stand up to Russia, do without America, and so forth—is always valid. But it is not constructive, and when we try to find a myth which corresponds to our temperament, abilities, and geographical situation we see how badly dented has been the British "persona," "soul," or "way of life" by American dollar democracy.

The American myth is so sympathetic to us that we have largely absorbed it, without unfortunately having the necessary resources to keep it up. Yet we cannot continue on this road without becoming a backward American state. Hence our desire to shake off the insidious American domination and to recreate a robust myth of our own. The Labor government is part of this myth—it reminds us not so much of the nineteenth century, whose splendor is over, as of our seventeenth century, when we were the most politically advanced country in the world, the home of Pym and Hampden and Cromwell, of the Levelers, Milton, and Locke. It is a proof that our political vitality is strong and that we can settle down to shaping a regime which is neither capitalist nor totalitarian and which reflects our unpretentious position as the middle kingdom. When we have forged an ideology in which we, our dominions, and Western Europe can believe, we shall have established an Atlantic civilization which will stand for the creativeness of the Western mind, with a planned security in which the harmonious relation of the individual to society is discovered to be a greater source of happiness than wealth, comfort, and tyrannous competition. It is because we feel, however dimly, that we are on the way to this, and that in this or perhaps the next Labor government we have chosen the right instrument, that there is such widespread optimism, and even excitement, to be found in all classes in England beneath our surface irritation and fatigue and our pessimism about immediate prospects.

It would be pleasant to prophesy a renaissance in the arts, but I do not think that is likely to happen until the rewards of our political vision and economic planning have been established. Culture, to develop, requires a free mind and a full stomach, and there are still too many millions here without either. Thus although we talk about civil aviation, it is still quite impossible for most civilians to get anywhere near an aeroplane; we boast about the great tourist center England is going to be on the assumption that the tourists are going to come from all the countries where we allow no tourists ourselves, and that when they do arrive they will be delighted with the aggressive absence of comfort, manners, and taste which will be their welcome, and with that gloating "no" which is rapidly becoming our national greeting.

What effect has a Labor government on the arts? So far, of course, none. And in the near future it will have very little. What effect will the arts have on the Labor government? is a better way to put it. The Conservative attitude to the arts was ambivalent. Conservative politicians were reasonably well educated, and they knew something about art and literature—but they liked the arts to "keep their distance." Labor politicians know less but perhaps respect the arts more; and certainly are more aware of their possibilities as propaganda. But let us be practical. What is the highest level in each Cabinet at which a lover of the arts is found? Churchill, for instance, though a writer and painter, detested "intellectuals," whom he thought responsible for decadence, defeatism, and a Hamlet-like indecision over such obvious questions as India. Beaverbrook remarked that "there was no place for culture in war time" (conversely, there is now no place for him). Are things now any better? Bevin holds much the same view about intellectuals as Churchill. Morrison is reported to have said that he had no use for "the long-haired merchants"; his opening speech at the exhibition of painting by firemen was in our best philistine tradition. Professor Laski, fairly close to the very top, is our first prominent intellectual. On the lowest slopes of the pyramid, however, among the young M. P.'s, are several genuine lovers of art, and Labor's victory was certainly also largely due to the immense influence of small left-wing papers edited by intellectuals.

But there is a great deal more to be done. The state has got to take patronage over from the old aristocracy and from the merchant princes who are now too poor to maintain it, and the state must also learn to how be a wise, detached, and generous patron, not a slaughter-house for making propaganda sausage. In matters of taste, as in many matters of policy, the present government is far behind the people who elected it. Thus the year has witnessed a real revolution in English taste. The modern movement has won the battle; composers like Benjamin Britten, painters like Graham Sutherland, sculptors like Henry Moore, difficult poets like T. S. Eliot and Edith Sitwell, who seemed in the pre-war years to be buried under mountains of breezy humorists and complacent second-raters, are now almost national figures. They owe their large audience to the victory of serious critics and art-promoters such as Herbert Read, Sir Kenneth Clark, Edward Sackville-West, John Lehmann, and Stephen Spender over a motley collection of Conservative naggers, Vichy-type academicians, and opulent Fleet Street hacks. The danger is now from other directions. The best writers and painters are fast becoming the "best people," exposed to the terrible temptation of respectability. But if enlightened socialism gives England a myth in which it can believe, its artists will believe it too and, despite themselves, become responsible. Fortunately, the peerage is still many years off for most artists, who remain deprived of leisure, privacy, nobility, paper, paints, and canvas.

. The sun is sinking behind the terrace, and I am still without my bath. Besides, there is an antipathy between artists and governments. Politicians do not take to the "long-haired merchants," who seem to achieve money and even fame without working for them, while artists, for their part, are not over fond of the dupes of power, of those men who, whatever their party, have apparently forgotten that they are going to die.

THE JEW IS A MYTH

BY KAY BOYLE

LET us take Madison Square Garden as parallel. It will serve as proscenium, not for the pomp and tomfoolery of the circus, not for the streaming, stampeding panic of the rodeo, but for a quite humble pageant of incarceration. For within Madison Square Garden will be inclosed eleven thousand Polish and Russian Jews. These Jews will have been arrested at their homes in New York City, will have been rounded up by the New York police in their apartments, rooms, tenement dwellings, where they have been living for a number of years. Entire families—old people, some of them scarcely able to walk, babies carried in their parents' arms—will be brought to Madison Square Garden, and they will be given the benches to sit on, but they will be forbidden to circulate in the empty arena below. There they will remain, seated, awaiting the performance which is never to take place, for they themselves are the performers as well as the spectators.

"The tide rose," writes an eyewitness of the scene. "The ring of misery widened hour by hour, invaded the amphitheater, reached to the roof, and came down to the row of boxes. Fresh files of people carrying suitcases surged through the dark entrances and were at once seized and devoured by the benches. . . . Everyone was seated and could sleep only seated. . . . Sleep thus lost its hours, its rights, its substance." As the hours passed, no food was provided, there was no question of washing. "By the end of the first day," continues the report of the eyewitness, "the latrines were full and overflowing. . . . There were a large number of women among the prisoners. . . . They menstruated. Soiled, ashamed . . . they searched everywhere for newspapers . . . they stained with blood the already impossible latrines. . . . Sickening pools spread everywhere. An intolerable stench filled the vast amphitheater and dishonored it." The first intermission in the performance will come on the fourth day, when certain of the spectator-performers, such as women in labor and persons actually too ill to be moved, will be evacuated either to hospital or to concentration camp.

Such a performance did take place. The date of its opening night was July 16, 1942, and it was not staged at Madi-

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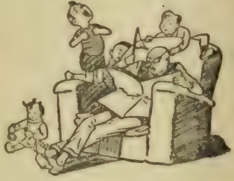

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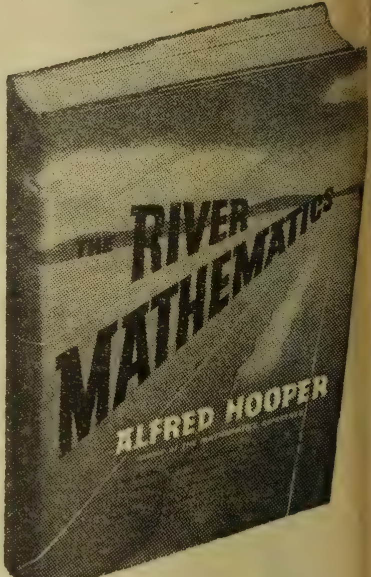

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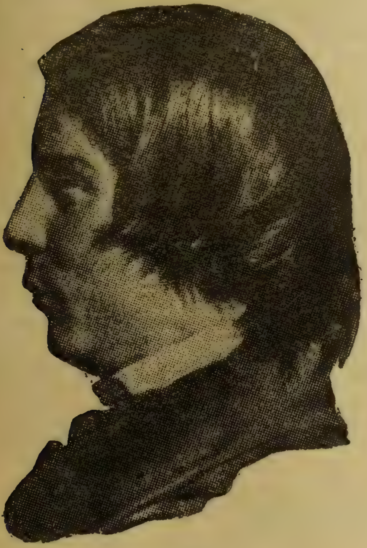

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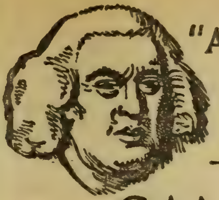

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son Square Garden in New York but at the Vélodrome d'Hiver in Paris. During the first days and nights of its run news of these mass arrests spread through the city, and a number of doctors, "nearly all Jews," volunteered their services to care for the eleven thousand prisoners. Among this group of doctors was the eyewitness quoted above—Dr. Charles Odic, not a Jew, but a Catholic of Breton stock.

"Only the children remained something like children," Dr. Odic writes in his book.* "They played, they ran about. If one looked closely, their games were not the usual kind. Invented as a necessity, they hid a deep distress of which I later had numerous proofs." They played, at least, until they succumbed to tuberculosis, to pneumonia, to starvation, or to the "furious epidemic of measles" which broke out in the Vélodrome d'Hiver. "As I leaf over the entry book, there is a T. B. mark against almost every name on every page," writes Dr. Odic when he follows some of these victims to Drancy. "When at last a doctor had an opportunity to listen, the child was lost. It could not be sent anywhere for a change of air. If Jews pay taxes even when the state has deprived them of all means of livelihood, they have no right to sanitariums. Vichy drove out all who were patients in such places. . . . Some day one coughs up a little patch of poppies, and then one arrives at the end of a journey so ill begun, a journey that might have ended so differently from in horror at the bottom of a pit of hate."

From this document, which deals with the despair of countless people, emerges an army of terribly living, unforgettable individuals. On these pages, which record the anguish of an entire race, is set down the shameful story of the Jews of France. "French to the core," writes Charles Odic, "Israel of France had the honor to bear our Cross when it was heaviest. What better patent of nobility!" There is Bertha Fraidrach, three years old, who must stand there naked in her bed forever, forever demanding that her mother be returned from her gas-chamber fate; there is Gaby Feld, who, "as she disappears under the arches of Death becomes Gabrielle," "a little Jewess, as humble as a violet in the woods, who Hitler had not foreseen would perfume her adopted country with the odor of her suffering"; there is Henri Krasnopolski, thirty months old, who explains to the doctor that the new-born babies crying near by "are not crying about the cocoa, but because they want their mommies who have been taken away." And then one day, our eyewitness writes, a child does not leave its bed. "By evening it is delirious. It still breathes, it breathes too hard, its little carcass wriggles on the straw, but its mind gallops afar on the swift courses of fever. It has broken its halter and escaped."

Dr. Odic, who was himself finally imprisoned in Buchenwald, holds no place in the world of contemporary French literature. Although he has written a book, he cannot be said to belong to any of the recent schools of French expression and thought which have been divided into "the literature of collaboration, the literature of occupation, and the literature of resistance." And yet how futile, when compared with his testimony of action and of faith, appear the rhetorical discussions of a *"littérature engagée"* and a *"littérature dégagée"!* How beggarly the cautious subtleties of a Gide written in the time of France's occupation! How utterly beyond debate the debatable roles that Guitry and Chevalier played! I believe that if no other book had been written in France during the years of its defeat, if no other book about those years had been made available to us here, Charles Odic's modest volume—revealing as it does the stature of its author—would alone serve as final answer and rebuke to the contemptuous doubts which have been advanced concerning the quality of French principles and French probity.

> The Jew is a myth [Dr. Odic concludes], the myth of German impotence. There is no more useful myth.
>
> The Jew exists because I have failed. Every time I fail, it is the fault of the Jew. Each of my failures shows the pattern of the Jew, and all these patterns make up "international Jewry."
>
> A German has a nightmare. On awakening it is the Jew that he accuses.
>
> "He wanted to ruin me, to soil me, to kill me."
>
> "Who?"
>
> "The Jew who hovered over my bed last night. That one, I recognize him."
>
> "That cannot be, he was elsewhere."
>
> "Then that one. All of them, for if it was not he, it was one of his."

Burning the Letters

Here in my head, the home that is left for you,
You have not changed; the flames rise from the sea
And the sea changes: the carrier, torn in two,
Sinks to its planes—the corpses of the carrier
Are strewn like ashes on the star-reflecting sea;
Are gathered, sewn with weights, are sunk.
The gatherers disperse.

Here to my hands
From the sea's dark, incalculable calm,
The unchanging circle of the universe,
The letters float: the set yellowing face
Looks home to me, a child's at last,
From the cut-out paper; and the licked
Lips part in their last questioning smile.
The poor labored answers, still unanswering;
The faded questions—questioning so much,
I thought then—questioning so little;
Grew younger, younger, as my eyes grew old,
As that dreamed-out and wept-for wife,
Your last unchanging country, changed
Out of your own rejecting life—a part
Of accusation and of loss, a child's eternally—
Into my troubled separate being.

A child has her own faith, a child's.
In its savage figures—worn down, now, to death—
Men's one life issues, neither out of earth
Nor from the sea, the last dissolving sea,
But out of death: by man came death
And his Life wells from death, the death of Man.
The hunting flesh, the broken blood
Glimmer within the tombs of earth, the food

---

* " 'Stepchildren' of France." Roy Publishers. $2.50.

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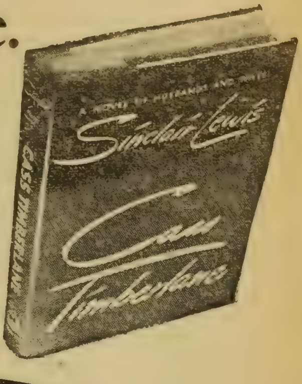
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Of the lives that burrow under the hunting wings
Of the light, of the darkness: dancing, dancing,
The flames grasp flesh with their last searching grace—
Grasp as the lives have grasped: the hunted
Pull down the hunter for his unused life
Parted into the blood, the dark, veined bread
Later than all law. The child shudders, aging:
The peering savior, stooping to her clutch,
His talons cramped with his own bartered flesh,
Pales, flickers, and flares out. In the darkness—darker
With the haunting after-images of light—
The dying God, the eaten Life
Are the nightmare I awaken from to night.

(The flames dance over life. The mourning slaves
In their dark secrecy, come burying
The slave bound in another's flesh, the slave
Freed once, forever, by another's flesh:
The Light flames, flushing the passive face
With its eternal life.)

The lives are fed
Into the darkness of their victory;
The ships sink, forgotten; and the sea
Blazes to darkness: the unsearchable
Death of the lives lies dark upon the life
That, bought by death, the loved and tortured lives,
Stares westward, passive, to the blackening sea.

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In the tables of the dead, in the unopened almanac,
The head, charred, featureless—the unknown mean—
Is thrust from the waters like a flame, is torn
From its last being with the bestial cry
Of its pure agony. O death of all my life,
Because of you, because of you, I have not died,
By your death I have lived.
The sea is empty.
As I am empty, stirring the charred and answered
Questions about your home, your wife, your cat
That stayed at home with me—that died at home
Gray with the years that gleam above you there
In the great green grave where you are young
And unaccepting still. Bound in your death,
I chose between myself and you, between your life
And my own life: it is finished.
Here in my head
There is room for your black body in its shroud,
The dog-tags welded to your breastbone, and the flame
That winds above your death and my own life
And the world of my life. The letters and the face
That stir still, sometimes, with your fiery breath—
Take them, O grave! Great grave of all my years,
The unliving universe in which all life is lost,
Make yours the memory of that accepting
And accepted life whose fragments I cast here.

RANDALL JARRELL

The American Style

THE AMERICAN LANGUAGE: SUPPLEMENT I: AN INQUIRY INTO THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH IN THE UNITED STATES. By H. L. Mencken. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

MR. MENCKEN has grown weary of the recurring task of ripping apart and rewriting "The American Language." He has gone through the process three times, and the third revision he has described as "almost appalling." It resulted in what was virtually a new book, almost two and a half times as long and inestimably better in scholarship than the original edition of 1919. All this is simply the penalty that attaches to writing a book so good that it can neither be superseded by the work of another nor be allowed to fall into obsolescence. Mr. Mencken's feeling is understandable but unfortunate, for it has led him into making an awkward compromise. Persuading himself that the projected fifth edition, running to an estimated 2,000 pages, would be too long for comfort, he decided to keep the fourth edition of 1936 in print and to add a supplementary volume to bring it down to date. The supplement, however, grew under his hand, and what is now published is merely the first half. "Supplement II" is promised, "if all goes well, in about a year."

"Supplement I" parallels the first six chapters, or shorter half, of the parent work and adds 789 pages of text and index to the 809 of the 1936 edition. "Supplement II," it is safe to predict, will be at least as long. The end product will be an overgrown work—a veritable *Handbuch* in the unforgettable German manner—of approximately 2,400 pages, needlessly long, expensive, and inconvenient to use because of frequent references from one volume to another for the treatment of a single topic, and because, also, of the necessity of consulting three separate indices. The author has done his best, however, to make the supplement easy to use. The order of topics is the same as in the original, and an ingenious set of bracketed catch-lines and quotations keeps the two volumes in complete alignment. There is remarkably little repetition of matter. The publisher's claim that "Supplement I" "may be read without reference to its predecessor" may be literally true, but it is not a procedure to be recommended. Incidentally, I am happy to say, the necessities of war time have compelled Mr. Knopf's designers, doubtless much against their will, to use paper of appropriate weight and thickness, with the result that "Supplement I" is lighter, compacter, easier to hold, and altogether comelier than "The American Language."

"Supplement I" corrects some errors in "The American Language" and sometimes adds more material from sources already utilized, but its chief function is to fit into the old framework the new materials made available during the past ten years. These include not only the huge miscellany forwarded to Mr. Mencken by his clipping bureaus, friends, and correspondents in all parts of the globe, a unique and valuable contribution by itself, but the "Dictionary of American English," the "Linguistic Atlas of New England," and such lesser yet formidable works as Berrey and Van den Bark's "American Thesaurus of Slang," the third volume of Thornton's "American Glossary," Ramsay and Emberson's "Mark Twain Lexicon," Fries's "American English Grammar," Kenyon and Knott's "American Pronouncing Dictionary," and Wentworth's "American Dialect Dictionary."

The mere enumeration of these works serves to show how the study of American English has advanced in recent years. Perhaps the chief service rendered by Mr. Mencken's first venture into the field, the "preliminary inquiry" of 1919, was its exhibition of an untilled field and its lampooning of American linguists for their neglect of their native speech. Mr. Mencken, fuming over his revisions, supplements, and indices, has got what he asked for, and in getting it he has made an enviable host of friends glad to share with him their observations and knowledge. His book testifies not only to his own industry but to his power to enlist the help of others and his punctilious courtesy in acknowledging it.

"The American Language" and "Supplement I" deserve, in a general way, all the praise that has been heaped upon them. Yet it is fatally easy to mispraise them. They are not a great original contribution to the study of American English. With the passing years Mr. Mencken has acquired a wider and more detailed knowledge of the field than is possessed by any professional scholar that I can name, and none of them could have written a book on the subject that would be half as interesting to the general public. Yet his scholarship, genuine though it is, remains doggedly unprofessional, unscientific. He is a lexicographer of the line of Johnson and Webster, endlessly curious about words and people, not a linguist like Henry Sweet or Edward Sapir, who pursue a more complex and elusive subject. Mr. Mencken's book—to take "The American Language," "Supplement I," and the projected "Supplement II" as a single work—is more pro-

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found as a study of style than of language. He is little interested, it seems to me, in language as structure and mechanism; he is absorbingly interested in it as a revelation of the minds of its speakers. That is the great value of his book, and, from the linguist's point of view, its limitation.

GEORGE GENZMER

Pull Dick, Pull Devil

SAINTS AND STRANGERS. By George F. Willison. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.75.

ARTEMUS WARD said, "I believe we are descended from the Puritans, who nobly fled from a land of despotism to a land of freedom, where they could not only enjoy their own religion but prevent everybody else from enjoying *his.*" Ward was a fairly low humorist in a period of dowdy local humor, but he managed to say that at a time when it badly needed saying. You will find this note at the back of the book, with many others that are just what notes should be, true marginalia, illuminating sparks flying out from the main narrative, sly, witty, apropos, full of health and purpose. Don't miss the notes; and you will also do well to take a look at the selected bibliography, if for no other reason than that you will think twice before rushing into an enterprise like this. In spite of the easy reading, this is a work of long-suffering scholarship. As a student of the period, having read more than two thousand "items" on that and related subjects, I assure you that when you have read it, you will know all you need to know, now or ever, about that group of early American settlers now called the Pilgrim Fathers, their lives and hazards in the Plymouth Plantation.

Whatever else Mr. Willison does in his career of writing, teaching, editing, it would be useful and heroic of him to abandon everything else and devote his days to clearing up and putting in shape other murky, demon-haunted spots in American history. As a nation we are in danger of becoming myth-ridden to a point where our true story will be lost. Rarely have I seen a handsomer job of imposing chronological order, narrative sequence, and the plain facts of the matter on utter chaos than in this book. It is a pattern for writing from documentation, and is the first completely understood, coherent account, in all its large importance and pettifogging, abject detail, that I have seen not written by a specialist for other specialists. The large importance takes care of itself: the story is told in terms of personal experience, of human relationships on every plane of society, event modifying event, character striking sparks from character; and the eternal conflicts and sympathies between religion, economics, and politics could hardly be more clearly and fairly presented.

These English emigrants from Holland by way of England were not, it seems, Puritans in the technical sense of the word. That title belonged to the later theocrats of Massachusetts Bay. The Pilgrims were not theocrats, either; they were Separatists in every sense: separated from other Christians by God's own election; separated from the mummeries and superstitions of the Church of England; separated from the things of this world, so far as they were able. This turned out to be the most difficult clause. They began with fairly definite notions of communal property interests, a ban on profits and usury, a more or less clear division between the secular and the religious office. So far so good; but during the long years of hardship in Holland that mere handful of not very imaginative or intelligent people had gone maggoty-minded with their troubles and the religious manias of their time, and had reached the benumbing conclusion that they were God's Chosen and nobody else at all was in His favor. In time they became so Elect they could no longer mingle with their fellow-men on any reasonable terms. They got so they could hardly endure each other, for they were all saints but no two in the least alike, and such uniqueness is more than the human soul can bear, the terrible spiritual pride of Chosenness brought to its dead end. They really had the effrontery to call themselves Saints. And their fellow-voyagers outside the Discipline they called Strangers.

Nothing could be less true than that they were looking for religious freedom in this country. This is a myth of later times; freedom of thought and of conscience as we regard them were abhorrent to the Pilgrims. They had religious freedom in Holland, but so had everybody else, and this was a condition intolerable to them. In England their activities were treasonable: in liberal Holland they were mere economic liabilities and social nuisances. During that time they must have learned that no religion has any real power without the support of the state. Their intention, they believed, was pure and unworldly: they were to restore the Golden Age of primitive Christian unity and simplicity of

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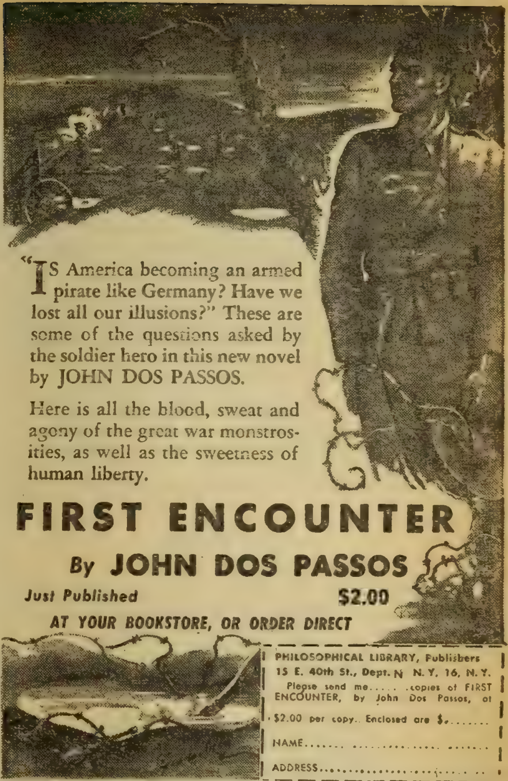
faith. That such an age had never existed made no difference—they would restore it. They needed for this great spiritual undertaking a new country, economic independence and stability, and a body politic of their own devising. They moved toward this goal slowly and painfully, making all the blunders and self-defeating errors of men divided in their minds. After years of the most hysterical quarreling and religious scandals among themselves, political ruses and stratagems never quite successful, a long drama of cross-purposes, cheats, double-dealings, ineptitudes, and false starts in their dealings with the merchant adventurers who were trying to make of them a profitable commercial enterprise, a company of 102 men, women, and a preposterous number of children set sail on the Mayflower in September, 1620.

Nobody had enough money or clothes or bedding or supplies of any sort. The Pilgrims, having been farmers or artisans, had decided to become fishermen, but they did not bring enough fishing gear even to supply fish during their periods of starvation. The farmers had not brought any agricultural implements to speak of, and had forgotten the first year's supply of seed corn. The artisans had not proper tools of their trades. The saltmaker on whom they depended for salt to cure the fish they were going to catch without any tackle couldn't, after all, make salt. He had only said he could. I have mentioned the large number of children. It may occur to more than one reader as he follows Mr. Willison through the almost unbelievable series of disasters that follow that the children might have managed things better.

Not all the Voyagers were Saints by a long shot, and that made trouble. Nearly half of them belonged to the category known to the Fathers as Strangers. These were for the most part well-meaning, fairly well-behaved persons who had been christened in the Church of England and like any decent churchman had never given the matter another thought. Even in mid-voyage the Saints began harassing and oppressing them into the Holy Discipline. The struggle was to go on for years, and Mr. Willison follows every step of it to the bitter end. For example, take the threatened mutiny on board the Mayflower just on the point of landing. Bradford tiptoes over this in his account, but Mr. Willison ferrets out the names and histories of the malcontents, and places the incident in its proper relation to the celebrated covenant drawn up by the Separatists and signed by all or nearly all on board. This agreement has been romantically described as the first charter of American freedom, which it was not, nor was ever meant to be. It was an instrument designed to bind to obedience the dissenting classes, represented by indentured servants, hired men, and a few of the more respectable Strangers who showed fight at the last uneasy moment.

Mr. Willison quotes from the records with splendid effect, turning on, now and then, in the midst of his own easy colloquial prose that noble Elizabethan English in which some very paltry aims and dubious sentiments and questionable motives were disguised in phrases that lift the heart in a momentary and largely misguided impulse of belief and sympathy. As for rebuke and fault-finding, downright slanging, there was never a better language for it. Everybody who could write at all had it at pen's point; they were as



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loquacious as the Greeks and as censorious as Puritans, and it makes wonderful reading.

With all this admirable work, done with such human tenderness and natural good humor, with all the virtues of the book as history, Mr. Willison has succeeded brilliantly in every detail but one: he has not been able to make his Pilgrims attractive, either as saints or sinners. But if God Himself could not do this, or at least did not choose to do so, our historian may well be content with his achievement and his readers with him. For myself, they are no forefathers of mine, and I still feel about them as the Dutch did, and large numbers of their fellow-Englishmen, and most of their contemporaries in other regions who shared the furious labors of settling this country and founding this nation. Their virtues are simply not great enough to overbalance their disturbing lack of charm. And I wish I might never have to hear again that they brought the idea of political and religious freedom to this country. It got in in spite of them; and has had rough going ever since, which is the fault of all of us. KATHERINE ANNE PORTER

BRIEFER COMMENT

Virginia Woolf's Fiction

SO MUCH OF JOAN BENNETT'S study, "Virginia Woolf: Her Art as a Novelist" (Harcourt, Brace, $2), consists of long quotations that the jacket candidly declares that "as an anthology of Virginia Woolf this book has its special pleasures," a sentence which illustrates a happy ability to find a silver lining. Indeed, Mrs. Bennett forces one to reflect upon how frequently the weak critic makes quotation a substitute for and escape from critical analysis. If one is prepared to wade through large blocks of Mrs. Woolf's prose which are better encountered in her novels, and if one is patient enough to drag one's mind through countless trite formulations—"the experience of love, like the experience of death, is shown in Virginia Woolf's novels as part of the pattern of human life"—then it is possible to come upon a few just observations.

In general, however, though Miss Bennett has chapters dealing with such matters as character, form, and values she makes little use of the important critical means: the generalization of the recurrent preoccupations of an author, the definition and evaluation of the work through comparison with other authors, and above all the employment of a sense of time, place, and society. Mrs. Woolf's rejection of the realism of Arnold Bennett and H. G. Wells, her obsessed concern with being a woman, the over-literary and over-lyrical quality of her style, and the extent to which she made the soliloquy the center of her work—these are matters of which one is merely reminded by Mrs. Bennett's book. One is also reminded of Virginia Woolf herself, for the quotations as such suggest the image of some marvelous soprano who from the darkness of old phonograph records sings passionately and pathetically that life is beautiful, noble, and tragic, that no one knows anyone, and that we are all forever lost. DELMORE SCHWARTZ

Pictures and Prattle

ALMOST THE SOLE MERIT of Sidney Janis's "Abstract and Surrealist Art in America" (Reynal and Hitchcock, $6.50) is that it prints the names and reproduces, among other things, the paintings of several advanced artists whose work deserves to be better known. Its text, however, is lamentable. This compost of exalted prattle ("New realities are symbolized which transcend commonplace representation; the secret life of the object; the dynamics of an expanding universe; etc., etc.") and irresponsible pronouncement ("Science is the open sesame of twentieth-century art, and artists have entered where angels fear to tread") is not new. A good deal of French writing about art since Faure exhibits it. But only lately, with the migrations of the surrealists and the expatriates, has it begun to show in English writing. Not that we don't have our own brand of flapdoodle, but it has been so closely associated with the rejection of modern art that it has long since lost its credit. The danger in rhetoric of Mr. Janis's sort (compare the art dealers on holiday who used to fill the text pages of the *Cahiers d'Art*) is that it sounds up to date and comes packaged with reproductions of Picasso and Mondrian.

There is no use quibbling: art writing has a bad name at present, and rightly. In no other field—except politics and perhaps music—can one get away with such hokum in print. The reason is obvious. There has not yet matured a body of good taste within the art world that could call to account statements made in public about art. If such a control were present, the patient work Mr. Janis has put in as a collector would not have been frustrated, for the purposes of this book, by audacities of language and sense committed simply because the license for them was found in contemporary practice. CLEMENT GREENBERG

From the Amoeba to G. M.

IN THE COURSE of a year I plow through a great deal of propaganda for private enterprise. It is business seldom alloyed with pleasure, for few of the authors combine sincerity with ability to write. One of the exceptions, with whom hitherto I have been able to enjoy disagreeing, is James Truslow Adams, and it is with real regret that I have to report that his latest book, "Big Business in a Democracy" (Scribner's, $2.75), is a badly bungled job. It is poorly organized, it rambles, it repeats itself *ad nauseam,* it indulges in cheap sneers at opponents, and it abounds in personal anecdotes which often serve to tangle the threads of argument rather than draw them together.

The trouble, perhaps, is that Mr. Adams has bitten off more than he can chew and allowed himself no pause for digestion. He sets out to prove that big business in America today is not only essentially different from big business anywhere else at any time but is the very web and woof of American democracy. This is an idea which, as he says, must be viewed in perspective, and in order to get the right angle on it he goes back a billion and a half years to the beginnings of geological time. From this vantage-point he whirls through history, tracing social evolution from the amoeba to the highest form of business life—General

Motors—to whose glories nearly half his book is devoted.

This biggest of big businesses, we learn, is a truly democratic, public-spirited organization. Its executives, all recruited from the ranks, labor ceaselessly to provide the community with more for less. Its labor relations were exceptionally smooth, despite its anti-union policy, until the "notorious" Wagner act encouraged agitators to invent grievances for its employees. During the war, like most other American businesses, it has performed prodigies of production with no thought of profit. If this statement were true—a recent War Production Board report showing that 1944 industrial profits exceeded those of 1929 appears to contradict it—it might seem to conflict with Mr. Adams's belief that the only effective incentive to effort is the hope of gain.

Admittedly, General Motors, once the government had overcome its reluctance to abandon normal business, made an impressive record in war production. But when Mr. Adams harps on the technical achievements of this and other big businesses he misses the point made by the progressive economists he despises. The charge against private enterprise is not that it falls down as a producer but that it has failed to evolve a system for continuously distributing its product and, as a result, is in perpetual danger of choking itself to death. This aspect of the "free-enterprise system" cannot be dismissed, as Mr. Adams dismisses it, with a contemptuous reference to "new thinkers."

KEITH HUTCHISON

Dr. Merriam Sums Up

THE DEAN OF AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENTISTS, Charles E. Merriam, has gathered together the fruits of a life work in "Systematic Politics" (Chicago, $3.75). Every problem of government is fruitfully discussed, and every perplexing issue is illumined by a mind which is informed not only by a lifetime of study in the academic disciplines but by long experience in practical affairs of government.

A strongly optimistic note runs through the whole study. Professor Merriam declares: "I am assuming the infinite perfectibility of man. I am assuming the validity of the continuing creative evolution of mankind in the direction of higher levels." Purely deterministic theories of historical development are rejected for more voluntaristic conceptions of human progress: "Governmental processes are not merely wormlike squirmings in which men are enslimed without gains or goals but are parts of a process of transition from darkness to light, from slavery to freedom, from drift to mastery."

Dr. Merriam is certain that since "our expanded knowledge of the nature of human personality, of the habitat of man, the characteristics of population, etc., is far more extensive and intensive than was available in the days of Aristotle, Bodin, and Montesquieu," we must therefore be "in far better position to appraise and utilize the personal, geographic, ethnic, economic, and social factors establishing the needs and conditions of political association and human progress." And he closes his study with the hopeful words: "The greatest of all revolutions in the whole history of mankind is the acceptance of creative evolution as the proper role of man, for this will eventually transform the spirit and

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Within the framework of this optimistic appraisal of the course of human history the book abounds in shrewd analyses of detailed political problems and illuminating discussions of general principles. But is the framework adequate in a day when we are not at all sure that we have the political instruments with which to prevent the atomic bomb from becoming the means of our mutual annihilation? Is this optimism warranted in an age in which the experience of two world wars has not yet given us the resources to establish the kind of world order which will prevent such wars?

One reads such a great work with gratitude for all the wealth of wisdom which enters the discussion of detailed problems but with a sense that the task of establishing a genuine community within the framework of a technical civilization is more difficult and the road toward the goal more tortuous than the author assumes. REINHOLD NIEBUHR

VERSE CHRONICLE

Lewis and MacNeice

C. DAY LEWIS is at heart the most conservative of the poets who used to make up what was called the Auden circle. Beneath the left-wing politics, the Freudian imagery, and the "sprung" rhythms of his verse is an instinctive faith in conscience, courage, and the English countryside. He is in fact very close to such poets of his race as Masefield and Tennyson; and we may live to see him the Laureate yet. We shall, however, probably never see him turn into a poet of the first order. There is in him too little of that flair for ambiguity and contradiction which seems to be the prerequisite for great poetry in this furiously complicated age. No figures of doubt ever haunted his political verse as the sinister Airmen and Healers once did that of Auden. And though his recent poems are full of a new anxiety, it is the plain, untranscendental anxiety of a disappointed radical who has not, like Auden, read Kierkegaard.

But Lewis's traditional and single-hearted idealism is also his strength in the degree that he is content to recognize it and write by it. It is certainly very much in evidence in "Short Is the Time" (Oxford, $2.25); and perhaps that explains why there is in this new volume less of the empty exuberance, the pretense and pastiche, that weakened so much of Lewis's earlier work. The poetry in "Short Is the Time" seems to acknowledge that since it cannot be great it has to be good. Much of it is exceedingly well written, and even though the effectiveness of the poems is more in the part than in the whole, they testify to an observant and cultivated mind. Indeed, The Nabara, a narrative based on a heroic incident of the Spanish civil war, is probably Lewis's best long poem to date. Remembering the tragic confusion of Spanish politics, one has to suspend a lot of disbeliefs in order to accept fully Lewis's enthusiasm for the do-and-die spirit of his protagonists; one can only say that somehow he does make you accept it.

> Slowly they nosed ahead, while under the chill North-Wester
> Nervous the sea crawled and twitched like the skin of a beast
> That dreams of the chase, the kill, the blood-beslavered feast:
> They, too, the light-hearted sailors, dreamed of a fine fiesta,
> Flags and their children waving, when they won home from the east.

Lewis is here writing—one would guess consciously—in the English epic tradition which produced The Revenge, The Battle of Agincourt, and Chevy Chase. Undoubtedly that is one reason why The Nabara is so much more the real thing than Robert Nathan's "Dunkirk" and other writings by the Homers of our American *Saturday Review of Literature*, whose sole tradition is Hollywood.

Less ambitious than C. Day Lewis, Louis MacNeice has usually seemed the surer artist. Witty, elegant, and a little diffident, MacNeice writes verse so ingeniously musical that it succeeds despite a certain poverty of thought and energy. Yet the poems in his most recent book, "Springboard" (Random House, $1.75), are certainly disappointing. They seem rather tired and dispirited, as London is said to be after five years of war. The best things in the book are two crazy lyrics, Swing-Song and Nuts in May, which are almost as good as the wonderful Bagpipe Music of a few years ago. For the rest, MacNeice seems to be writing just in order to keep his hand in. But in a curious poem called The Kingdom there is evidence that he is experimenting with a sort of home-made and secular mystique of personality. He makes clear that for him liberalism is exhausted and religion impossible; yet there remains the power of individuality, of living one's own life.

> Under the surface of flux and of fear there is an underground movement,
> Under the crust of bureaucracy, quiet behind the postures,
> Unconscious but palpably there—the Kingdom of individuals.

These are the rather flat opening lines of The Kingdom; the body of the poem undertakes the highly ticklish job of describing some of the people who compose this conspiracy. Alas, as MacNeice portrays them they seem more quaint than fine, not so much individuals as "characters."

> Take this old man with the soldierly straight back
> Dressed in tweeds like a squire but he has not a squire's presumption,
> His hands are gentle with wild flowers, his memory
> Latticed with dialect and anecdotes
> And wisps of nature poetry; he is of the Kingdom,
> A country-lover and very English . . .

Can MacNeice have been reading "You Can't Take It with You"? Apparently what qualifies a man for membership in the Kingdom is that he should simply be "different" in a funny sort of way—rather an unlikely idea on which to base a fairly long and comparatively solemn poem. And the dimness and foolishness of the whole conception are reflected in language that is strangely without nerve or color. "Latticed" is clever, but does it really help?

F. W. DUPEE

FICTION IN REVIEW

Of Husbands and Wives

LAST week, in writing about André Maurois's "Woman Without Love," I spoke of certain French attitudes toward marriage which seemed to me to be quite retrograde compared to current American attitudes. Now the appearance of Sinclair Lewis's "Cass Timberlane" (Random House, $2.75) brings me again to the marital subject. Just as each of Mr. Lewis's novels is *about* something—about medicine, or religion, or hotel-keeping, or the theater, or philanthropy—"Cass Timberlane" is about husbands and wives. Divided between the story of the courtship and marriage of Cass and Jinny Timberlane and an anatomy of married life as practiced by a great many other couples in Grand Republic, Minnesota, it is Mr. Lewis's attempt to investigate marriage as he has already investigated other arts or professions, as on a parity with, say, medicine or acting.

Of course we are always as quick to resist generalizations about ourselves as we are to make generalizations about others, and there may therefore be a touch of prejudice in my repudiation of Mr. Lewis's picture of American marriage when I was so ready to offer my own anatomy of French marriage on the basis of Mr. Maurois's novel. But on the other hand, it was less the purposeful substance of Mr. Maurois's novel than its accidental revelations that struck me as meaningful; and on the level of implicit attitudes "Cass Timberlane" is a curiously unrevealing book. Especially in its subsidiary chapters, in what Mr. Lewis calls "an assemblage of husbands and wives," it is chiefly a restatement of familiar American sentimentalities and cynicisms about marriage. Whereas in books like "Main Street" and "Babbitt" it was Mr. Lewis's special gift to be able to explore the social value of habitual manners and attitudes of which we had hitherto been scarcely aware, in "Cass Timberlane" he deals almost entirely in observations that have been part of our cliché-thinking about love and marriage for many a year.

And obviously, while the clichés of a society may grow out of its implicit attitudes, the two are not to be confused. That there is at least a considerable time-lag before an even widespread cultural assumption receives general expression we can see illustrated, from Mr. Lewis's own work, by the history in our society of the Arrowsmith ideal of marriage. Even when "Arrowsmith" was published, in 1925, no one questioned the validity to American life of the relationship of Leora and Martin; and with the passing years this Arrowsmith pattern of marriage has surely become more and more our ideal. But our popular talk about marriage—by which I mean our marital jokes and the easy, unthoughtful pictures of marriage in our popular arts—has not yet caught up with this development.

Certainly, compared to the Arrowsmiths, the Timberlanes are significantly out of date. Instead of the relatively mature and tender and loyal Leora, Mr. Lewis gives us a Jinny who is most unfashionably infantile for twenty-three or twenty-four, and whose marital manners are as outmoded as they are tartish. Or instead of the firm and self-respecting Martin, we are given Cass Timberlane, who, despite being forty-one

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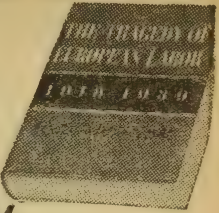

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years old and vested with the dignity of a judgeship, a Congressional past, and a divorce, is quite incredibly soft-headed in his devotion to such a silly girl. No doubt there was something intended to be sweet in Cass's moon-calf adoration of Jinny, and something intended to be fortifying in the spectacle, in this day and age, of so much male chivalry and self-abnegation as Mr. Lewis imputes to his hero. But for one reader the Timberlane love story was only an embarrassment when it wasn't an irritation.

I do not know whether the Cass and Jinny story was meant to be read against the background of Mr. Lewis's marital survey or whether Mr. Lewis's tour through the lives —chiefly the bedrooms—of the good citizens of Grand Republic was meant to be read against the background of the Timberlanes. That is, I am uncertain whether the marriage of the Timberlanes is an example or an exception. Taking these subsidiary chapters alone, however, without their reference to the story of the Timberlanes, they are as depressing when they disclose their occasional happy union as when they weight the melancholic scales. For even in Mr. Lewis's picture of a happy marriage there is no sense of the day-by-day dialectic of two complicated human beings; there is only the sense of some quaint accident of chemistry. The planning together of a marriage, the setting up of the family with a shared moral, social, and economic responsibility, is nowhere suggested by Mr. Lewis's husbands and wives; yet it is as much in the failure of joint hope as in the failure of individual hope that a good part of the tragedy of marriage resides. This is not to dispute Mr. Lewis's observation of some of the common marital pitfalls—an unmatched sexuality, an unmatched ambition, or any other of the unadjustable discrepancies of the human temperament. It is simply to question Mr. Lewis's estimate of marriage as the sum only of its most sensational personal frustrations or satisfactions.

But I suppose it is not alone an approach to a social institution that is involved here, but an approach to people; even the bird's-eye-view method that Mr. Lewis employs in these short subsidiary chapters of "Cass Timberlane" would suggest a low human tolerance. The compression of the whole span or essence of a life into so brief a compass, or a view of life from the distance of complete non-participation on the part of the author, always seems to me to evoke the chill air of an obituary notice. John Dos Passos, for instance, uses both these methods—the method of over-compression, in his interspersed biographies; and the method of non-participation, in the treatment of the characters whom he follows even through several volumes—and they are what produce, I think, the strangely mortuary tone of his novels; because Mr. Dos Passos can give so little affection to the people in his books, we ourselves can give little affection to his books, however much we may admire and respect their intention. Well, no one can fall more in love with his characters than Mr. Lewis; but, too, Mr. Lewis has never conceived a character who was entirely immune to his satire. There is a lack of true human affection in his novels similar to the lack of affection in Mr. Dos Passos's novels. The victim, so to speak, of his own divided heart, Mr. Lewis cannot help victimizing his fictional creations—and if not by satire, then by robbing them of some of their due share of life.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

TWO new melodramas—each pretty good in its way—compose the subject of this week's report. One of them is provided with a moral for the moment and the other one isn't, but the difference between them is not so great as might be supposed.

"The Ryan Girl" (Plymouth Theater) is the one without any social significance. Its author is Edmund Goulding, dimly remembered on Broadway for "Dancing Mothers" and more recently active in Hollywood. He has dug up the good old plot about a mother's sacrifice for a son who does not even know that she is in any way related to him, and then modernized that plot so completely that most spectators will probably never be reminded how many of the old-fashioned "well-made" plays were built upon it. This time the son is a returned hero who, so we learn, had been given away in infancy to a female pal of his chorus-girl mother. His father, a rather stupid minor gangster more recently resident in South America in order to escape a murder charge, gets the idea that if he were to turn up in New York and establish his claim, no patriotic jury would convict the father of so great a hero. He comes, tells the boy's mother (who still loves both father and son) what his scheme is, and it is up to her to find a way out. The very captious may complain that the play does not really have much action, that once the situation has been stated the playwright is compelled merely to mark time as interestingly as he can until the rather simple and not wholly unpredictable solution is reached. The fact remains, however, that "The Ryan Girl" is, on its own level, a very good show. Thanks in considerable part to a lively if not very subtle performance by June Havoc, a very good performance by Edmund Lowe as the gangster, and a superb one by Una O'Connor as the faithful old servant, "The Ryan Girl" will probably have a long stay at the Plymouth.

Now Mr. Goulding's plot is what I suppose can best be described as an artificial one. That does not mean that events like those he imagines could not happen; it does mean that they could be set in motion only by a series of unlikely coincidences, and that since similar things happen far more frequently on the stage than they do in life, his play can hardly be considered a discussion of any pressing contemporary problem. The Messrs. d'Usseau and Gow, whose most recent previous play was "Tomorrow the World" and who now turn up with "Deep Are the Roots" (Fulton Theater), do not go in for that sort of thing. Casting about for another current topic, they do not have to look very far to discover the race problem in the South. Their returned hero is a Negro, and so they start with a natural rather than an artificial situation. Few returned heroes have murderers hidden in their background; a considerable number are black. No remarkable series of coincidences is necessary to set the plot in motion. Negro soldiers constitute a problem, as the sons of murderers do not.

To many people, no doubt, it will seem that little more need be said concerning the respective merits of the two plays. Obviously "The Ryan Girl" is largely theatrical claptrap while "Deep Are the Roots" is, they will say, serious drama performing an important social function. But the matter is not really so simple as that. Having started with what I call a natural situation, the authors of "Deep Are the Roots" are faced with two questions. First, have they anything to say that has not already been said a good many times before? Second, just how much artificiality are they going to introduce in order to keep their play moving on the level of popular theatrical entertainment?

The first of these questions they answer honestly if not brilliantly. They haven't much new to say, but they say it in an intelligent and straightforward manner, even though they sometimes sound less like men who have observed life in the deep South than like well-intentioned students of that abstraction called race prejudice. At least, however, they are trying to be reasonable, and they are not intolerably self-righteous. For their second problem they have found a less happy solution, and having started with a natural situation, they introduce more and more artificial elements in order to achieve melodramatic effects. Perhaps the best way to explain what I mean is to cite the fact that their climax is precipitated when it is discovered that the younger daughter of the old "white-supremacy" Senator is in love with the Negro soldier and, indeed, offers to marry him. In the end the authors themselves get around to admitting that the right of a Negro to marry a white woman is not at the moment one of the rights which it is most important to him to win. But that is not all. The love complication is not a natural development of the natural situation. For reasons that a psychologist could no doubt explain easily enough, even liberal young girls brought up in the traditional Southern fashion do not often fall in love with Negroes. The situation which presupposes that one of them has done just that is only one degree less artificial than that which presupposes a great hero with a murderer for father. And artificiality was introduced into "Deep Are the Roots" for the same reason that Mr. Goulding cooked up his plot—because it makes possible a bang-up theatrical crisis.

"Deep Are the Roots," like "The Ryan Girl," is essentially a melodrama and will also probably enjoy a long as well as a not undeserved run. Possibly it will "do good." Possibly it is just as well to have our attention frequently called to such subjects even in melodramas. But there is no use calling a play something it isn't. As between "The Ryan Girl" and "Deep Are the Roots" you pay your money and you take your choice. Fundamentally both are "good theater" in the limited sense of that term.

Films

JAMES AGEE

"MILDRED PIERCE." Nasty, gratifying version of the James Cain novel about suburban grass-widowhood and the power of the native passion for money and all that money can buy. Attempt made to sell Mildred as noble when she is merely idiotic or at best pathetic; but constant, virulent, lambent attention to money and its effects, and more authentic suggestions of sex than one hopes to see in American films. Excellent work by Joan Crawford, Jack Carson, Zachary Scott, and a little girl whose name I can't find who is as good an embodiment of all that is most terrifying about native contemporary adolescence as I ever hope to see. John McManus of *PM* and doubtless many others regard the film as a bad advertisement for this country abroad. As movies go, it is one of the few anywhere near honest ones, if that is of any importance; and should be signally helpful in holding down immigration to the kind of people we appear to want—people like the immeasurably swinish German family in "Girl Number 217."

"Girl Number 217." Russian story of

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a German family and its war-time slave. Insists, infuriatingly, that these are average Germans, implying—finally even stating—that all Germans are equally bestial and guilty. They are not average anything, but they are intelligent, powerful caricatures of the worst that can be expected of the petty bourgeois, anywhere (see above), even in Russia, where presumably they go by some other class name. Passionately acted and in general well conceived and well done; a little like Flaubert rewritten with hammer and sickle.

"The House on 92d Street." Semi-fictional telescoping of several FBI espionage jobs. Unconvincing brouhaha to the effect that this could not be released prior to Hiroshima. Convincing inadvertent suggestion that the FBI functions efficiently less through intelligence than through doggedness plus scientific equipment. Extensive and gratifying use of actual-spot shooting and re-enactment. Effective pseudo-naturalistic performances by Lydia St. Clair, Gene Lockhart, William Eythe, and others, none of whom, however, manage to suggest how spies, counterspies, and traitors who look and act like that are not identifiable to those interested at 500 paces. Unpersuasive, often skilled, generally enjoyable.

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

COLUMBIA'S October list offers Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto, played by Milstein with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony under Bruno Walter (Set 577; $4.50). Milstein's performance of the solo part has the brilliance of his virtuosity and the straightforward phrasing of his sound musicianship, but also a tenseness and drive which, carried into the orchestral part, make this a high-powered performance of a lovely work that is not suited to such treatment. Its recorded sound is spacious and clear, but cold and dull, and with occasional buzzes. The old Columbia set with the Szigeti-Beecham performance is preferable.

Then there is the Suite from Rimsky-Korsakov's "Coq d'or," played by Mitropoulos with the Minneapolis Symphony (Set X-254; $2.50). It includes some of the most charming bits of the opera—the Prelude, the Lullaby, the Dance of the Queen and King Dodon, the Bridal Procession; and it gets one of the better Mitropoulos performances. The more prominent melodic and bass lines are reproduced with sharpness and cleanness of definition, the inner parts with less clarity, and the over-all sound without the warmth and glow it should have. Also there is a marked diminution of volume and brightness at the conclusion of the Procession. I would prefer the Victor set with the Goossens-Philharmonic performance.

And then there is Virgil Thomson's "Five Portraits," played by Thomson himself with the Philadelphia Orchestra (Set X-255; $2.50). For me the music makes no interesting sense in itself, and no point as musical portraiture in the instance where I know the man who is the subject. One can hear that a first-rate orchestra is playing well; but the cold, hard sound produced by the records isn't the sound of the Philadelphia Orchestra.

For the rest there are a number of recordings by opera-singers. The baritone Martial Singher sings a group of French arias (Set 578; $4.50): popular favorites like the Toreador's Song from "Carmen," the Drinking Song from Thomas's "Hamlet," the *Vision fugitive* from Massenet's "Hérodiade"; unfamiliar arias from Lully's "Amadis" and Grétry's "Richard Coeur de Lion"; Dapertutto's *Scintille diamant* from Offenbach's "Tales of Hoffman" and the Queen Mab ballad from Gounod's "Roméo et Juliette"; and Mephistopheles's Air, Serenade, and Song of the Flea from Berlioz's "Damnation of Faust." Some of these things are pleasant; the Berlioz excerpts are the only music of great consequence; and they are music which Singher does very well. His voice hasn't much sensuous beauty, and gets to be monotonous in its un-

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varying color; but his singing impresses one with its intelligence; and intelligence is a valuable asset in the performance of music that is so obviously the product of as sharp a mind as Berlioz's. The monotony comes partly from the fact that the recording places the voice prominently in the foreground and the orchestra very much in the background—though as a matter of fact the indistinct background is what these orchestral performances deserve. And the Berlioz pieces suffer greatly from this, since much of their musical life is in their orchestral parts and is not created by the nerveless, faintly heard playing of members of the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra under the direction Paul Breisach. The words of the arias are not provided, as they should be.

On a single disc (71697-D; $1) are the Song to the Evening Star and Wolfram's Entry from Wagner's "Tannhäuser"—well-sung by Herbert Janssen, but deadly dull to my ears. For the first Breisach provides another flabby accompaniment with members of the Metropolitan Orchestra; with the second one hears excellent playing by the Téatro Colon Orchestra under Roberto Kinsky. So with the set (582; $2.75) in which Lily Pons sings *Caro nome* from Verdi's "Rigoletto" and *Charmant oiseau* from David's "Perle du Brésil," along with Proch's Variations: the first has a poor accompaniment by an orchestra under Pietro Cimara; the second a better one by an orchestra under Maurice Abravanel. The two pieces obviously were recorded at different times: in the second Pons's voice has a brightness that is dulled in the first, presumably by recording; her singing also has more spirit and assurance and is without the tremolo that one hears in the first.

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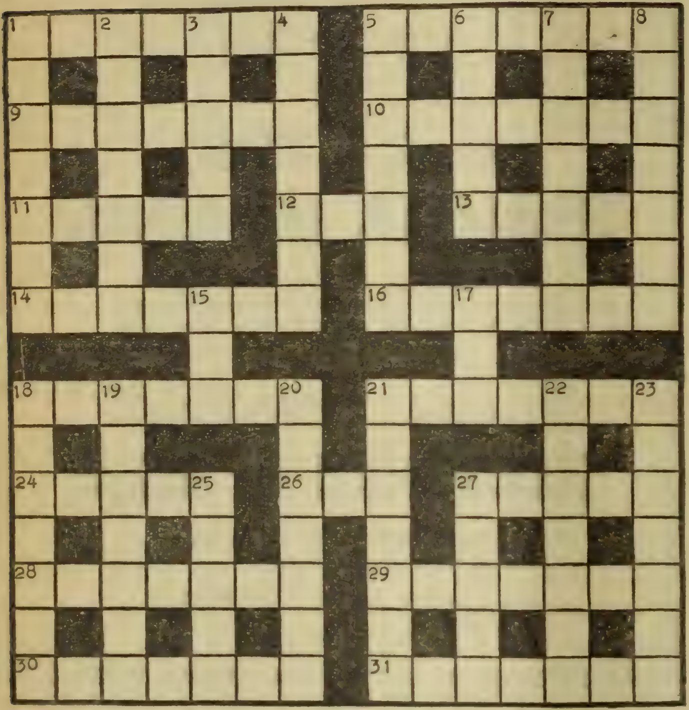

ACROSS

1 Originally a French peasant dance
5 Simple Susie tried to write an essay on one, but found she kept falling off
9 Supplying personnel is cardinal
10 They successfully invaded England
11 Vigorous
12 One test of a cigar
13 Scene of the first real battle of World War I
14 Not the kind that inhabits mud (two words, 4 and 3)
16 He advised us to hitch our wagon to a star
18 Men who go down to the sea in slips
21 More wild than the tiger-lily
24 Same again
26 Ethereal music
27 The brown variety and the Gospel was good fare, according to the Puritans
28 "He that complies against his will Is of his own ------- still"
29 The same way as U-boats go, with the help of depth bombs
30 Moscow citadel from which you get nothing back
31 Turner liked to paint these colorful spectacles

DOWN

1 Puts money on a horse that makes no effort to win
2 "What shall he have that killed the deer?"
3 Hoity's half-brother
4 Real gin (anag.)
5 To whose wailings Mr. Churchill likened the air raid siren's song
6 Might make a necklace, and might make a Christmas song
7 These jockeys hope to finish before they're off
8 Oriental in earnest
15 First lady
17 A cowardly missile—it hits you and runs
18 The cradle of the deep?
19 Small insectivorous birds
20 Irish river storied in song and verse
21 These Indian levees would have made Burr sad
22 Usually bad news when a submarine is this
23 Puts up with
25 Window which takes in the Loire
27 The bear in the famous beast-epic, *Reynard the Fox*

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 129

ACROSS:—1 ON TAP; 4 NOD; 6 CABIN; 9 SAM HILL; 10 LORELEI; 11 THEISM; 14 ROGERS; 15 TOURNEY; 16 CASK; 17 KEEP; 19 SKYLINE; 20 SLIP; 22 SWAN; 24 GYMNAST; 26 FRIARS; 27 SERIAL; 31 AMIABLE; 32 OILSKIN; 33 KELLY; 34 EVA; 35 ROYCE.

DOWN:—1 ONSET; 2 TAMPERS; 3 PRIEST; 4 NILE; 5 DULL; 6 CARBOY; 7 BELIEVE; 8 NAILS; 12 MONKEYS; 13 PRALINE; 14 REDNESS; 16 COS; 18 PEN; 21 INITIAL; 23 WHISKEY; 24 GRUBBY; 25 TELLER; 26 FRANK; 28 LANCE; 29 WERE; 30 YOGA.

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Atomic Isolationism

THE discussion of atomic power has come down to earth. It is centered in the Johnson-May bill, which intrusts to the care of a nine-man commission the absolute control of the development of nuclear energy and related research activities. Since the commission would meet four times a year and be manned by dollar-a-year men, presumably with other business to attend to, the real authority is left in the hands of one full-time administrator. The possibilities of the abuse of this power are so great that Raymond Swing protested last Friday that "in the bill as now drawn control is vested in a way that might become a perfected fascist domination of our economic life. Certainly there is nothing in the bill to prevent it, there is everything to encourage it."

Just now the bill is being pushed with indecent haste through Senate and House. In the House Military Affairs Committee the hearings lasted only one day. With the exception of top administrators, not one of the important scientists who worked on the development of the bomb was called to testify. Apparently overawed by the War Department—which during a war gets into the habit of stepping out of the place assigned it in a free democracy—Representative May refused to reopen the hearings when urged to do so by Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas. But by the beginning of the week it was apparent that neither the general public nor the scientists were going to be stampeded into a decision that might determine the future destiny of our nation.

The Johnson-May bill sidesteps all the larger issues. There is no question of sharing the secret with others, of creating an international body to control the bomb, of consolidating a world organization to prevent a third world war, in which the bomb would be put to a fatal test. It discusses the issue of atomic power in such narrow terms of national security that we have very strong suspicions the bill came straight from the War Department to the desks of Senator Johnson and Representative May. For the War Department is apt to think in strategic categories that fail utterly to comprehend the world problem with which the achievement of nuclear fission has confronted us.

The argument behind the bill runs like this. The menace of atomic power is so great that its production must remain a closely guarded secret for as long as possible. The basic knowledge in the field of nuclear physics is of course widespread. But the specialized knowledge necessary to industrial production of bombs or power is still in our hands. It must remain there for as long as possible, and all research must be carefully controlled and directed so that when the secret is discovered by other nations we shall by that time be far ahead of them in perfecting the process, which now may be regarded as in a primitive state.

To this argument the plain man, with very little knowledge of nuclear physics but with a memory for events in the past year or two, asks how safe in fact shall he be against comparatively primitive missiles—say, bombs of the Hiroshima or Nagasaki variety—traveling at the speed of V-2's. For even primitive atomic bombs, it seems to him, can be classed as terminal weapons. It is here the military men are being either stupid or dishonest in speaking of counter-measures. It is perhaps for this reason that they are loath to have free testimony from the scientists who were responsible for the development of the bomb. Fortunately several groups of scientists have courageously spoken out, and it is vitally important that they and others be called to testify before the Committee on Military Affairs. The navy statement regarding counter-measures was at once challenged by the Atomic Scientists of Chicago. The main approach of the Johnson-May bill was called into question by a clear statement in favor of international control by Dr. Robert G. Wilson for the Association of Los Alamos Scientists. Dr. Wilson said:

> The fact that the atomic bomb represents such a concentrated form of destructive energy makes counter-measures against each of the large number of possible methods of delivery extremely difficult and uncertain. . . . One proposition is for this country to have more and bigger bombs than other countries. Merely having more bombs than other countries is not decisive if another country has enough bombs to demolish our cities and stores of weapons. The overwhelming advantage will lie with the aggressor, and our superiority might be lost in the first five minutes of a surprise attack.

The bill that is now being crowded through Congress with hysterical urgency provides a frail shield of national defense. Moreover, if the autocratic powers of the administrator are used as they may well be used, the free scientists of America are going to refuse to function within the strait-jacket into which they have been strapped. Most seriously of all, this measure, put forward as a domestic policy, actually represents the commitment of the United States to a particularly vicious form of isolationist foreign policy. We may pay lip service to the United Nations Organization, send our representatives to international conferences, but we hold in our own hand the power of life and death over the nations of the world. Such a policy would tend to emphasize rather than heal the rifts in international society today—particularly the rift between Russia and this country allied with Britain. The more firmly we insist upon unilateral control of the atomic bomb the more difficult it will be to persuade others that our faith in a world organization is genuine.

The Johnson-May bill ought to be thought of at best as a stop-gap measure to protect us from the misuse of this awful weapon until international controls have been devised to insure the safety of all peoples. But even regarding it as a stop-gap, it is important to take all the time necessary for hearings and Congressional discussion so that the most undemocratic, and potentially fascist, provisions of the present bill will be eliminated. Those who are placed in positions of authority under the act should also be those who regard international control as of paramount importance. The commission should be fully representative of the public, the scientists, and the armed services—and in the above order of precedence.

The valley of decision in which we find ourselves is in fact the valley of the shadow of death. Fortunately for us the war has shown that our nation has a creative imagination, a capacity for drastic choice, an aptitude for international co-operation in the presence of great danger and for the achievement of a high objective. They must be summoned to meet the present crisis, more menacing than any we faced during the war. A candid appraisal of our world today reveals just how difficult the achievement of international organization and the elimination of international distrust will be. Nor is it any wiser to repudiate the minor gains of San Francisco and sigh for world government than it is to accept the London breakdown as a final demonstration of the great powers' inability to reach basic agreement. We have to move toward world organization step by step, or, if you like, crisis by crisis. The important thing to realize is that whereas yesterday we had an era in which to reach our goal, today, by the longest stretch of the imagination, we have a few years.

The Shape of Things

A SPECTER IS HAUNTING THE IMPERIAL NATIONS, the specter of virile Asiatic nationalism. Under the jarring impact of war deep fissures have appeared in the onerous colonial system, fissures which the resurgent nationalist movements may broaden into a complete crack-up. It is no flight of rhetoric to say that one-fourth of mankind—the colonial peoples of Asia—are on the march under mature and effective leadership. These peoples have suffered deeply and learned much during the last five years. They learned first that their European masters were not only hopelessly incapable of defending them but also obdurately unwilling to let them defend themselves. Under Japanese occupation leftist anti-Japanese guerrillas emerged in all the colonies and acquired political and military skills and arms they do not hesitate to use against non-Japanese imperialists. During the same period, many of that fringe of nationalists who tried to use the Japanese as a blow-torch to cut through their colonial shackles had their hands badly burned. But they have not lost their hatred for the shackles. The growth and development of these movements in Burma, Indo-China, Indonesia, Malaya, and other colonial areas during the recent past are an exciting and important but little known part of contemporary history. It is of the greatest import that virtually all of these submerged countries have made substantial progress toward uniting disparate political, religious, and national groups on a common anti-imperialist and anti-feudal platform. These new liberation coalitions are not to be dissuaded by pontifical Dutch promises, high-blown French phrases, or involved British constitutional trickery. They will accept only substantial and constructive reforms looking to early independence.

*

ON SEPTEMBER 17, JUST FIVE DAYS BEFORE THE Foreign Ministers' Conference deadlocked on the question whether the procedure adopted did or did not violate the Potsdam agreement, a report by American economic advisers attached to the Office of Military Government was made available to Allied commanders in Berlin. The task set this group of "experts" by Brigadier General William F. Draper (in civilian life a member of the investment firm of Dillon, Read and Company, which financed many German industrial concerns in the twenties) was to determine how much industrial machinery would be available for reparations *after* a minimum standard of living had been provided for the Germans. The directive appears to have construed the Potsdam statement that this standard "should not exceed" the European average as meaning it should at least equal this average. At any rate it was on this basis that the experts found that German exports would have to be maintained at about the pre-war level in order to pay for needed imports of food. Moreover, they stated, half such exports would have to consist of machinery, chemicals, precision instruments, and optical goods—all products of industries with a high war potential. Moscow apparently saw in this report: (a) an attempt to reopen and weaken decisions reached at Potsdam; (b) a threat to Russian collection of reparations in western Germany; (c) a move by America and Britain to restore German industry. Consequently, it has been suggested by Leland Stowe and others, Molotov was instructed not to permit the slightest breach in the Potsdam agreement at London. Authoritative statements that the experts' report is not official policy but merely a basis for discussion may have modified Russian fears. What seems needed now is a joint examination by the four occupying powers of the meaning of the unfortunately obscure economic clauses of the Potsdam agreement. From that they might go on to discuss how to provide Germany, not with an average standard of living, but with the bare means of subsistence. As things are going, even that may seem a rather remote ideal a few months hence.

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THE RESIGNATION OF PREMIER VOULGARIS OF Greece was inevitable, for he was no longer able to withstand the concerted opposition of republican and liberal groups. That opposition was based, first, upon the government's inability to solve the economic crisis which has been growing daily more acute since the resignation of Finance Minister Varvaressos some weeks ago; second, on its terroristic activities among the population as well as the scandalous use to which national services were being put. In a surprise move Voulgaris called elections for January 10. He offered no guaranties that the new electoral lists would be any more representative of the people than those previously announced. With faked registers and the general confusion which recent Greek political events have caused, the results of an early election could have been neither decisive nor indicative of the true national will. The republican parties announced their unanimous decision to boycott the polls. The government fell. Regent Damaskinos asked Themistocles Sophoulis, leader of the Liberal Party, to form a new government with the collaboration of the monarchists. Mr. Sophoulis failed because of the insistence of the monarchists upon the formation of another "service government," which would have offered no more democratic guaranties than did the Voulgaris regime. Now former Prime Minister Tsouderos has been asked to form a "government of personalities." Mr. Tsouderos is a man who has never been quite certain of his political convictions, swerving now toward republicanism and now toward the royalists. It is not likely that he will do better than his predecessors in handling a crisis which demands broad democratic reforms, both political and economic.

*

IN ARGENTINA THE REAL ISSUE IS PEOPLE against army, and until that is settled any democratic gains will be short-lived. Of course the arrest of Colonel Perón and the ousting of his closest collaborators from the government were good news. Perón's character has two sides: the rather frivolous Argentine officer, gallant and boastful, an easy target for cartoonists, and the hard-boiled adventurer who in South America jumps so readily from insignificance to leadership. His leadership had weak spots, chief among them his failure to win any important section of the population. Quite different from Hitler, who in his best years had the backing both of industrialists and of a large part of the workers, Perón never succeeded in convincing the reputable trade unions, while at the same time he antagonized the conservatives, who would otherwise have supported him, by his collaboration with the Axis. Nevertheless, he is not a man who can be casually dismissed. He has been trained in the fascist school, and his drive for power showed unquestionable audacity. By their cry, "We want his head," the crowds in Buenos Aires showed that they knew who was the real enemy; a mere figurehead like Farrell does not provoke such reactions. So it is some satisfaction to know that Perón is a prisoner aboard a warship. But the triumvirate, Farrell-Avalos-Vernengo Lima, which at the moment seems to control the situation, offers no guaranty that the battle for freedom has been won. Avalos is one more Argentine general, interested in maintaining the influence of the army rather than in promoting democracy. Admiral Vernengo Lima is the best of the three if only because he represents the navy, which in Argentina has always been loyal to the constitution and is decidedly pro-Ally. But it is neither from the army nor the navy that a restoration of democratic rule can be expected. The distinguished civilians invited to join the Cabinet were right in making the condition that power should be turned over to the Supreme Court. In Argentina the main problem is to end the interference of the officers' cliques which since 1930 have been dominating the politics of the country from their stronghold in the Campo de Mayo.

*

THE UNITED STATES HAS JUST WON A MAJOR war fought round the world. It performed what is often referred to as a miracle of production and delivery. It raised and put into action an army of millions. The country rose so brilliantly indeed to the call and needs of war as to set in motion the fear, among thoughtful people, that the triumphant military and nationalist point of view might constitute a threat to civil government and free institutions. To be sure, popular feeling against anyone who opposed this war was not kindly, and the papers now are full of pleas official and unofficial for bigger and better preparedness for "the next war": which means that the fear referred to above is not groundless, but which also makes it the more extraordinary that last week the nation's highest award, the Congressional Medal of Honor, was conferred on a conscientious objector. Private Desmond C. Doss, who refused to bear arms, was allowed to become a medical aide, and on various islands in the Pacific he performed such acts of self-abnegation and sheer courage that he became a legend in his outfit. His was an extraordinary case; other C. O.'s were stupidly and unfairly treated. But the fact that he should have received the country's highest honor is a small but happy sign that sanity, respect for the human being, and Sherman's definition of war have survived the intoxication of the greatest conflict in history.

*

THE TAX BILL ADOPTED BY THE HOUSE HAS apparently been drawn with an eye to the 1946 elections rather than to the economic welfare of the country. By increasing the exemption on the normal tax the bill will free several million taxpayers, and voters, of the necessity of paying any income tax at all in 1946. This, of course, is a sound move in so far as those affected are in the low-income brackets. But the House went against the Treasury's recommendations in granting very substantial tax relief to those with incomes of $100,000 and up by voting a blanket 10 per cent reduction on all tax bills. While no large number of votes is likely to be influenced by this special gift, it is obvious that considerable political pressure must have been exerted from some quarter to bring about an upset of the Treasury's recommendations. A gift package is also handed out to industry in the form of a 4 per cent reduction in the corporation surtax rate and a cut in the excess-profits tax from the present net of 85½ per cent to 60 per cent. As a sop to the little man—the 1946 voter—a minor levy, the $5 use tax on automobiles, was eliminated. Any reduction in taxes at a time when the inflationary danger still persists must be explained in political rather than economic terms. But a program which leaves the burdensome excise taxes practically untouched while granting relief in the amount of $450,000 to the man in the $5,000,000 income bracket invites a repetition of the disaster which followed the Mellon tax cuts in the 1920's.

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THIS WEEK WE ANNOUNCE WITH PLEASURE A regular signed page by J. Alvarez del Vayo, who has so ably handled the Political War Section of *The Nation*. Both as journalist and political leader throughout his active life, Mr. del Vayo has had intimate experience of the course of European and world affairs. He represented Spain on the Council of the League of Nations, headed the League's Chaco Commission, served as his country's ambassador to Mexico, and as Foreign Minister during the Spanish struggle absorbed the full impact of the first major campaign of World War II. Under the title, The People's Front, our colleague will say what he pleases about men and affairs, writing from wherever events may take him. His first page will appear next week.

I. F. STONE HAS LEFT FOR PALESTINE

In the near future *The Nation* will publish his cabled dispatches on the critical Near Eastern situation.

How to Minimize Strikes

INDUSTRIAL unrest confronts the federal government with a dilemma: on the one hand, work stoppages—call them strikes or call them lockouts as you choose—tend to thwart vital domestic and even foreign policies of the nation; on the other hand settlement of industrial disputes by governmental decree must entail either methods of coercion intolerable to a democratic society or regulation of the economy to an extent incompatible with the free-enterprise system as it is commonly conceived. It can scarcely be doubted that reconversion will be retarded by the strikes now in progress and by those threatening to develop. Demobilization is made more difficult. Reemployment of veterans and war workers is impeded. In foreign affairs a pledge such as that made by Secretary Ickes for the shipment of American coal to prime the pump of European industry is rendered impossible of fulfilment; and the consequences in terms of instability and disorder abroad may be very grave indeed.

But what are the alternatives? Supporters of the Ball-Burton-Hatch bill would have us end labor disputes affecting the national interest through compulsory arbitration. One trouble with this is that wage disputes are not in any real sense arbitrable: there are simply no criteria in a free-enterprise system for determining what portion of a company's earnings should be paid out in wages and what portion in profits. An arbitrator can scarcely be other than arbitrary.

A second defect in this alternative is the plain fact that wage decisions unacceptable to workers cannot be enforced. We have seen enough of the rigmarole of plant seizure and subsequent defiance of the government to know that it settles nothing. Any attempt to mine coal with bayonets or produce automobiles with tommy guns would be an invitation to civil war. And not even the most reactionary of administrations democratically elected is likely to engage in such folly.

It proved feasible during the war, however, to settle most industrial disputes through conciliation or through what amounted to compulsory arbitration by the War Labor Board. This was because of labor's extraordinary adherence to its voluntarily tendered no-strike pledge and because WLB decisions were made in conformity with the Little Steel formula, which, whatever its demerits, at least afforded a clear national wage policy.

But today WLB is in dissolution and there is no longer any frame of reference for wage awards. The assertion of a definite wage-price policy by the government seems a prerequisite to any effective efforts toward the speedy settlement of labor disputes. In normal times—that is when production of consumer goods is relatively equal to demand—the wage-price relationship can be expected to adjust itself. But for the next six or nine months it is essential that the government lay down general principles to maintain economic stability.

Within the framework of such principles conciliation can be more effective and arbitration can be attempted. For effective conciliation we clearly need a greatly strengthened conciliation service in the Labor Department; this means among other things better salaries in order to attract conciliators of experience and high caliber. As to arbitration, the prescription offered by Senator McMahon seems a great deal more promising than that laid down by Messrs. Ball, Burton, and Hatch. An emergency Labor Board is better off without sanctions, which cannot in any case be made effectual. But, since compliance with its recommendations will depend in the last resort on the pressure of public opinion, it should be given power of subpoena so that it may ascertain the full facts in any dispute and insure publicity for them.

Admittedly this will merely minimize strikes and lockouts, not altogether prevent them. But occasional strikes are part of the price this society must pay for a free labor movement, and occasional lockouts are one of the penalties attached to a free-enterprise system. Competition and even conflict are inescapable expressions of the way in which America chooses to live.

Bargaining with Britain

WE CONGRATULATE the reporters who persuaded Assistant Secretary of State William L. Clayton to talk about the Anglo-American financial conference in Washington on the record instead of off it. Now at last we have something solid to supplement the leaks, hints, and rumors which have so far constituted the "news" about these vital negotiations. Let Mr. Clayton persevere in seeking publicity on this matter, braving the possibility of hostile reactions on Capitol Hill and elsewhere! We believe he understands what is needed to put Anglo-American economic relations on a sound basis, but if the present conference is to be crowned by success, a big job of public education will have to be done both here and in Britain. The atmosphere of secrecy that has prevailed for the past month plays into the hands of those who chant daily that Uncle Sam is about to have his pockets picked. In Britain lack of information is encouraging a kind of radical jingoism based on the fear that Britain is being asked to mortgage its political and economic liberties.

At the beginning of the conference Lord Keynes told the press that Britain was faced with two alternatives: it could attempt to emerge slowly from its current difficulties with as little outside help as possible, relying on autarchic mechanisms, such as exchange controls and barter assignments; or it could seek, with American aid, to restore international economic life on the liberal lines indicated by the Atlantic Charter. The second alternative, he made it plain, was the preference of the British government, but to make its adoption possible, American aid would have to be provided on conditions enabling Britain to carry on the trade on which its sheer existence depended.

In his statement on October 9 Mr. Clayton, in effect, indorsed this position. If, he said, the United States did not grant to Great Britain the help it needed to bridge its critical balance-of-payments problems of the next three years, it would be forced to adopt defensive measures which would divide the world into trade blocs of a highly competitive character. Nevertheless, he made it clear that financial aid must be part of a bargain offering "present and future benefits to the American people"; it was not proposed to justify it on sentimental grounds. Thus he indicated dismissal of the reported British plea for a grant of a "non-commercial loan," extended in recognition of Britain's greater material sacrifices and as compensation for the way in which it stripped itself of its external resources in order to hold the Axis at bay in 1940. Undoubtedly there are good moral arguments for this proposal, but it is wise to push it aside as politically unrealistic. Persuading Congress to approve even the hardest-headed business deal is going to be difficult enough.

What now appears to be jelling at the conference is a plan for a long-term open credit which will enable Britain to draw up to $5 billion. Interest and amortization, it is suggested, might be waived for the first three to five years, the period when the British shortage of dollars will be most acute. In return, it is indicated, Britain is being asked to make a composition with the holders of the British sterling debt, scaling down the total and freeing at least part for early conversion to dollars. This would give American business a chance to cash in on the urgent needs of countries like India for manufactured goods of all kinds. In addition, Britain will be expected to liquidate the sterling area and abandon the associated dollar pool as soon as possible, to undertake the gradual removal of exchange and import controls, and to modify, if not abolish, the Empire-preference system whereby the different members of the Empire charge each other lower duties and so discriminate against other countries.

It is to be noted that so far the discussion appears to have been concentrated on the smashing of those trade barriers favored by Britain. In their new-found enthusiasm for freedom of international commerce Americans tend to

> Compound for sins they are inclined to
> By damning those they have no mind to.

The United States is poorly placed to use those weapons of economic warfare whose renunciation by Britain it demands. A country with a favorable trade balance cannot often profit by barter deals, for they would normally involve scaling down exports or consenting to receive larger imports. Likewise, ownership of a large share of the world's gold and a strong ideological attachment to the gold standard rule out effective use by America of currency manipulation. But we have our own economic armaments, and the question arises whether we are prepared to give them up as readily as we are willing to crack down on those that are useless to us.

We cannot very well expect Britain to abandon the shelter which Empire preference affords to its manufacturers unless we in turn are ready to lower tariff rates which in many cases have the practical effect of an embargo. Under the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, passed last summer, the President now has power to make a move in this direction, but there has been no Washington whisper suggesting that lower American tariffs are to be part of the bargain with Britain. Another potent American trade weapon, which causes great damage to other countries, is the subsidy. For some years we have been subsidizing American shipping very handsomely, and a great deal of elaborate and expensive propaganda is now being put out to insure the continuation of this policy. Yet subsidized competition of this kind is a grave handicap to Britain and other countries which depend partly on shipping earnings to pay for imports. More recently we have begun to pay export subsidies to enable high-cost American farm products to compete abroad. This constitutes unfair competition to Canada and Australia, for instance; yet we urge that these countries forgo the advantages they now enjoy through Empire preference.

If the United States is sincere in promoting an international free-market policy, if it really hopes to reverse the universal trend to economic self-sufficiency, it must be prepared to set an example. We must grow up to ourselves as a world economic power and learn the facts of international economic life. The first of these is that one cannot have one's cake and eat it. If we want to sell we have got to buy; and if we want to sell and get our debts paid we must eventually buy more than we sell. Once these elementary principles have been grasped many of the difficulties of arranging a financial and economic agreement with Britain which would bring tremendous benefits to both parties will vanish.

The Marshall Report

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

GENERAL MARSHALL'S report on the winning of the war in Europe and the Pacific is a magnificent and informative account of the last two years of war. For that reason it should be read by every American with pride and no little sense of awe. It is also a partisan plea for a national defense policy which seems on careful study peculiarly unsuited to provide any real measure of security in the atomic age. For that reason it should be read by every American with caution and great reserve.

General Marshall's historical survey of the actual fighting occupies about two-thirds of the book. Most of the next third is taken up with a summary of occupational policies, our weapons, and our troops. Finally there is a presentation of the Chief of Staff's views on the measures that should be taken for our common defense.

It is the historical section which is the most impressive. Throughout, it displays the clarity of mind, the grasp of essentials, the intellectual integrity, and the generosity of vision which have so distinguished General Marshall and assured his place in history as one of the very greatest American soldiers. The report begins with the flat statement that "this nation can take little credit for its part in staving off disaster" in the early years of the war, and adds: "It is certain that the refusal of the British and Russian peoples to accept what appeared to be inevitable defeat was the great factor in the salvage of our civilization." This same realistic appreciation of facts, no matter whose nationalistic sensibilities may be wounded, marks the greater part of the historical survey. Marshall never claims too much and toward the end of the book, when he reveals how completely our man-power was absorbed in warmaking, he says: "Even with two-thirds of the German army engaged in Russia, it took every man the nation saw fit to mobilize to do our part of the job in Europe and at the same time keep the Japanese enemy under control in the Pacific. What would have been the result had the Red Army been defeated and the British Isles invaded we can only guess. The possibility is rather terrifying."

His estimate of the mistakes made by our enemies is particularly interesting, and reveals time and again how close we were to defeat. It is apparent from the reports that our whole war was won by a series of calculated risks which paid off; one can feel only admiration for the planners who operated with such a narrow margin of safety.

Having told how we won the war, General Marshall explains how we shall win the next one. We cannot expect proposals for achieving peace to come from the Chief of Staff. His job is to be a pessimist: to assume the worst and to prepare against it. Marshall says that atomic energy can destroy man. To atomic energy he adds new developments in other fields—aircraft, rockets, and electronics. He quotes from a special report prepared by General Arnold which describes only the weapons already in existence, not their future possibilities; he adds, "The developments of the war have been so incredible that the wildest imagination will not project us far from the target in estimating the future."

Yet what is his answer? Universal military training, with a trained reserve of four million men, so that "we can move armies of men into the enemy's bases of operations and seize the sites from which he launches his attacks." He urges military preparedness, with which there can be no argument; but having already demonstrated that this nation could not have won the recent war without the intercession of its allies and the mistakes of its enemies, he urges that "this nation be prepared to defend its interest against any nation or combination of nations." Having said that only 20 per cent of our armed forces was in the infantry, he asks for a civilian reserve of four million. Having explained that the next war will be fought with rockets or long-range aircraft delivering atomic explosives, he proposes a civilian reserve which will take a year to muster fully and which is to be moved "into the enemy's bases of operation."

He goes so far as to impute "ulterior motives" to those who oppose universal military training. We submit that his own report is the strongest argument against the proposal. It can only be assumed that the proposal stems inevitably from the two psychological failures of most professional minds—the tendency to go into the future armed with the decisive factors of the past and the tendency to support measures by which one makes one's bread and butter. It cannot be assumed that a mind so embracing as General Marshall's is incapable of understanding implications of atomic energy; it must be assumed that that mind rejects the implications because the consequence of accepting them would be to undercut the ground on which the professional thinking of years has been based.

This is not an attack on the professional minds which have fashioned our victory and must fashion our future defense. It is simply another way of saying that war is too important to be left to the generals, of pleading that the scientists and the civil authorities be given control over our main defense policies. General Marshall himself provides the answer to our central problem when he says that the recent war was "only a prelude of what can be expected so long as there are nations on earth capable of waging total war." So long as there are nations with unbridled sovereignty ranged against one another, total war is possible. So long as total war is possible, the generals must devise means of defense. But the least we can ask is that they devise means which are appropriate to the atomic age, not to the gunpowder age.

Rhapsody in Black and Blue

BY GATES WARD

(An employee of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer now on strike)

Hollywood, October 11

A FOURTH of Hollywood's 30,000 motion-picture-studio employees have been locked out since March 12 in a dispute over a single issue—the right of employees to belong to unions of their own choice. For seven months the 7,500 men and women involved have peacefully picketed the nine major studios by day and local theaters by night, generally in groups of ten to a hundred. Save for a few clashes between individuals there has been no violence; the picket lines have been gay and good-humored, pretty girls in the white-collar unions marching with young men from the crafts.

On Monday, October 8, the situation had changed. At six o'clock in the morning nearly a thousand pickets formed a peaceful line at the Warner studio in suburban Burbank. At once two hundred goons engaged by I. A. T. S. E. (International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees), a notorious company-sponsored A. F. of L. organization, came toward them, swinging chains, clubs, and other weapons. Behind the goons came about four hundred non-strikers, mainly scabs from rump-chartered I. A. T. S. E. unions. The unarmed pickets fell bleeding in the street, but the line held until two hundred suburban police and deputy sheriffs rushed out from the studio and used their clubs recklessly. Then the line parted, letting in the strike-breakers and a few dozen employees from uninvolved unions. Hundreds of other workers, including many I. A. T. S. E. members, refused to cross the picket line. From the safety of a sound-stage roof, studio executives watched the bloody battle and by loud speakers invited reluctant workers to come inside.

The violence had begun at Warner's the previous Friday, when strike-breakers vainly tried to run down the pickets in automobiles, and company cops, aided by the Los Angeles and suburban police, sought to break up the line with fire hoses and with tear-gas bombs thrown from the studio roofs. About seventy pickets were injured—a dozen seriously—in the two days of rioting instigated by the studio, I. A. T. S. E., and the law-enforcement agencies. The strike leaders—but no studio chiefs—were arrested, charged with inciting to riot. A number of pickets were arrested for carrying concealed weapons, which they had picked up or seized from goons, but so far as is known no thugs were arrested. However, their weapons were unconcealed.

At the height of Monday's battle four police officers walked off the job in disgust when they saw what they had been sent to do, and joined the pickets. When it was announced on Monday night that Warner's, supported by other major studios, would meet the pickets in a showdown battle on Tuesday, such a wave of protest swept the community that hundreds of respectable citizens—doctors, lawyers, business men, housewives, even some I. A. T. S. E. members—rushed to join the picket line at dawn. Nothing happened. Warner's apparently had had enough. Not an employee crossed the picket line.

On Tuesday the producers visited Sheriff Biscailuz. The strikers' original plan was to move the mass picket line to each studio in turn, but when Warner's reacted violently to its first appearance, they decided to keep it there until the violence subsided. On Wednesday morning as about four hundred pickets, a third of them women, almost all of them locked-out employees from Warner's and other studios, were circling peacefully before Warner's main gate, two hundred deputy sheriffs advanced on them carrying tear-gas bombs and machine-guns. They forced the pickets to put up their hands and then marched them into the studio, where they held them for several hours, refusing to let them see lawyers and even denying them toilet facilities. Finally all the pickets were taken to the Burbank jail and held on $500 bail each, on the charge of illegal assembly and rioting. Many, including a number of women, refused to accept freedom on bail. I saw all this and can state that there was no violence of any kind by the pickets. On Thursday ten thousand A. F. of L. Lockheed workers joined the picket line, twenty-five hundred at 6 a. m. and the others in later shifts.

These mass demonstrations by the strikers were the result of the long run-around they had been given by the producers and of the Washington NLRB's mysterious delay in rendering a decision in the dispute.

Hollywood is completely organized now, from office workers to directors, in some thirty-four A. F. of L. and ten independent unions. And of course there is the Association of Motion Picture Producers. Engaged in the present strike are fourteen A. F. of L. locals and an independent extras' union. Nine are craft locals—the painters, molders, carpenters, machinists, electricians, janitors, blacksmiths, plumbers, sheet-metal workers; and five are white-collar and technical workers' unions—the cartoonists, office employees, publicists, story analysts, and the key union of the strike, Local 1421, of set designers, decorators, and illustrators. The producer-backed I. A. T. S. E. has twelve regular locals, among which are the progressive, sympathetic camera men, film technicians, sound men, and costumers. Controlled by dictatorial top leaders, they have been unable to avoid their misuse in the present conflict.

Equity has taken no stand in the strike, but it would have been won over long ago if the Screen Actors' Guild, which escaped I. A. T. S. E. seizure only after a bitter fight a few years ago, would support it. Despite a substantial progressive element, the guild is under reactionary leaders and as a union has taken a neutral, hands-off stand. Its president is George Murphy, a conservative Republican, and its treasurer is Russell Hicks, who knocked a girl picket down with a blow to the nose in Monday's battle. The equally powerful Writers' Guild, unaffiliated but progressive, vigorously supports the strikers but has been prevented from joining them by its peculiar contractual relations with the producers. Even so, the producers have been severely handicapped; insufficient and incompetent replacements have caused serious delays and the cancelation of many scheduled productions, at a cost of millions of dollars. Some five hundred I. A. T. S. E. scabs are sleeping in the Warner studio. But no pictures are being made because the rebellious I. A. T. S. E. camera men refuse to cross the picket line. The picketing of local theaters has brought a 25 per cent drop in box-office receipts, and theater owners are privately begging the producers to settle the strike. Most of the independent producers privately or openly favor the strikers and have long been trying to persuade the major producers to settle.

The present strike is the climax of the all-out, ten-year-old effort of certain producers, a powerful minority in the A. M. P. P., to put all studio labor under the control of a company-dominated labor organization that was set up in Hollywood by two racketeers with the producers' help. In 1934 two Chicagoans with police records, George Browne and Willie Bioff, took over the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and with it control of the projectionists in picture theaters. In 1935 Bioff came to Hollywood and told the producers—so it was asserted in court—that he and Browne would close up the theaters unless they were paid off.

Not only did the producers start paying off, but in January, 1936, through the Hays Office, they gave to these crooks and their union a closed shop in the studios. At that time I. A. T. S. E. had only seventy-six members in Hollywood, but the producers ordered all their organized employees to join it or risk losing their jobs, and the membership rose to 12,000 in less than two years. Here was an obvious answer to the Wagner act and the rise of labor in the mid-thirties—an industry-wide organization controlled by the producers, who found it more convenient to make deals with dictatorial and crooked labor chiefs than to bargain with free unions.

Several studio locals resisted the producers' effort to herd them into I. A. T. S. E. until the pay-off scandal exploded and Bioff and Browne, together with an important producer, were sent to prison in 1941. A dozen or more free unions then seized the opportunity to form a progressive group called the Conference of Studio Unions (C. S. U.) with the purpose of protecting and promoting free unionism. This group made rapid progress in improving wage and working conditions, and in consequence a revolt broke out in the ranks of the twelve I. A. T. S. E. locals. It was smashed, however, by Richard Walsh, a vice-president of I. A. T. S. E. during the Browne-Bioff regime.

A truce reigned until October, 1943, when a small independent union of seventy-seven set decorators voted to join Local 1421, one of the C. S. U. unions, and to designate it as their bargaining agent. For almost a year the producers avoided official recognition of Local 1421 as the decorators' agent while actually treating it as such. Then the trap was sprung. In August, 1944, the producers suggested that, "merely as a formality," Local 1421 should be certified by the NLRB as the decorators' representative. Although this action was unnecessary, since the decorators had the right to join any union they chose, the local complied. Two weeks later, on the instigation of the producers, a I. A. T. S. E. local filed a cross-petition claiming exclusive jurisdiction over the decorators—although not a single decorator, as such, had ever been a member of an I. A. T. S. E. local. Of course, the NLRB could not hold an election to decide the claims of two rival A. F. of L. unions except upon the employers' petition. Instead of petitioning, the producers suddenly announced that they were "caught in the middle of a foolish quarrel between brother A. F. of L. unions."

Local 1421 withdrew its petition in disgust, for jurisdiction was not an issue, and gave the producers proof that it represented 100 per cent of the decorators by their own free choice. The producers flatly refused to recognize the local or to negotiate with it as the decorators' agent. In December the local filed a strike notice in accordance with the Smith-Connally act; in January, 1945, the producers having made no move to heal the breach, it voted overwhelmingly to strike. Now the WLB intervened, and in February its arbitrator awarded the decorators to Local 1421, pending final decision by the NLRB. The producers refused to obey the WLB order and filed a petition, at last, with the NLRB to resolve the "jurisdictional dispute." In March Local 1421 went out on strike.

The producers' plot was transparent. The war was still on, and the no-strike pledge was sacred. The producers thought they had the local over a barrel. If it was faithful to the no-strike pledge and refrained from striking, after having voted to strike, its integrity and strength as a union might be fatally compromised. If it struck—which was apparently what the producers wanted it to do—and was joined by other unions in the hated C. S. U., the producers hoped to see them all discredited through their violation of the no-strike pledge.

When the unions defied the producers' ultimatum to return to work by April 4, contracts were canceled and members fired. Richard Walsh ordered his men to take over the strikers' work, but they refused. When the producers announced that thousands of jobs were open to all comers, he issued rump charters wholesale for strike-breakers, declaring it was his duty to "keep out communism and keep the studios running in war time." Oddly, the heads of the A. F. of L. international failed to support the strike until the regional NLRB decided in June that it was legal and justified.

In August the C. I. O. came to the support of the strikers, "to help defeat company unionism, labor's menace in the post-war era," and began to help picket theaters in various large cities.

Although an NLRB election was held in May, the Washington board did not resolve the "jurisdictional" issue until Tuesday, October 9. It then decided in favor of the strikers. According to reliable reports the producers will defy the decision on the pretext that if they accept it, I. A. T. S. E. will strike. In any case, the strike may be hard to settle, for the local and its allied unions insist not only on recognition by the producers but also that machinery be set up to prevent and settle jurisdictional disputes and that all union contracts and jobs be restored as of the date the strike began. The situation is tense; the strike may last a long time.

What Happened in Bavaria

BY SAUL K. PADOVER

(Historian and political scientist; during the war a member of the army's Psychological Warfare Division)

MG intrusted the government of Bavaria to the ultra-reactionary Bayerische Volkspartei, a clerical party which had close ties with Nazis and militarists. Whether MG was aware of it or not, it is a historical fact that the B. V. P. was a compromised party. In 1933 it had voted for the *Ermächtigungs Gesetz,* the law which gave Hitler dictatorial powers. This may be one explanation why, under the American occupation, the B. V. P. was so acceptable to the Bavarian Nazis, militarists, Junkers, and monopolists, who flocked to its banner for protection.

In embracing the Nazis and other objectionable elements the B. V. P. leaders said that they were acting on the motto *Liebet euere Feinde* (Love your enemies). Since the B. V. P. had done nothing against the Hitlerite terror, had not raised its voice against mass slaughter and mass enslavement, there was grim irony in its sudden tenderness for the Nazis.

For MG to expect the B. V. P. leaders to take action against their political friends and business associates was, to speak mildly, the height of naivete. Bürgermeister Stadelmayr, the real ruler of Munich, is an example of clericalist-Nazi cooperation. An employee in a printing plant that worked for the city, he not only had friends and acquaintances among the Nazi politicians but was himself a member of the party. To Nazi colleagues he showed massive favors. As soon as MG made him mayor, he appointed Dr. Jobst, his Nazi predecessor's adjutant, as his own assistant. Since Jobst was not a simple Nazi but was known as a high national official in the party (*Politischer Leiter* in the *Reichsleitung*), anti-fascist citizens of Munich complained immediately. After three weeks in office Jobst was removed, but not by Stadelmayr, who protested that the man was "indispensable." The same thing happened when the Bürgermeister gave a job to Dr. Meister, an intimate of former President Weber, the leader of Munich's Nazis and a personal friend of Hitler. Meister, too, was "indispensable." On his personal staff Stadelmayr retained a number of loyal Nazis, among them Obergerichtsrat Dr. Vetter, Stadtdirektor Dr. Neff, and two secretaries, Frau Krafft and Fräulein Lieglein. The secretaries had access to all the confidential business in the mayor's office. When an official of the Free Germany Committee protested to Oberbürgermeister Scharnagl against Bürgermeister Stadelmayr's pro-Nazi policy, he was given a reply that had at least the merit of candor. "I," said Scharnagl, "do not participate in the fight against fascism. That I leave to the Americans."

The B. V. P. had, indeed, no objections to Nazi-fascism, and its municipal and provincial Bavarian administrations were filled with Hitlerites. According to one estimate, from 50 to 80 per cent of all city employees in Munich were party members. Once a Nazi was in office, it proved to be as difficult to dislodge him as it had been in Aachen. A number of known Nazis were dismissed after pressure had been exerted, but it will take an upheaval to clean them all out. Dr. Lange, the Minister of Economics in the provincial government, would recommend only high Nazis to important positions. Some of his candidates were arrested later by the American authorities, but for a long time he retained Dr. Graf, a prominent Nazi official (*Leiter des Reichswirtschaftsamtes Nord Bayern*), as his personal assistant.

Nazis also permeated the lower levels of the bureaucracy, where they were well placed to perpetuate Nazi methods and ideas. The whole police force of the suburb of Freising, for example, was Nazi. The head of the provincial Food and Agriculture Board, Rattenhuber, admitted that 90 per cent of his employees and coworkers were party members. He could not fire them, he said, because he did not see where the government would get the money to pay their pensions. Under this man the black market flourished openly. On the Sendlingertor Platz in Munich anyone could buy a loaf of bread for 24 marks, as against 24 pfennigs in the rationed shops, and a kilogram of meat for 200 marks ($20 at the official rate of exchange).

Perhaps the most influential among the non-policy-making employees were the interpreters. Since MG officers had no command of the German language, they had to rely upon their interpreters. Anti-fascist Germans who knew English reported that all the interpreters were unreliable and twisted meanings in their translations. One of them, Fräulein Schlagmann, had been a leader of a Nazi *Frauenschaft* and was a known anti-Semite. In this connection it is worth a passing mention that the secretary to an important American military organization in Bad Wiessee was the daughter of Dr. Frank, the former governor of Poland, now one of the top war criminals. Catholic and Jewish Poles who survived Dr. Frank's administration may be interested to know that Fräulein Frank was permitted to retain her home, in which was stored the loot her father had brought back from Poland.

In the vital matter of living quarters the B. V. P. policy of coddling the Nazis and the MG policy of not molesting them too much—unless they were pre-1933 members, and even then there were loopholes—was glaringly evident. The severe struggle for living accommodations was never resolved in favor of anti-Nazis. The greatest sufferers were the KZ's, Germans released from concentration camps. To their dismay they saw Nazis occupying their homes unmolested while they themselves were unable to find quarters. They were systematically cold-shouldered by the municipal administration. I quote two letters from KZ's:

Eugen Allmaier wrote to the Munich Red Cross:

> Since June 6, 1945, I have been trying to obtain an apartment from the municipal Housing Office, to which I have reported almost daily. . . . I am living with my wife and child in a small room in the apartment of my parents. . . .

> Since the beginning of May the pictures of Hitler have disappeared from the walls of the Housing Office, the Hitler salute is not used any longer, and the employees have removed the party badges from their lapels, but otherwise not much has changed. . . . If one does not have a special recommendation, one is sent away with the routine answer that nothing is to be had. I realize the extreme shortage of houses, but it is a well-known fact that many Nazi officials and party members are still occupying very large apartments. . . . Thus while I have to crowd my family into a tiny room, a childless party member and former deputy *Ortsgruppenleiter* continues to live in his three-and-a-half-room apartment across the street. . . .
>
> I know there are many people as urgently in need of apartments as I am, and with equal right. But I have the impression that at the Housing Office things are not as they should be. Many people to whom I have spoken share my impression.

Another KZ, Karl Feuerer, wrote:

> Four weeks ago, upon my return from the concentration camp where I had spent twelve years in lice-infested barracks, I requested an authorization from the Munich Housing Office to move into the apartment of former Nazi City Councilor Beck, who had fled the city. The request was rejected on the excuse that the apartment was not listed in the books. . . . Today I had occasion to see the authorization turning this apartment over to bombed-out Albert Debrau. . . . I encountered a similar experience in applying for the apartment of S. S. Sturmbannführer Major Frühwald, who had also fled. . . . I was told to return in two days. When I did return, they told me that the apartment was not listed in the books. However, on the day before, supposedly at the order of Bürgermeister Stadelmayr, the apartment had been given to a non-KZ man. Other cases like this have occurred and can be reported. There is no doubt that the Nazi trash still sit in the Housing Office and that the city government is not able to clean them out. If AMG will do nothing about this situation, the people will have to take action themselves.

The KZ's were not only without quarters but also without money, jobs, or clothes. B. V. P. politicians showed their generosity by raising charity collections. It is an ironic commentary on the whole situation that in a number of Bavarian towns—Mossach, Perlach, and Waldperlach—the money and food raised for the KZ's were *spurlos versenkt;* the donations simply vanished, probably into the maw of the ubiquitous black market. In Munich the authorities put up posters appealing to the wealthy Nazis to contribute old clothes to Hitler's victims. I do not know whether anybody's heart was touched, or who got the rags. I do know that the KZ's, treated like beggers, did not feel that under the American MG Bavaria was a particularly happy place for genuine anti-Nazis. I cannot refrain from quoting one more letter. It was written by a former inmate of Dachau, Dr. Karl Rüdrich, to the editor of the *Münchener Zeitung.*

After describing how well the American combat troops treated him and his comrades upon their liberation from Dachau, Dr. Rüdrich tells what happened when they reached Munich:

> The disappointment was great. We did not expect any special reception. We ex-KZ's are simple and modest. But we did expect adequate living quarters, food, and an elimination of red tape. We were weary. All of us were ailing. But everyone of us had to go through all the red tape to receive our forty marks and our ration points. My comrades were running around all day attempting to buy food or to obtain at least one shirt. Finally we were given billets at the Stielerschule. Liberated KZ's were in charge. They did what they could, but their facilities were limited. The city government had made no preparations. There were no washrooms or sinks. We had no towels, no messkits, no blankets. That was our convalescent home in Munich. It was not what we had fought for.
>
> Some of the city employees were helpful, others were uncooperative. The Nazi spirit has not disappeared. We cannot do anything. We are always told that the directives come from higher quarters—from the Americans. I found out that the Americans have shown real understanding when reasonable suggestions are made to them. They act like gentlemen, but they say we have to help ourselves, that we must learn to administer our own country. I remember my dead comrades. They died as martyrs for freedom. What is Munich doing for their survivors?

During the first weeks of their liberation KZ's, together with other anti-Nazis, drew up lists and descriptions of prominent Hitlerites and in the naive hope that action would be taken submitted them to the authorities, both American and German. Nothing much happened; occasionally some big Nazi would be arrested and then released. The true anti-Nazis did not know where to turn. These politically alert people, Germany's sole democratic potential, were given no encouragement and no assistance. It was difficult for them to retain any illusions when they saw Hitler's collaborators roam the city unmolested. Among the latter one may mention Karl Oberhuber, S. A. brigade leader, adjutant to the notorious Gauleiter Wagner, wearer of the coveted Nazi Golden Party badge; Colonel von Herrmann of the *Volkssturm,* an old party member who shouted, "Whoever refuses to join the *Volkssturm* will be hanged"; Herr Berchtold, member of the Reichstag and one of the original Nazis, with a party book number lower than that of Hitler himself (4 or 6); Professor Richard Klein, a friend of Hitler and member of his staff, designer of the Nazi insignia; Professor Pistor, rector of the Technische Hochschule, who was responsible for the complete Nazification of that institution. These men continued their tranquil existence after the Führer's downfall.

Anti-Nazi Bavarians were further dismayed when they saw high police posts in the hands of the sworn enemies of the German people—militarists and former officers of the German General Staff. The police president of Munich was not the Social Democratic candidate, Freiherr von Godin, who had given the command to fire on the Hitler rebels in 1923, but Colonel von Seisser, a General Staff officer who had collaborated with Hitler and signed the proclamation in 1923 declaring an end to the "criminal" German Republic. That proclamation, which acquired such terrible significance later, read: "Proclamation to the German People! The government of the November criminals today is declared dismissed. A provisional German National Government has been set up. It consists of General Ludendorff, Adolf Hitler, General von Lossow, Colonel von Seisser." Colonel von Seisser's colleagues in the police were other former General

Staff officers—General Pirner, General Ranner, Colonel Kimpfmüller, and Colonel Lorneck. It is incredible that MG should have tolerated such men even for an hour.

Anti-Nazis shrugged their shoulders in helpless rage. As in Aachen, they repeated the bitter jest, "Too bad you're not a Nazi; if you were, you'd get ahead." After months of American occupation they saw that the swastikas and Nazi street names were not obliterated. Of course, they themselves should have taken the initiative in removing street signs commemorating Nazi heroes—Horst Wessel Platz, Schlageter Platz, Hans Schemm Strasse—but Germans, even anti-fascist Germans, are not made that way.

The democratic elements in Munich believed that MG cooperated with the B. V. P. and tolerated Nazi and militarists out of fear of bolshevism. German Communists employed in the administration kept their party affiliation a secret and were in constant fear of being denounced by Nazis; in at least one instance a Communist was thrown out and his Nazi denouncer, a party member since 1933, retained. "I know these anti-fascists," an MG major shouted at another American officer who proposed a Communist as a reliable person; "they are all bandits."

Until General Eisenhower kicked out the whole Bavarian administration, Bavarian anti-Nazis had no reason to believe that Americans were not hypocrites when they talked about "democracy." Some of their comments illustrate the extent of their disillusionment: "The Americans speak nicely of democracy on the radio, but actually they have no intention of reeducating for democracy or of establishing political democracy"; "The workers are saying, 'The Americans have come, but the swindle is just the same. The Nazis are still here and push us around as much as ever.'"

Since he acted as he did, General Eisenhower must have had full information about the situation, of which I have only related a few details. His liquidation of the B. V. P. government was the only step that was possible and proper under the circumstances, but I am skeptical about its lasting effectiveness. In the first place, it is a tragic fact that the democratic groups in Germany are not large enough or strong enough or experienced enough to carry through the necessary purges and to undertake a fundamental program of reconstruction. They will need help, and I do not see where they will get it. In the second place, MG, as constituted at present, will not be found useful. It is one thing for a sincere anti-Nazi like General Eisenhower to issue orders in Berlin; it is another thing to make his subordinates in the municipalities carry them out effectively. I am afraid that Wilhelm Högner, the Social Democratic Minister President of Bavaria, will have hard going.

[This is the fourth of a series of articles on Military Government in Germany. In a final article Mr. Padover will discuss the only alternative for MG.]

Have the Arabs a Case?

BY ELIAHU BEN-HORIN

(For sixteen years a newspaper editor in Palestine; author of "The Middle East, Crossroads of History")

FROM the headquarters of the Arab League in Cairo resolutions, protests, proclamations, and demands are issuing in an almost endless stream. The League is pugnacious, the League is indignant, the League is eloquent; it has something to say about every problem of the Middle East, whether it be Palestine and the Jews, Lebanon and the French, or Tripolitania and the Russians. From farther east, like a distant and invariable echo, sounds the seconding voice of King Ibn Saud, who does not hesitate to threaten the Jews of Palestine, and if need be the entire Western world, with violence should the Palestinian issue be resolved in favor of the Jewish people.

From the new Labor Cabinet in London comes still another echo—the voice of British statesmen and of the British press citing Arab opposition to a Jewish Palestine as the one insurmountable obstacle preventing them from doing the right thing by the Jews. This "Arab argument" has been so thoroughly propagated that even President Truman, speaking of Palestine, finds it necessary to say that he would be unwilling to dispatch an army of 500,000 Americans to the Near East to fight the Arab revolt which might break out if the pledges to the Jewish people are fulfilled.

The idea of a herculean pan-Arabic force in the Middle East ready to rise in a *jihad* is about the most ludicrous politico-military chimera heard of in many years. Two battalions of British troops suppressed the pro-Axis military putsch of the Rashid Ali Bag Gailani government in Iraq in 1941, though it had the backing of the then all-powerful Axis. The ill-armed and ill-trained armies of Egypt and Iraq, the camel riders of Saudi Arabia, and the horsemen of Transjordania, picturesque as they are, would be an ineffective force in these days of mechanized warfare.

Before we drift too far in this misrepresentation of the military strength and unity of purpose of the Arab peoples, it seems pertinent to look closely at Middle Eastern realities and to discover precisely what call these Arab chieftains have on the democracies. Indeed, do the Arabs have a case, and what is it?

As long as the war continued, we knew clearly who was with us and who against us, who fought for civilization and who staked their future on Hitler's victory. Where the Arabs stood was no secret. When the Nazi Wehrmacht rolled across Europe, Arab soldiers in German uniforms with the inscription "Free Arabia" on their sleeves were among the conquering heroes of the Third Reich. Remnants of this Arab Legion now cool their heels in Camp Opelika, Alabama. Special Moslem divisions of the Waffen-S. S. fought the Yugoslav partisans. A red fez decorated with the insignia of a scimitar grasped in a fist flanked by swastikas was worn with their gray-green uniforms.

Amin el Husseini, the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, and other Arab leaders appealed in the name of Allah to the Arab Middle East to join hands with Hitler, who was described by them as "the direct descendant of the Prophet." If the risk was too great for an overt alliance they prayed for an Axis victory. Paeans of thanksgiving rose from the mosques of Syria and Palestine when Rommel took North Africa. Not only was there a pro-Axis revolt in Iraq, but Egypt refused to lift a finger in its own defense, even when Rommel's legions invaded Egyptian territory. An Egyptian statesman carrying the plans of the British High Command in his pocket was seized by the British on the very eve of his escape to Rommel's headquarters. Ibn Saud and King Yahya of Yemen sat comfortably on the fence all through the war, waiting to see which way to jump. In Syria and Lebanon the Arabs were so delighted by Axis victories that they chanted happily, "No more mister, no more monsieur, only Allah in heaven, only Hitler on earth."

Faisal Ibn Abdul Aziz
Viceroy of the Hejaz and Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia

If all this is forgotten, the Arabs are still providing us with abundant evidence of their political and moral orientation. There was no need to prompt the French, the Norwegians, the Italians, the Yugoslavs to bring their traitors to trial and punishment. But the Arabs are not only unwilling to try the pro-Axis collaborationists in their midst; they are actually demanding that Amin el Husseini himself, who is now held in France as a war criminal—on the demand of the Yugoslav government—be absolved of all blame and released. These demands by the Arab League and other Arab political associations are understandable. In their eyes the Mufti is simply not a traitor. Pétain, Laval, Quisling, Degrelle, Joyce may be branded traitors by their own people, but according to the political and moral standards of Pan-Arabia, Amin el Husseini, once Hitler's official adviser on Arab affairs, is a national hero, whose only mistake was that he backed the losing horse.

Arab social philosophy and the existing forms of Arab society are in harmony with the Nazi-Fascist system rather than with our democratic ideas. For hundreds of years Arabia withstood the civilizing influence of the West. Even when Ataturk performed his miracle of a revolution in Turkey, westernizing that backward land of Islam, his modern ideas never penetrated into the Arab domains. There the reactionary clergy, the polygamist effendi, and the feudal kings, emirs, and sheiks continued to rule supreme over an impoverished, illiterate, and disease-ridden populace.

The fabulous oil riches of the Middle East attracted Western capital. Hundreds of millions of dollars were invested in the development of oil fields, in the construction of refineries and pipe lines, and in royalties to the various Arab governments. Did this flow of capital into Arabia benefit the masses of the people—raise living standards or improve social conditions?

Iraq provides the answer. Unlike the concessions in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, which are still in their infancy, the Iraq concession, granted twenty years ago to British-American-French-Dutch interests, has been in operation for many years. About $85,000,000 was paid to the Iraqi government in oil royalties, gratuities, educational grants, and non-interest-bearing loans. This may not impress Americans as a large sum, but for a country of Iraq's size and population (3,500,000 inhabitants), and of Iraq's poverty, it is tremendous. Where did this money go? It disappeared into the pockets of the ruling clique, leaving no beneficial effects on either state expenditure or the living conditions of the masses. Here is how an Arab newspaper in Bagdad, the *Saut-el-ahali* (the *Voice of the People*), described life in Iraq in 1944:

> It is clear that 90 per cent of the entire population of Iraq live on a subhuman level. They are condemned to a life of starvation and exposed to the ravages of epidemics without benefit of any medical assistance. And these intolerable, primitive conditions exist in the twentieth century among our own Iraqi people, who sweat and toil to make the soil yield riches which are then entirely consumed by others. . . . The government has done nothing either to mitigate the distress or to combat its causes.

Elaborating the subject, the paper divided the population of Iraq into four groups: (1) 2 per cent of the population, who control the entire wealth of the nation and its means of production; (2) 8 per cent, who form a poor middle class and hardly earn a living; (3) 75 per cent, who are chronically undernourished, live in appalling conditions, and are easy prey to every kind of sickness; (4) 15 per cent, who are completely destitute. The death rate in Iraq is high and the birth rate is low, resulting in a natural increase of no more than five per thousand. At least two million persons —more than 50 per cent of the population—are infected with malaria, and there is a high incidence of tuberculosis. Ninety per cent of the people are still illiterate.

The Iraqi government could have achieved much for its people at home, but instead it fought the Jews in Palestine and the French in Syria, promoted Pan-Arabism in Cairo, and made grandstand plays in San Francisco and Washington. And Iraq is not unique: its description applies to every Arab land in the Middle East. The last remnants of a feudal society in the world fight bitterly against any democratic or civilizing innovation. Yet in our desire to woo the Arab kings we have showered on them every kind of favor, political and material. They were admitted on the bandwagon of the United Nations when the war was virtually over. Lend-lease was supplied to them, together with military missions to train their desert armies in modern warfare. Today pan-Arabic aspirations are bolstered by both the British and the American government. President Truman even went so far—on whose advice, one wonders—as to present Prince Abdul Ilah, the Regent of Iraq, with the medal of the Legion of Merit for his services during the war.

History sadly repeats itself. After the last war it was principally Great Britain which encouraged the pan-Arabic aspirations of King Hussein of Hejaz. Not that Britain believed in the possibility of any comprehensive unity in Arabia; on the contrary, every British expert on Arab affairs said that unity in Arabia was a phantom. Lawrence of Arabia wrote, "When people talk of Arab confederations or empires, they talk fantastically." Gertrude Bell denied the very existence of an Arab nation. As recently as September 26, 1945, a special correspondent of the London *Times* in the Middle East reported: "The difference in political, religious, and economic structure between, say, the Lebanon and Saudi Arabia is much more pronounced than between, say, Germany and France. Tribal, religious, and dynastic antagonisms are more embittered and fanatical in the Oriental than in the European world, and so far the Arab League has been more occupied with traditional eloquence than with the elaboration of constructive programs." And, "Just now the main, if not the only unifying force in the League is an ingrained and traditional xenophobia, directed, according to circumstances, against the French, the British, or the Jews."

The British encouraged King Hussein in his dreams of grandeur because they wanted above all to assure their complete domination over the Middle East, so vitally important to the maintenance of the Empire. Since then, dynastic changes have occurred in the Arab domains. King Hussein lost his kingdom to Ibn Saud and died in exile, a broken and disillusioned man. New chieftains have risen to power. But no social or economic changes of consequence have taken place. Indeed, the Arab-Jewish conflict is no less social than nationalistic in its nature. Numerous signs of an Arab-Jewish rapprochement were noted in the past. This, however, is what the reactionary effendis fear most, for they are bent on preserving their vested interests. The Mufti's clique killed numerous Arabs whose only sin was that they regarded sympathetically the social-economic progress brought to Palestine by Jewish-Zionist enterprise. Arabia remains as closed as ever to the march of civilization.

All this makes it clear that the Arabs have no case. Neither their attitude during the war nor the form of society they represent can possibly appeal to Labor Britain or democratic America. Yet the improbable and illogical seems to be happening. The rulers of both Britain and the United States seem to be so determined on a pro-Arab orientation in the Middle East that they would rather bear the odium of betraying the Jewish people and of backing reactionary Moslem potentates at this decisive stage in shaping the future world than risk the displeasure of the Arab cliques. What is behind it all?

The usual answer is oil. By now everyone is aware of its unparalleled abundance in the Middle East. But if oil is an important factor in the "Arab case," there is much more to it than that. The Jewish-Arab controversy in Palestine cuts across the most vital issues of world strategy. The major political, economic, and strategic plans of the British-American alliance on the one hand and of Soviet Russia on the other are part and parcel of it. Once again the Middle East, which has figured so prominently in every world conflagration, becomes the bone of contention in the great powers' jockeying for positions and influence.

Canada's Veterans Go Back to School

BY LESLIE ROBERTS

(Canadian journalist; author of "Canada's War in the Air" and "We Must Be Free"; coauthor with George F. Beurling of "Malta Spitfire")

Montreal, October 10

THE Canadian veterans' program and the G. I. Bill of Rights are based on fundamentally different social concepts. The American plan offers short-term assistance to the individual in getting back to normalcy; the Canadian is conceived as a long-term investment in the individual as a national asset. While it offers financial help and expert advice to the veteran who wants to buy a farm or establish a business, the backbone of the Canadian program is education. The official veterans' handbook says:

> The leaders of Canada in the future must come in large measure from those young Canadians who volunteered for active service in this war. This is a principle which the Dominion has recognized in setting up its plans, . . . with the result that full opportunity to resume education is given to the young ex-service man or woman whose ambition to go to university was interrupted by the war. . . .
>
> All qualified for university admission at time of enlistment, or who can qualify within fifteen months after discharge, may receive this opportunity.

Technically the opportunity consists of the right to go to school and college for a period of time equal to the individual's length of service, the government paying all tuition and making monthly maintenance grants of $60 to single and $80 to married students, plus extra money if there are children. Actually the government will extend the period of training for the brilliant student whose service time is not sufficient to enable him to complete his studies. "The government is of the opinion," says the handbook, "that the opportunity to go through to a degree should be available to the outstanding student."

The service men, for their part, are taking full advantage of the opportunity. More than 300,000 out of a total enlistment of approximately 750,000—as compared with 100,000 out of 600,000 after World War I—are eligible for university training. Today, with the bulk of the army still in Europe, every campus between the oceans is alive with young veterans. Toronto University is reported to have taken over a former war plant and cleared out the machinery to make room for desks. Similar preparations are being made at Montreal. In its first check-up Ottawa estimated it had received 40,000 applications. To date, according to Colonel Wilfrid Bovey, chairman of the Royal Commission on Veterans' Qualifications, 90,000 young men and women have signified their desire to go to college. The problem is where to put them all and at the same time find room for the usual crop from the high schools. Some universities are trying to meet the problem by raising their entrance requirements for civilians.

Stanley Frank, in the *Saturday Evening Post* of August 18, reported that most American soldiers are not interested in going to school: they want jobs, he said. On the other hand, Canadian veterans' advisers report that many men who come to them decline immediate employment opportunities in favor of more education. Why should their attitude be so different?

Tens of thousands of young Canadians went to the armed forces directly from high school or early in their university careers; tens of thousands more enlisted from extremely junior positions in the business world. Among both groups the realization that they are not equipped for any but low-paid jobs is discernible. But the same is true of the younger men in the American army. The difference in attitude is due to the difference between the government plans.

While there is no great difference in maintenance grants, Canada's being only slighter higher, the Canadian scheme covers all educational expenses; the G. I. Bill of Rights allows only $500 a year for tuition and textbooks. The G. I.'s time in school can in no case be longer than his period of service; the Canadian—whose service on the average is likely to be longer, simply because Canada has been at war since September, 1939—knows that if he does well his training will not be cut short.

In my opinion, however, none of these factors really give the key to the current rush for higher education by Canadian veterans. The Dominion's soldiers, sailors, and airmen have been conditioned for this program virtually since the day of enlistment. From 1939 on education has played a large part in the Canadian service man's life. Under the aegis of the Canadian Legion Educational Services all manner of courses were opened by the time the first troops began to move overseas early in 1940. During the long pre-invasion wait in Britain a greatly enlarged curriculum was offered, partly, no doubt, to keep the men busy and fend off the occupational ailment sometimes called *cafard*. Later, thousands of young men and women were actually pursuing university courses in combat areas, tucking textbooks into the pockets of their battle dress and writing examination papers in their spare hours out of the line.

You can get some idea of the scope of this service from a few figures. More than 2,000,000 textbooks proper were distributed in the armed forces, plus more than 500,000 other books dealing with post-war problems and more than 100,000 listed under the general head of "directed reading." I have seen these services in operation overseas—on the Continent, at bomber stations in Britain, and in naval establishments—and I can testify that Canada's young men and women were having the advantages of education put before them, and put before them attractively, day in and day out through the war years. This, I believe, is the clue to the Canadian veterans' attitude.

The educational program is not limited to veterans who want to go to college. From one end of Canada to the other every type of vocational school is in full swing, training men and women in subjects ranging from commercial art to stationary engineering. A few days ago I visited an art school conducted by one of the Dominion's outstanding commercial illustrators. In its classes more than a hundred young men, recently returned from the battlefields of Europe, were bent over drawing boards or listening to lectures.

I asked the director how many of his students would make the grade.

"You'd be surprised," he answered. "The majority of those you see here will find a place somewhere. There isn't a man in the school who's just here for the ride. Primarily they're all here because they like it. And, brother, how they work!"

The system of selection at this training school is the same that is used throughout the vocational-training structure. When the soldier is discharged he discusses his future with a veterans' adviser or with the civilian committee in his home town. If he wants to study commercial art he is sent to see a teacher in that field; after their conference the teacher may recommend him for art schooling on probation to see how he gets along; he may advise him to drop the idea and try something else for which he has more aptitude; or he may welcome him to his classes with open arms, realizing that here is a person with talent who might never have had an opportunity to go to art school but for the war and the Veterans' Program. In the case of the boy or girl who after a few weeks on probation seems to be headed for nowhere, teacher and pupil sit down and talk it over. Perhaps they have another try; perhaps the teacher persuades the pupil to try something else. If so, the student goes back to the veterans' adviser for further talks, and may either take training in another field or get a job and come back later. What Canada is trying to do is to fit square pegs into square holes, to help the veteran become what he wants to be, provided he can acquire the skill. The idea behind it all is that the country needs trained men and women. Each case is an individual case and is treated as such.

Throughout the country all manner of patriotic people are collaborating with the government in working out the plan: civilian committees in small towns, the Canadian Legion, the labor unions, the Rotary clubs, pretty nearly everybody who has an organization. Sometimes, I suspect, the veterans' advisers—who are government people—wish all these well-intentioned bodies would stay at home and attend to their knitting, and no doubt they do get into officialdom's hair at times. But that is what the government says it wants, a vital interest in the veterans' future on the part of every man and woman of good-will. The tide is high now, and the hope is that it will remain high until the job is finished, which will not be this year or next. Ian MacKenzie, Minister of Veterans' Affairs, says the program will not reach its peak for at least another year, if then.

To call Canada's program a method of discharging a debt to the fighting men would be to misunderstand the concept on which it is based. Cynics may call it a politicians' concept, but they would be wise to remember that although the plan was devised by politicians it is actually an expression of the nation's will, as witness the support given it by all parties in Parliament and by the country itself during the subsequent general election. It is one of the greatest social experiments ever conducted in the Americas.

POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

The People's War Goes On

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

IT IS with mingled feelings of satisfaction and regret that I announce the end of the Political War Section. When this section was started, on September 26, 1942, I wrote:

> Our purpose is very simple. We intend to underline the revolutionary character of the war and help develop a political strategy through which the democratic elements in all countries may overcome the forces of reaction and capitulation, and free the peoples of the world from the tragic conflict of fighting under colors not their own.
>
> The section will be a weapon in this political war. It will be turned against the confusions and hesitations of democratic policy as well as against the horrors of Axis rule; against the Quislings who do Hitler's bidding in Oslo and Brussels and Vichy, but also against the potential Quislings concealed in Washington and London and Buenos Aires.

The central political idea of the section has been that World War II was started by fascism; that it had to be fought as a war against fascism; and that it would not be won until the last vestige of fascism was wiped off the earth. Looking back through the issues of *The Nation,* I am satisfied that the Political War Section has remained faithful to its purpose. In spite of the difficulty of combining unreserved support of the military conduct of the war with bold criticism of the way in which the war was being waged on the political front, I believe that its aims have been well served.

I take justified pride in a number of "scoops" which appeared in these pages. Ralph Bates wrote the first full account to appear in the American press of the Yugoslav partisan movement headed by Marshal Tito, at a time when most American liberals were still describing Mihailovich as the hero of the Balkan resistance. Later Bogdan Raditsa amplified this story in a special issue devoted to the intrigues of the reactionary opposition to Tito. From Joseph Kessel came the first dramatic recital by a writer close to the underground of the great epic of French resistance which was later to thrill the world. From the very outset we led an unrelenting fight for support of and later recognition of De Gaulle. We exposed the various forms which Darlanism took as well as the intrigues of Allied diplomacy. And we were the first to publish the full program of the De Gaulle government, long before it returned to France, in a series of articles by the former Minister Jules Moch, now a member of the French Provisional Assembly.

The alarm about Argentina was sounded by Manuel Seoane and Felix Cernuschi when the general tendency both in the State Department and in the press was still to minimize the gravity of Nazi penetration in South America, and to misinterpret the meaning of the military coup which overthrew the Castillo government. In the early summer of 1943 Gaetano Salvemini, in a series of remarkable articles, urged the Allied powers to seize the opportunity which was still open to them of pursuing a genuinely democratic policy in Italy. Basil Vlavianos, writing in the Political War Section, was one of the first to expose Britain's reactionary intrigues in Greece, and his reports were later emphasized and amplified by first-hand accounts from such able correspondents as Constantine Poulos and Philip Jordan. As for Spain, the first call for unity among the Republican exiles by Dr. Juan Negrín was published on October 17, 1942.

On the basis of first-hand information Pacificus and other writers revealed, months before Japan's defeat, the dangers of the occupation policy which American authorities were then shaping for Japan; today that policy is the subject of heated controversy in the American press. Under the pen name of Argus, the distinguished exiled German writer and editor Leopold Schwarzschild contributed a weekly column, Behind the Enemy Line, which was considered by *Nation* readers and by informed government officials one of the best commentaries available on Nazi methods of political warfare. We also printed a number of studies on post-war problems by Fritz Sternberg. And in one of the last insertions of the Political War Section, on July 28, E. H. Jacoby and Captain X gave a picture of conditions in the Philippines which revealed for the first time the methods used by the American military control under General MacArthur.

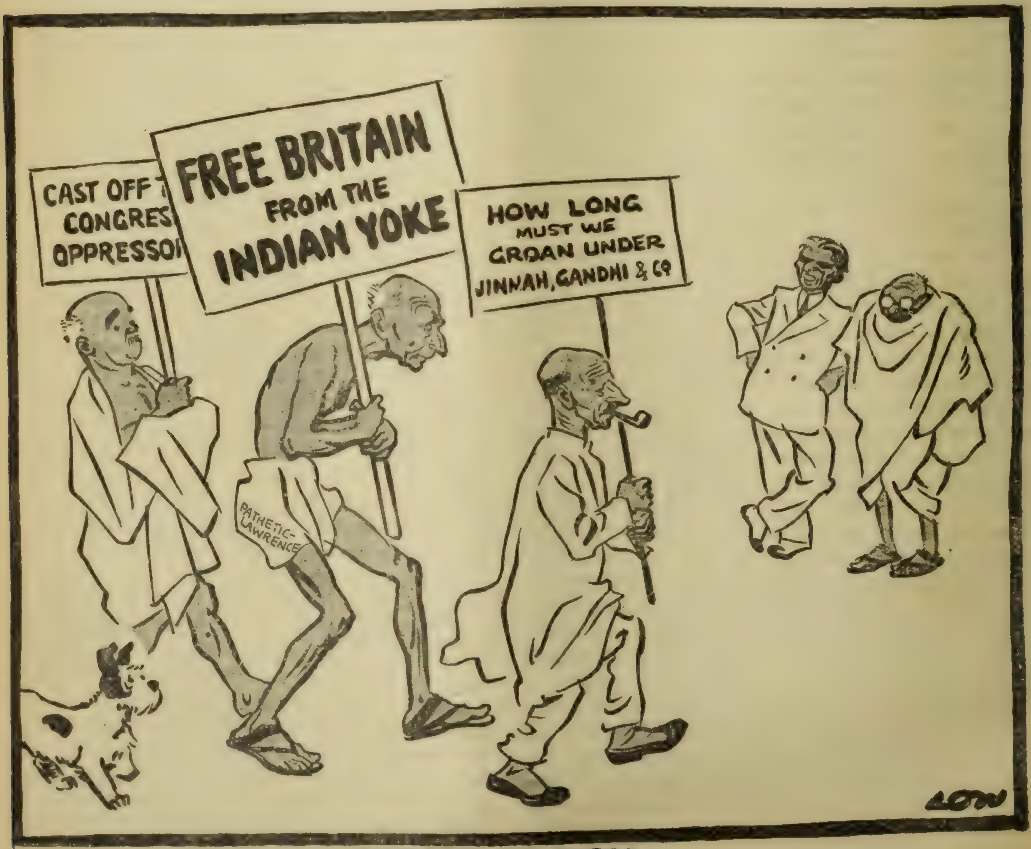
As editor of the Political War Section I have consistently maintained (1) that the Europe which was emerging from the war was going left (even though some of the most capable foreign correspondents returned from Europe with a contrary impression); (2) that the kind of political warfare being waged by the Allies must inevitably lead to profound disagreements among the United Nations, especially among the big powers, and render still more difficult the tremendous task of building the peace; (3) that there could be no possible deal with fascism—unless one fought fascism as one fights an invasion of plague-bearing rats, destroying every single source of infection, fascism would return, in two years, in five years, in ten years, to plunge the world into a third world war so terrible in its destructiveness that it must exclude even the remote possibility of a fourth.

I am of course gratified that the section's analysis of the world situation was so accurate. At the same time I must regret that many of the fears expressed here have been confirmed. The big nations are today as much engrossed in power politics as they were after the First World War and on the eve of the Second. Titular heads of ministries have changed, but the world's chancelleries are still staffed with the same sort of officials that welcomed the treason of Munich as a guaranty of peace, and they still continue to function in the same spirit of appeasement. Old-time diplomats maneuver to clear the path for a king in Spain and in Greece and in Yugoslavia and in Italy, despite the sober warning of republicans that they will oppose the return of these obsolete monarchies by force if necessary. Too many labor leaders, liberals, and progressives are talking and acting as if there had been no war, as if they understood nothing of the events of the past twenty-five years, as if they were incapable of learning the imperative lesson of unity. Worst of all, many people who decide policy continue to regard fascism with the same tragic lack of comprehension that precipitated this war.

It was an irresponsible general who found the issue between Nazis and anti-Nazis analogous to a "Democratic and Republican election fight." But generals are merely less careful in their pronouncements than diplomats, and many persons in high places in the Allied governments undoubtedly share Patton's view.

Events have justified our fears that the failure of the Allies to promote real democracy in the occupied countries could only lead to a dangerous neo-isolationism in America, a tendency to assume a position of complete detachment from the problems of Europe. Instead of asking themselves very honestly whether the failure of the Allied occupation policy does not stem from the lack of a clear-cut anti-fascist line, some people here are adopting a "to hell with all of you" attitude toward the people of Europe. This attitude was clearly brought out in an article in the book section of the New York *Herald Tribune* two weeks ago by John Chabot Smith, until recently the *Herald Tribune's* correspondent in Italy. Reviewing "Italy in the Coming World" by Don Luigi Sturzo, the Italian Catholic leader, Mr. Smith referred to the feeling "not infrequently expressed" by Allied officers and G. I.'s over there: "Let's give this place back to the Italians and forget about it." In 1943 at the start of the invasion of Europe we used to hear that America would be the decisive factor in shaping the world to come. Now, in the face of popular demonstrations of anti-fascist feeling, the Americans tend to damn the whole Italian people—especially the men of the resistance—as "a dirty lot," "lazy loafers," "anarchists," and turn hopeful eyes toward the "well-behaved," "orderly," "clean," "well-disciplined" Germans. What else could one expect when their military and political leaders have never made a sharp distinction between fascists and anti-fascists?

The situation I have sketched here today would seem to indicate the necessity of continuing rather than ending the Political War Section. But now that the military fight is won, the political war remains as the chief preoccupation of *The Nation* as a whole and no separate section is called for. I shall continue, however, to deal with this central theme in a regular signed page to be called The People's Front. It will begin in next week's issue.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HOW LONG MUST WE GROAN UNDER JINNAH, GANDHI & Co
PATHETIC-LAWRENCE
LOW

UNREST IN INDIA

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

"THE UNQUIET GRAVE" by Cyril Connolly has just been published in this country (Harper, $2.50). I discussed it more than once last spring when the English edition came into my hands. Subtitled "A Word Cycle by Palinurus," it is a bitter yet refreshing bouquet in which Mr. Connolly's own perceptive, irreverent, and "self-dismantling" comments on the quality and meaning of life are mingled with the wit and wisdom of the writers he most admires. It is one of those books which disturb and incite the mind, and I happen to feel that that is one of the primary functions of a book. But it is a function not often exercised in a period when culture itself tends to be regarded as merely another physical comfort which goes by the name of "entertainment."

A measure of this tendency, and incidentally a crude but to me sure indication of the force of Mr. Connolly's book, is the degree to which it irritated Orville Prescott, who reviews books in the daily New York *Times*. Mr. Prescott gets irritated only when something unusual turns up. Most of the time the books he has to cope with are mediocre enough or conventional enough to make him amiable and calm and even, at times, playful. But last spring, for instance, when Marguerite Young published "Angel in the Forest," which is perhaps the best book of 1945 and certainly the product of a first-rate talent, Mr. Prescott acted like a traffic cop confronted by a murder.

His reactions to "The Unquiet Grave" were of the same flustered order. He could not help admitting that Mr. Connolly is talented and learned, that there are "bright shafts of truth" and "penetrating passages" in the book which kept him from throwing it into the fire just when the impulse was becoming irresistible. He even went so far as to say that "there is something of his uncertainty and despair in all of us." But his general, and injured, feeling was that Mr. Connolly's whole purpose was to shock not only the bourgeoisie but Orville Prescott in person. And he was so outraged by Mr. Connolly's unembarrassed self-examination, by his "decadence" and his "pessimism," that I found myself wondering if Orville Prescott isn't really Oliver Allston.

Since he could not quite dismiss the book, Mr. Prescott hit back by calling Mr. Connolly "fat." And he may or may not have been responsible for an accompanying photograph which reinforced this childish attempt at insult. On the jacket of the book is a photograph of the author lying back in an arm chair. He does not, to be sure, appear sylph-like; neither does he appear to be, as Mr. Prescott implies, disgustingly fat. But this effect was achieved by the simple and distorting device of carving the head and shoulders out of the photograph of a man in a reclining position and presenting the result as if it were the portrait of a man sitting upright. It is a very mean trick, intentional or not.

I do not know how much Mr. Connolly weighs, but aside from the fact that obesity has not hitherto figured as an indication of literary merit, I don't see how anyone could use it as a weapon with which to attack a man who himself confesses, ruefully, that he is overweight and who nevertheless has the agility and wit to say that "imprisoned in every fat man a thin one is wildly signaling to be let out."

It should be mentioned, by the way, that one of Mr. Prescott's most violent reproaches against Mr. Connolly is that he "quotes many French authors in the original French without providing translations." That complaint, I think, rounds out the picture of Mr. Prescott as critic. He obviously weighs very little.

STRANGE THINGS ARE HAPPENING these days. I can remember when a liberal, almost by definition, was a person who looked upon the Hays Office and its invisible censorship as a threat to life and letters, the leading repository of philistinism, the first defense of hypocrisy, and the coldframe of chauvinism. Last week I picked up a copy of *PM*, a liberal newspaper, and found a review of the film "Mildred Pierce" which said in effect that it should not be allowed because it would give foreigners a bad impression of America. The review, by John McManus, was headed by an unctuous statement by Eric Johnston which was a faithful rendition of the Hays line. After all, for $150,000 a year Mr. Johnston could hardly do less than maintain the low traditions of his office. "American motion pictures," it read, "are, and they must continue to be, America's greatest salesmen. . . . I learned from personal experience that in many countries the only America the people know is the America of the motion picture. We intend always to keep this in mind."

It was bad enough to find this crass nonsense raised to the status of Bible truth. But in the review itself Mr. McManus out-Johnstoned Johnston. Read, and ponder, these two paragraphs:

> The surface details will be disarmingly familiar. There is a neat, California stucco home, nesting pleasantly with many others just like it in its palmy block. Shiny, modern automobiles cluster the boulevards. . . . These are the staples of Southern California life, for which, as Eric Johnston implies, people all over the world know us and undoubtedly envy us.
>
> But what of the people with whom James M. Cain and Warner Brothers (with their pledge of combining good movie making with good citizenship) populate these characteristic settings—are they Americans?

Apparently Mr. McManus thinks it will be "good for" people all over the world to envy us. Apparently he approves of the California stucco version of American life which Hollywood and the Hays Office have conspired to jam down our throats these many years. Apparently it doesn't matter whether or not "Mildred Pierce" has anything to do with the truth

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about the Americans it deals with. And apparently Mr. McManus doesn't object to censorship as long as it is called "a pledge of combining, etc."

In another paragraph Mr. McManus tosses off in passing the smug observation that "all Hollywood movies are well played and directed." And in his last paragraphs he lets himself go in an extraordinary outburst of crude demagogy and cruder prose. He can't help his prose, but somebody ought to tell him, before he disappears over the horizon in his shiny new Liberal Imperial Racer, that foreigners are almost as bright as Americans and often fail in their duty to envy California stucco; and that one way of getting overt censorship in this country is to ask for it.

WORDSWORTH said that poetry is emotion remembered in tranquillity. Norman Corwin's "On a Note of Triumph," composed in advance to celebrate V-E Day, might be described as emotion anticipated in a hubbub. That may be one reason why it isn't poetry.

WISDOM OF THE AGES: "My mother told me," said the man behind the soda fountain, "that if I didn't retire by forty I'd work till I was ninety."

Jacksonian Democracy

THE AGE OF JACKSON. By Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Little, Brown and Company. $5.

THIS book is a triumph of historical scholarship, analysis, and interpretation. It is richly documented. Its author has examined with profit a wealth of manuscript material, public records, the writings of major figures in our national history, and out-of-the-way pamphlets and books of obscure figures who prove to be not so minor after all. This abundant labor throws much new light on a host of Americans, well-known and less well-known, who come to life in remarkable portraits that are both brilliant and sensitive. We learn a good deal that is new about the Jacksonian era, its relation to the Jeffersonian age it succeeded and to the periods that have followed. The book is admirably written in athletic, graphic prose, relieved by passages that are moving and tender but never sentimental. It succeeds as books rarely do in making a major contribution to history as a social science and in exemplifying the best canons of history as a branch of literature.

It is impossible in a few words to do anything like justice to Mr. Schlesinger's analysis of the crisis which the American heritage of equal opportunity first encountered in the rising industrial community a hundred years ago; to the far more important role played by urban workers in that crisis than we have assumed; to the significant part of the intellectuals; and to the relationships between the larger theory of Jacksonian democracy and law, religion, literature, economics, and politics. It is clear that the frontier was a less weighty factor in the rise and career of Jacksonian democracy than has been commonly supposed. It is also clear that class conflicts figured more substantially in American development than most Americans have been wont to think. It is no less apparent that the key to an understanding of what was accomplished

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and what was not accomplished is to be found neither in the approach of the thoroughgoing economic determinists nor in that of the exponents of the autonomy of absolute moral values nor in the defensive emphasis of certain historical champions of the reform impulse on the one hand and of pro-agrarian apologists for the slave interest on the other. The key is rather to be found in movements of economic interest, fluctuating between antagonisms and alliances; in the structure of power; and in the dynamic role of values and ideas, all in a shifting, subtle interdependency.

Mr. Schlesinger, the son of Professor Schlesinger of Harvard, has not only written a first-rate and eminently readable book for scholars: he has at the same time produced a book which American liberals should welcome for the light it throws on the past, present, and future of democracy. Mr. Schlesinger, in a greater measure than is common among historians, writes with an eye on our time and on tomorrow. He is of course thoroughly aware that the tensions and struggles of the Jacksonian era were far simpler than those of today. Yet he succeeds in writing a history which is a useful instrument for understanding the conflicts in American life today and, perhaps, for directing them toward peaceful, intelligent, and democratic solutions. His underlying assumptions and values are those of the relativist rather than the absolutist, of the actualist rather than the theorist. He lets us appreciate in new and fresh ways the moods, resources, methods, and values of the democratic process of trial and error, compromise, tolerance, and proximate rather than complete solutions of social and economic tensions. His contribution toward an understanding of the stubborn and difficult problems of means, of the uses and abuses of the flexible approach toward tactics and strategy, is especially notable. Not only can weary and bewildered liberals learn much from the pages of "The Age of Jackson"; they should find their faith in democracy as an instrument for action today renewed, deepened, and extended. **MERLE CURTI**

BRIEFER COMMENT

Primers for Adults

BRITAIN IN WAR TIME took to reading as never before. Nor was this just a form of escapism. Blacked out, the people sought intellectual light, and books on history and current political and social problems vied in popularity with detective stories. Plagued as they were by the paper shortage, British publishers did their best to cater to this new thirst for knowledge. Many new series of short primers, designed to convey information in a concise, popular, but not condescending manner, appeared in the bookshops.

The British Survey Handbooks edited by John Eppstein (Macmillan, $1 each) are examples of this development. Number 4, "Hungary," and Number 5, "Denmark," manage to compress into less than 100 pages a great many facts about the history, geography, politics, and economic life of the countries with which they deal. They are written clearly but without much distinction of style. Generally the tone is severely objective, though in describing the Hungarian regime the author of the Hungarian volume tends, perhaps, to give the devil more than his due. Both books devote a considerable proportion of their space to the war years, bringing their story down to the end of 1944. Thus in the Danish volume there is an excellent account of the resistance movement, whose remarkable campaign against the Nazi invaders reached a carefully planned climax on D-Day.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Mr. Nathan Carries On

THE THIRD ANNUAL VOLUME of George Jean Nathan's "The Theater Book of the Year" (Knopf, $3) follows the pattern previously laid down by the author, who is without question one of the most indefatigable playgoers, as well as one of the most unflagging commentators, the world has ever known. Again he sets down for every play produced in New York during the season of 1944-45 the author, cast, date of production, and length of run, thus providing a chronicle to which future historians as well as present-day readers can turn. Again, also, he then adds his own critical estimate of the play, together with whatever bits of theatrical history, scraps of gossip, wisecracks, purple patches of indignation, and assorted obiter dicta occur to him. Probably no one else in America remembers in detail so many plays and just what happens in each of them; certainly no one has firmer opinions concerning them all or tosses these opinions about more debonairly. One never knows what one is going to find or where one is going to find it, and Mr. Nathan, being an odd cross between the encyclopedist and the boulevardier, does his best to offend all earnest souls. But those who are not distressed by flippancy of manner will discover in time that there is probably more good sound sense about the contemporary theater per page of his writing than will be found in any other commentator who concerns himself with it.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Stef, Kenning, Drapa

IF YOU DO NOT KNOW what a stef is, or a kenning, or a drápa; if you never heard of Bragi Boddason the Old, or Thiódólf of Hvin, or Einar Helgason, among others, you can now find out by examining "The Skalds: A Selection of Their Poems," with an Introduction and Notes by Lee M. Hollander, which was published for the American-Scandinavian Foundation by the Princeton University Press ($2.75). Primarily, and seriously, intended for the student of Old Norse, this book contains matter of interest to the general reader, especially if he has an ear and a passion for metrics. A thousand years ago the Skalds were, not writing, but at least sitting up nights composing, in a highly traditionalized style, verses which they never put down but which, thanks to their own memorable qualities and the industry of Snorri Sturluson, we can enjoy a millennium, more or less, after their date of issue. Courtiers but not sycophants, more subservient to the complicated rules of their art than to the caprice of their kings, analphabetes yet devoted to Gongoresque preciosities—curious fellows, indeed, these Skalds, interesting and rugged. The story of Egil Skallagrimsson, "who combined the man of action with the poet," is particularly moving.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

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"He Rode with Jeb Stuart"

WILLIAM WILLIS BLACKFORD enlisted in the First Virginia Cavalry before the Battle of Bull Run. From then until Appomattox he missed only one major campaign of the Army of Northern Virginia, and then he was on sick leave. As adjutant to Jeb Stuart, he was closely associated with that dashing cavalryman until, three months before Stuart's death, Blackford was transferred to the engineers.

Some twenty years later Blackford wrote his memoirs of the war. For more than half a century the manuscript was kept by his family, and was known to only a few scholars. It is now published for the first time—"War Years with Jeb Stuart" (Scribner's, $3). In it the reader will find the only adequate contemporary account of service in the Confederate engineer troops; perhaps the best, and certainly one of the three best, contemporary accounts of the military career of Jeb Stuart; observations about Von Borcke, Pelham, Mosby, Geary, and a host of other Confederate leaders; and, above all, a book which is both charmingly written and unusually accurate. RALPH ADAMS BROWN

Argument for Conscription

"UNIVERSAL TRAINING," by Colonel Edward A. Fitzpatrick, A. U. S. (Whittlesey House, $3), is a useful, in the main objective discussion of its controversial subject. The president of Mount Mary College has, with calm clarity, presented his point of view—for universal military training—undisguised by any sociological or educational sugar-coating. This Catholic educator frankly joins hands with the conservative army and the New Dealer Harry Hopkins (*vide* the *American Magazine*, March, 1945) in saying that in the absence of an effective world organization military necessity and national defense require a larger army (and navy) than we have ever had before; that voluntary enlistment will not suffice because it has never been equal to the task in the past; that, therefore, the best way to achieve the necessary military protection is through a year of true military training for practically all eighteen-year-old boys.

The argument of the book suffers on four counts: (1) it was written before the atomic bomb necessarily changed strategic and even tactical preparations for warfare; (2) it does not examine the possibility for a shared world defense system, which presumably the United Nations Organization is to establish, or the effect of this on national military needs; (3) by citing historical examples of failure in the army volunteer system it illogically argues that all volunteer systems are doomed—ignoring various proposals put forward for a volunteer system by G. I.'s (not brass hats!) in this war, and the comparative ease and success of the volunteer system always used by the navy until the Presidential Order of December 5, 1943, stopped all such enlistments; (4) it neatly skirts the issue of whether one year of active training is really adequate even under present concepts. Evidence has already been offered to the contrary, particularly in the more skilled technologies of warfare. In this same connection, in speaking of the "reserve forces" after the year of training it overlooks completely the factor of technological obsolescence and its effects on evaluating a "trained" reserve.

Despite these criticisms Colonel Fitzpatrick's volume is certainly the best presentation thus far of "one side" of the argument. FRANK N. TRAGER

Next Week in *The Nation*

LEON HENDERSON

will review

"Germany Is Our Problem"

By HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR.

Underseas Men

"IF YOU'RE GOING to set down the story of the submarines," a veteran officer of the "silent service" advised Robert J. Casey, "you must first set down the story of the man inside the submarine. . . . He is not yet the forgotten man of the United States military services because he has never yet been known." Mr. Casey has done his best—and it is a good best—to make amends to the submariner. "Battle Below" (Bobbs-Merrill, $3.50) touches briskly and brightly on the curious history of the submarine service, its own Bunyanesque lore and terminology, and the large store of specific deeds of derring-do in the war which it helped so largely to win. The monotony, the claustrophobia, and the numbness—sometimes nausea—that afflict a crew under prolonged depth-charge bombardment emerge from Mr. Casey's lucid reporting, as well as the camaraderie and courage of men who without even seeing their target—and few of them do—fight a mechanical war and die secretly and without glory. Two other books, "Silversides" by Robert Trumbull (Holt, $2.50) and "U. S. S. Seawolf" by Gerold Frank and James D. Horan, with J. M. Eckberg (Putnam's, $2.75), add to the laurels belatedly being heaped on the underseas men. Concerned with the sagas of individual ships, they are neither as broad in scope as Mr. Casey's volume nor as lively. R. B.

The Lesson of 1919

THE STORY OF AMERICA'S REJECTION of the League of Nations and withdrawal into its shell of isolationism has been told many times but never as clearly and effectively as by Alan Cranston in "The Killing of the Peace" (Viking, $2.50). It is largely the story of the incredible vanity and skill in political manipulation of one man—Henry Cabot Lodge. For in 1919 as in 1945 American public opinion was overwhelmingly in favor of participation in a world organization to preserve the peace. Lodge himself had spoken in support of such an organization in 1916, and the leaders of both parties were strongly committed to it. But Lodge hated Wilson, and he was determined that the Senate should play an active and not a passive role in treaty making. These two considerations impelled him to try to destroy whatever Wilson sought to create. By insisting on a perfect League that would make it impossible for other countries to pursue selfish or nationalistic interests and, at the same time, on safeguards for America's special interests, he bedeviled Wilson into making impossible compromises which he immediately attacked on principle. When the treaty finally reached the Senate, he fought not against the League but against this and that detail in the proposed organization until the Senate and the public at large were completely confused over the issues. Then, by exploiting partisanship to the utmost, he succeeded in forcing through a series of amendments that made the League unpalatable to foe and friend alike.

Although many of these pitfalls have been avoided in steering the charter of the World Security Organization through the Senate without serious opposition, there are still lessons to be gained from this record that are applicable in 1945. The recent Foreign Ministers' Conference in London illustrates the difficulties of adjustment and accommodation that have to be made among the powers before we can get a satisfactory peace. The Paris Peace Conference went through the same difficult stage, but Wilson faced the added problem of constant pressure from home. This book will have served its purpose if it helps to persuade Americans to grant our representatives at the peace table a free hand so that they may base their actions on the interests of the world as a whole without restraints imposed by domestic partisanship. MAXWELL S. STEWART

To the North

THE MIGRATIONS OF NEGROES from the South to Northern cities have been the subject of numerous scientific social studies. But it has remained for Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy in "They Seek a City" (Doubleday, Doran, $2.75) to describe the dramatic aspects of these movements in terms of the personal experiences of the pioneers. Beginning with the story of Du Sable, the French Negro who built his hut at the mouth of the Chicago River in 1779, the authors trace the colorful careers of Negroes, both slave and free, who sought freedom in the West, and more particularly in the Midwest. In these pages one will meet John Jones, a free Negro of North Carolina, who amassed a fortune in Chicago and was a friend of John Brown. Here one will find the dramatic story of "Pap" Singleton and the "Exodusters" whom he led to Kansas. There is an especially colorful account of prominent leaders, such as Frederick Douglass, and of others who later became prominent, such as Paul Lawrence Dunbar, the poet, and Will Marion Cook, the composer, who met at the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893. There are the stories of the black troubadours who gave America the blues, and the romantic story of Adah Menken, the mulatto from New Orleans, who became the mistress of Dumas *père*. The accounts of the early attempts of the Negro to gain a foothold in Northern industries around the opening of the century and of the violence which resulted will enable the reader to view in proper perspective the present situation of the Negro in the North. When the authors come to the mass migrations beginning with the First World War, their account loses much of its drama because individuals do not stand out. Here the story is more concerned with issues and problems. Nevertheless, the book is unique and should be read by anyone who would gain a knowledge of the human meaning of the northward migrations. E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

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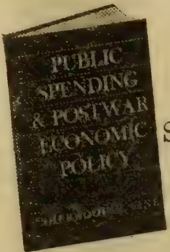

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

MARGARET WEBSTER, as everyone knows, is a director who has made Shakespeare pay off on Broadway. Undoubtedly, however, she has got very tired of hearing grudging critics complain that the bard's poetry tended to get lost in the shuffle, and that fact may have inclined her to tackle with enthusiasm a dramatization of a novel by a man who boasted that he did not have any. "Therese" (Biltmore Theater) is based on Zola's somewhat dubious classic "Thérèse Raquin," and if I may rely on a memory now some thirty years stale, it captures pretty completely the air and tone of that ancient shocker, which means that despite a certain ponderous and dogged obviousness it is interesting and effective.

The story it tells is a story of violence as brutal as the violence of "Macbeth" but with all the poetry left out, and left out, that is to say, not only of the language but of the whole characterization, motivation, and interpretation as well. "Sordid" was the descriptive adjective preferred by Zola's contemporary detractors, but to our somewhat tougher generation that seems almost too positive a word, and "prosaic" will possibly serve.

Therese, in the novel, was a commonplace, lower-middle-class woman who conceived an ordinary passion for a rather ordinary man, helped to murder her husband in order to marry the lover, and then discovered that Banquo's ghost was always seated at the feast of love. It was not, goodness knows, that she or her paramour had a very sensitive soul. It requires the most tangible and obvious reminders of the dead husband to bring on their desperation, and even so they do not finally confess to the police until the devoted and now paralyzed mother of the dead man spells out with dominoes the truth she has long known.

In one sense nothing could be more moral. Murder, says the "scientific" novelist, will out. The most thick-skinned and egotistical of killers will feel a sense of guilt. But in another sense Zola's detractors were right. There is something fundamentally immoral in so coarse-grained a picture of human life and human character. Such a work cannot possibly be very profoundly moving. On the other hand, it cannot, if well executed in its own terms, very well help being at least as interesting as a good reporter's account of such a police-court drama.

Miss Webster succeeds very well indeed, and she succeeds, I think, because she makes no attempt to subtilize a tale for which she manages to invent a theatrical style that is a satisfactory equivalent of Zola's heavy-handed effectiveness. Everything is brutally obvious, no point could possibly be missed, and nothing is merely implied. One result is that almost any kind of audience anywhere could understand and, to some extent, be interested in the events taking place.

On the program Eva Le Gallienne, Victor Jory, and Dame May Whitty are starred with equal prominence. Actually, however, though the first two players give satisfactory performances of a theatrically competent but undistinguished sort, Dame May gives an astonishing demonstration of virtuosity, which, nevertheless, and difficult though it may be to believe, is kept sufficiently near the general style of the whole production so that she does not destroy the effect by shining out too conspicuously. Undoubtedly her performance is going to be much and deservedly praised; and for that very reason it is perhaps worth while not to let it go at that but to define the character of her achievement a little more closely.

She plays, of course, the mother who must first learn that her beloved weakling of a son is dead, must then overhear the self-reproaches of the guilty pair, be stricken at that moment with apoplexy, and, finally, after helplessly watching the murderers for a long time, regain just power enough to spell out her accusation. Obviously this is a tall order, but, for all that, not one which requires the highest gifts of subtlety or imagination. Any one of the big scenes is the sort of thing which a student in a dramatic school might be given as a problem, and Dame May solves each problem as superbly as a competent instructor in such a school might solve it. Here is a demonstration of pure naturalism at its most accomplished. Everything is done without strain and with just that special sort of under-emphasis which even the least perceptive spectator is bound to recognize as purposeful under-emphasis rather than ineffectualness. In other words, the proper execution of the part calls for a veteran, and it is as a very capable veteran that Dame May plays it.

Dance

B. H. HAGGIN

BALANCHINE'S ballets are like Mozart's piano concertos: the creative mind and imagination and personality, the language and style in which these express themselves, are always the same; the completed forms are constantly new and fascinating. This is true of "Concerto Barocco," Balanchine's classic ballet to the three movements of Bach's D minor Concerto for two violins, which the Monte Carlo Ballet Russe has added to its repertory. The two Allegros lead to and away from an Andante in which the familiar Balanchine materials are used in a sequence of dance-movement that is one of the most excitingly, overwhelmingly beautiful things I have seen done on a stage. It is danced with more fluency by Marie-Jeanne than by Ruthanna Boris; but both are excellent in the Allegros; and the intricacies of the work are executed with precision and grace by the little group of dancers that Balanchine has trained so well. One flaw in the production must be noted: when first produced by Lincoln Kirstein for the South American tour of his American Ballet the work had scenery and costumes that did not carry out Eugene Berman's designs to his satisfaction and that he did not want used now; and the Monte Carlo management's way of dealing with this situation has been to have the work danced in practice-tights against a blue backdrop. A better way would have been to have Berman's designs carried out to his satisfaction.

"Concerto Barocco" has been added to the five Balanchine masterpieces that the Monte Carlo offered last year. Certain of these have not been affected by the changes in the company's personnel, but others have been harmed. The "Grand Adagio" (called "Pas de Deux" last year) danced by Danilova and Franklin, and "Danses Concertantes," also with Danilova and Franklin, are as brilliant as they were; and not only is Tallchief excellent in Moylan's place in "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme," but the comedy has been elaborated and perfected and the piece moves with a smoothness and continuity it did not have last year. But "Ballet Imperial" is badly blurred by Krassovska's lack of the precision, sharpness, and clarity, and even the technical security of Moylan's dancing. And though most of "Mozartiana"—with

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Danilova, Franklin, Etheridge, Tallchief, and the small ensemble—remains "as fresh and glistening as creation itself," Lazovsky's opening Gigue is knocked completely out of shape by Lompakos, who does it now without Lazovsky's sense of rhythm, his ease and elegance based on technical mastery. One realizes from this how ballets change after their first performances by the dancers for whom they have been created: if that much can happen to the Gigue from one season to the next with Balanchine on hand to watch over it, imagine what has happened to the ballets which have been passed from dancer to dancer, company to company, for ten or twenty or fifty years.

In these new works the Monte Carlo offers one group of the greatest things one can see in ballet; and another group is the performances of old classics in which Danilova appears: the company's beautiful performance of "Coppelia," which she makes enchanting; the performances of "The Nutcracker" and "Swan Lake" (not given in the recent New York season), which, when she appears in them, she enriches with an art that grows ever more wonderful—this developing art being what age gives her while it takes away mere stamina. It is the same thing as has happened in the singing of Lotte Lehmann; and this suggests a further analogy: Danilova's classic dancing is, in relation to Markova's, as Lehmann's *Lieder*-singing is in relation to Elisabeth Schumann's. That is, the line that is so pure in Markova's "Swan Lake" or "Nutcracker" performance is suffused with personal warmth and radiance and graciousness in Danilova's.

And still another musical analogy suggests itself. In addition to the expressive force, the poignancy, the loveliness, and everything else that makes a work of Mozart wonderful, there are the ways the things happen, the ways they come into existence, the precise way, for example, a woodwind adds itself to strings at a certain point. These are the unobtrusive, effortless, inevitable manifestations of extraordinary human powers; and under the impact of their succession it is sometimes difficult to keep from crying out in excitement and delight. The same thing is true of the succession of movements in the Andante of Balanchine's "Concerto Barocco." And it is true of the succession of movements in Danilova's "Nutcracker" performance.

In this connection there is something to say about Franklin as Danilova's partner in classic ballets. He has developed into a highly accomplished classic dancer, with this unusual and engaging additional characteristic—that the movements which an Eglevsky or a Youskevitch executes with nobility or grandeur Franklin executes with his own happiness and sweetness.

All these, with "Rodeo," which has Franklin back in the cast, are the good things the Monte Carlo offers. The poor things I will speak of next time.

As for Ballet Theater—impresarios consider press criticism only another form of publicity, and press tickets its painful cost (they appear to believe that they are going to be able to take it all with them); and Ballet Theater's management hit on the idea of restricting its *Nation* publicity—and press tickets—to the new productions while *The Nation* has the idea that its readers, like those of the *Times* and the *Herald Tribune,* should also receive a report on performances of important older works. The result: impasse and no report.

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Letters to the Editors

Self-propulsive Housing

Dear Sirs: Several bills are pending in Congress to stimulate research and invention. Radar and the atom bomb have dramatized the scientific use of the human imagination for destructive purposes, and statistics show that inventors are dwindling in numbers at a rapid pace. Why not research and invention to assist in full employment? It sounds reasonable, but there's a catch.

Full employment can be maintained only by satisfying mass needs. However "marvelous" an invention may be, it has little effect on mass employment so long as it can satisfy only or largely class needs. The airplane and any number of other products of applied science require heavy subsidies to be of even limited class use. Whether or not we achieve peace-time full employment will depend on the extent to which inventors are permitted to change mass tastes in the fields of our greatest investment—housing and motor vehicles. So long as design in the old aristocratic and handicraft traditions of conspicuous display dominates both fields, so long as emphasis is placed on styling instead of on consumer availability, we shall not have full employment.

Take motor vehicles. For more than a decade prior to Pearl Harbor the sales of motor vehicles hugged a dead level. Ninety-five per cent of research and inventive emphasis went into cutting production costs and into glitter and gadgets which would keep the consumer paying more for a constantly cheapened product. The cost of labor and material used for building a good motor car dropped to $250; but the consumer paid four to five times that amount, plus carrying charges, to enjoy a product useful only in motion, which averaged 2 per cent of the car's life. The average American could own a car useless 98 per cent of the time only at fourth to tenth hand. Let research and invention achieve a wholly new and superior kind of motor car, useful all the time, and the automobile makers will go right on building the old kind of car cheaper and cheaper while styling it to sell for more and more.

Take housing. A land mortgage used to be the most "gilt-edged" of investments. But while technology was forging swiftly ahead in other fields, public taste in housing was encouraged to remain in the old handicraft ruts good for landowners, money-lenders, handicraftsmen, and brick salesmen. In consequence, mortgages became such risky investments that the government had to step in and insure them, blind to the fact that this automatically would discourage innovation completely and swing dwelling design farther out of step with the imperatives of a power age.

Full peace-time employment leans on mass consumption. Mass consumption is not possible under any system so long as design emphasis is on the "exclusive" and is unrelated to existing income levels. Mass consumption is not possible for a world tooled for propulsion but taught to yearn for a brick anchorage. Mass consumption is not possible without doubling mass leisure. We shall keep machines busy only as ingenuity and design are encouraged to implement mass leisure and to change mass tastes radically. We shall keep machines busy only as we realize that the multiplication of energy by mechanical means multiplies the motion about us and that we might better adjust ourselves to a mobile environment and shelter our mobility. Here is the real research job facing our generation. Before atomic energy vastly increases the motion in our environment, can we learn to give up domestic tastes better suited to sponges than to mechanics?

Obviously self-propulsive housing will not have to go underground. It will be proof against the atom bomb by means of diffusion during war time over an area so great that no bomb could destroy more than a few units at a time. It will be somewhat ironic to see planners clearing our slums and rebuilding them with public savings when one single atom bomb can wipe out several square miles and the savings of a generation in an instant. Unfortunately innovation is usually over the dead bodies of bankers, and in America the power of bankers still dictates the stylized outer shell and the withered kernel of design. CORWIN WILSON

Flint, Mich., August 22

Lewisohn, Freud, and Trilling

Dear Sirs: In his review The Problem of Influence, in *The Nation* of September 8, Lionel Trilling is guilty of a factual error with important implications. He describes the old days of Greenwich Village as a time when, among other things, "Ludwig Lewisohn warped Freud to the interests of Zionism." Miss Kirchwey and Dr. Krutch, at least, will remember that when I lived on Jane Street and was a member of *The Nation's* editorial staff I had not declared myself a Zionist. Nor had I professed any special acquaintance with the teachings of Freud, to which I was introduced much later by Sigmund Freud himself, who honored me with his friendship because he liked my writings. It was during the thirties and forties that I wrote the Zionist books which are read wherever Jews live; today I edit the *New Palestine* with its circulation of 140,000. But it takes no deep analysis, only the simplest moral reflection, to understand why Jews of Mr. Trilling's temper seek always to thrust their people's destiny and their people's cause into some remote and trivial limbo.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Washington, D. C., September 12

Dear Sirs: I am sorry if I was misleading about the precise date of Mr. Lewisohn's becoming a Zionist. The sentence that Mr. Lewisohn objects to was intended to refer to his inaccurate and doctrinaire use of Freudian ideas to support his Jewish position in general, and I used the word Zionism in, as it were, extension. I had particularly in mind the novel "The Island Within," published in 1928, with its psychoanalytical explanation of why the Jewish hero must leave his Gentile wife and return to the

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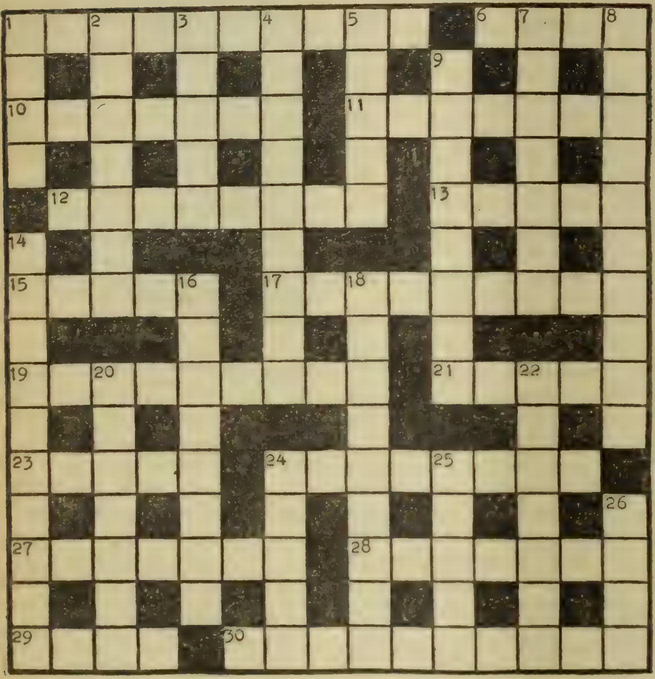
By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 The only legal game of dice
6 Not exclusively mine
10 It's obvious that the dunce is not bright in the head
11 Samuel Pepys, for example
12 More substantial than a straw to a drowning man
13 Warble
15 Largest musical instrument
17 England's Poet Laureate
19 Curiosities (hyphen, 4-1-4)
21 This grease is non-existent
23 Feathered and non-feathered biped's burst into these
24 They help circus artistes to give sparkling performances
27 Imprisons
28 A delightful place, according to the Greeks
29 Feature about which Cyrano de Bergerac was rather sensitive
30 Eggs at Rome (anag.)

DOWN

1 "A demd, damp, moist, unpleasant ---- !"
2 Naming one's profession?
3 "But she is in her -----, and oh, The difference to me"
4 Time of year when the fairies dance
5 Queerly
7 Put to profitable use
8 Most of us prefer to settle up before we do this (two words, 6 and 4)
9 Hypocritical priest in Moliere's comedy of the same name
14 Burning which may be slow or spontaneous
16 A famous floating menagerie (two words, 5 and 3)
18 The Lord's Supper
20 Sets alight
22 It fairly buzzes with industry
24 A Kid in Western literature
25 Mussolini's quondam "mouthpiece"
26 The Crossword birds par excellence

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 130

ACROSS:—1 GAVOTTE; 5 BICYCLE; 9 MANNING; 10 NORMANS; 11 LUSTY; 12 ASH; 13 LIEGE; 14 SAND EEL; 16 EMERSON; 18 BATHERS; 21 DOGROSE; 24 DITTO; 26 AIR; 27 BREAD; 28 OPINION; 29 ASUNDER; 30 KREMLIN; 31 SUNSETS.

DOWN:—1 GAMBLES; 2 VENISON; 3 TOITY; 4 ENGRAIL; 5 BANSHEE; 6 CORAL; 7 CHASERS; 8 EASTERN; 15 EVE; 17 EGG; 18 BEDROCK; 19 TITMICE; 20 SHANNON; 21 DURBARS; 22 OVERDUE; 23 ENDURES; 25 ORIEL; 27 BRUIN.

Jewish fold. I do not remember whether or not this novel issues in an explicit political Zionism; even if it does not, it is obviously the prolegomenon to Mr. Lewisohn's later position. Whether the old Greenwich Village days still existed in 1928 or must be dated by Mr. Lewisohn's residence in Jane Street, I leave to the historians. Perhaps here the difference between Mr. Lewisohn and myself is like that of the disputants in Joe Cook's vaudeville act—one of them, it turned out, meant the old Polo Grounds while the other meant the old *old* Polo Grounds.

As for my temper as a Jew, Mr. Lewisohn knows nothing about it except that I do not admire his books—but I am sure that I do not have to deal with Mr. Lewisohn's strange supposition that any adverse comment on Mr. Lewisohn's art and thought is a malign effort to thwart the destiny and cause of the Jews.

LIONEL TRILLING

New York, September 25

The Hare System for Japan

Dear Sirs: Mr. Salisbury's article The Zaibatsu as War Makers together with T. A. Bisson's What Program for Japan? in your issue of July 14 suggested an effective way to handle Japan. The editorial Occupying Japan of August 25 confirmed it. It hinges entirely on the adoption by Japan, and Korea when given an independent status, of the same electoral system that has proved so successful in Eire — the Hare system of proportional representation in multi-member constituencies.

Such an electoral system could be worked out and an election held within the next two or three years. If the first elections were supervised by the occupation armies to insure freedom from intimidation, the resulting democratic parliament and government would immediately free Japan from the oligarchic control which has been its curse. From that time on occupation forces could be nominal, and treaties would be honored. *The Nation's* list of suggested experts on Japan is good. Mr. Bisson's name would be a helpful addition.

The American expert on electoral systems, particularly the Hare system of proportional representation used in New York City, Cincinnati, Eire, and some parts of Canada, is George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary of the Citizens' Union, New York City. Arrangements might be made with Mr. Hallet to organize such an electoral system for Japan and Korea.

WILSON M. SOUTHAM

Ottawa, Canada, August 31

THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

IF THIS COUNTRY IS SAVED FROM DESTRUCTION in some not-too-remote future much credit must go to the very scientists who produced the atomic bomb. Last week in Washington, before several Congressional committees dealing with atomic control, they revealed the actualities of a scientific advance more fateful in the affairs of man than the coming of steam. They also displayed a depth of political and international understanding matched by few elected Representatives—least of all, alas, by the President himself. All agreed there was no defense against the atomic bomb. All agreed there could be no substitute for international control. The majority felt that the May-Johnson bill would commit this country to a disastrous foreign policy which would negate any efforts by our statesmen to create a world organization and would in fact result in an atomic bomb race leading to certain death for millions of Americans and the destruction of our major cities. The testimony of the scientists, terrible though it is, has paradoxically dispelled much of the hysteria born of ignorance that has prevailed since the Hiroshima bombing. For Americans can be counted on to act sanely and responsibly when they "know the facts." There must be the fullest opportunity given for free discussion of atomic control—in Washington hearings, in the press, on the air, in local assemblies. "After all," as Professor Harold C. Urey, Nobel Prize winner, said last Sunday, "it is the people of the United States who face destruction and death and should have the privilege of making their decisions." The immediate issue before responsible Americans is reopening the May-Johnson bill hearings before the House military Affairs Committee and keeping them open until every American with something to say on the control of atomic energy has had his chance to testify. Wires should be sent to Representative Andrew J. May, House of Representatives, and a copy to John W. Snyder, care of The White House.

*

THE FRENCH GENERAL ELECTION CONFIRMS THE power and popularity of General de Gaulle but reveals greater support for the Communists, who are in opposition to most of his policies, than had been suspected. At the recent cantonal elections the Socialists scored heavily, with the Radical Socialists getting the second largest number of places and the Communists a long way behind both. In the new Assembly, however, the Communists will be the largest party, with the Socialists and the Popular Republican Movement, the Catholic democratic party born of the resistance, running neck and neck close behind them. The Radical Socialist Party, so long the balancing force in French politics, has collapsed. From the incomplete figures available as we go to press it appears that the Socialists and the P. R. M. in alliance may be able to command a rather precarious majority in the Assembly to support a provisional government headed by De Gaulle. In any case such a government should be fairly sure of tenure during the seven months' life of the Assembly. This follows from the voting on the two questions put to the electorate: (1) Shall the Assembly be empowered to write a new constitution? (2) Shall its tenure and authority over the provisional government be limited so that it can overthrow the government only by a two-thirds' majority vote confirmed after a three-day breathing spell? An overwhelming majority voted "yes" on the first question, and on the second the "yesses" outnumbered the "noes" by nearly two to one. This constitutes a strong vote of confidence in De Gaulle, who appealed for such answers.

*

THE WAR CRIMINALS FACING TRIAL IN Nürnberg have already been condemned by the opinion of the world. Their crimes were public, and the results are evident in a continent laid waste, in the still uncounted millions of dead, and in the profound corruption of the political life of the peoples. No court procedure was needed to convict these men, no new proof required to convince the world that Göring, Streicher, and their accomplices deserve punishment. For this reason the trial, even in advance, has taken on a curious air of unreality. It is a political act, justified and overdue, wrapped up in an elaboration of judicial procedure that seems to a lay observer somewhat farcical. The Nazi leaders could have been disposed of, it would seem, by the joint decision of the Allied powers without all these expensive and legally questionable formalities. The banishment of Napoleon offered precedent if any were needed. But the trials are under way, and one can hope that they will serve to dramatize and recall to the flagging memories of people who already are beginning to forget, the details of the organized terror under which Hitler and his party attempted to bring the civilized world. We hope the procedure will be rapid, decisive, and free from the sort of pettifogging detail that in other political trials—notably the sedition cases in Washington during the war—has so completely obscured the issue and prevented a clear judgment. The Nürnberg court is a political court with a political job to perform. If it allows the trial to degenerate into legalistic maneuvering and quibbling, its only value will have been thrown away.

*

THE TAX BILL AS REPORTED BY THE SENATE Finance Committee is slightly better than the unsatisfactory House bill. Although the Senate committee voted an unwarranted bonus to a number of our largest and wealthiest corporations by eliminating, instead of modifying, the excess-profits tax, it offset this action in part by restoring the 4 per cent which the House cut from the corporation tax. The cut in the individual surtax rate was set at 3 per cent instead of the 4 per cent as of the House bill, and the House's proposal for a guaranteed cut of at least 10 per cent in each individual's tax bill was rejected. The latter provision was replaced by a straight 5 per cent cut superimposed upon the other reductions. The net effect of these changes is to give the taxpayers in the middle brackets a somewhat greater reduction than provided by the House Bill while avoiding the outrageous rebates which the House granted to the very wealthy. Even with improvements, however, the measure remains substantially a rich man's tax bill.

*

GENERAL MACARTHUR HAS COME THROUGH WITH flying colors against the first real challenge to his authority by the Japanese Cabinet. The showdown came, as had been widely predicted, over an Allied attempt to break the power of the great financial-industrial monopolies that played a basic role in the development of Japanese militarism. Japan's new "liberal" Cabinet not only balked at the enforcement of an Allied order calling for the elimination of the *Zaibatsu* control over Japanese economic life but endeavored, through Foreign Minister Yoshida, to defend the monopolies as essential to the restoration of normal economic activity. In an effort to forestall drastic Allied action several of the *Zaibutsu* institutions initiated a voluntary reorganization designed to conceal their monopolistic character. The Yasuda and Sumitomo families, for example, promised to dissolve the key holding companies through which they dominated their industrial empires, and to retire personally from all executive positions in the affiliated companies. They have shown no inclination, however, to divest themselves of the ownership of their huge family holdings. The even more powerful Mitsui and Mitsubishi families refused to yield control over their vast industrial domains on the ground that such action would "invite confusion and disorder in economic circles." The most that they were willing to do was to sell some shares in their holdings so as to remove the "impression" that their companies are under complete family control. Colonel Kramer, chief of the economic and scientific section of Allied Headquarters, has assured us that the financial grip of the *Zaibatsu* will be broken by the end of the year, and it looks as if he really means it.

*

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S DECISION TO RETAIN General Patrick J. Hurley as ambassador to China casts an unexpected shadow over the improved prospects for Chinese unity. From the time he engineered the recall of Stilwell as commander of the China-Burma-India theater General Hurley has been regarded with suspicion by progressive groups in China. The Chinese Communists have distrusted him because of his high-pressure tactics in attempting to force a settlement with Chungking on Kuomintang terms. And the moderates of the Democratic Federation have complained that he ignored them completely in his apparent desire to strengthen Chiang Kai-shek's regime. General Hurley is largely responsible for the dispatch of American troops to Peiping and Tientsin, where their chief function has been that of preventing the resistance forces from accepting the Japanese surrender. He also must be held accountable for the use of American planes and personnel to ferry Kuomintang troops into North China. Hurley's return will undoubtedly accentuate the current rift between the War Department and the State Department over our Chinese policy. The groups within the State Department counseling moderation in our support of the Kuomintang have been considerably strengthened recently by departmental changes and promotions. But Hurley has preferred to run his show without State Department advice in the past; and unless popular pressure forces his resignation he will doubtless continue his high-handed role, regardless of the cost in American lives and prestige.

*

COMMENTING ON THE ARGENTINE CRISIS LAST week, we said that Colonel Perón "is not a man who can be casually dismissed." But none the less we were surprised by his return to power within forty-four hours after his ouster. Perón's lightning coup was due to two factors: first, the incredible naivete of the opposition, which, though it had built up an effective organization in recent months, the Comisión de Coordinación Democrática, let a great opportunity slip through its fingers by abandoning its fighting position as soon as Perón had left the Cabinet. Had the forces of the opposition remained on the alert, in the streets, until a Cabinet they could trust had been formed, it would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, for Perón to regain control so swiftly. Second, Perón succeeded in dominating some of the unions through a gang of bogus "labor leaders" whom he bribed and to whom he gave unlimited authority during the twenty-two months he served as Minister of Labor. We repeat that the reputable trade unions never fell for Perón's propaganda, but it is undeniably true that thousands of unskilled and non-political workers were won over by leaders who knew how to exploit, to the dictator's advantage, the widespread dissatisfaction with the economic and social conditions which prevail throughout South America. One has only to read the list of the new ministers to realize that they are all hand-picked Perón men. Even Juan Isaac Cooke, the discredited Minister of Foreign Affairs, is back in his old post. The anti-Jewish demonstrations with which the "Perónistas" celebrated their victory underlined its fascist nature.

*

IN VENEZUELA THE SITUATION IS LESS CLEAR. Despite the coincidence in the timing of the coups, it would be wrong to assume that the government of President Romulo Bettancourt is another Perón or Bolivian dictatorship. The Cabinet includes men of unquestionably democratic conviction, and its first pronouncement on foreign affairs, to the effect that Venezuela would never establish diplomatic relations with Franco or Trujillo, is a good sign—although we must not forget that the Bolivian regime also severed relations with Spain. Not so promising was its more cautious statement about Argentina. Moreover, two generals who have announced their support of the regime, Celestino Hernandez, commander of Maracay, and Leon Jurado, Governor of Falcon State in western Venezuela, were long associated with the most despicable tyrant of Latin America, the super-killer Juan Vicente Gomez. If the new ministers and young officers, most of them educated abroad, who revolted against the Medina regime really want a progressive and socialist Venezuela, they will recall to service such able and sincere democrats as Rafael Vega, Minister of Education in the ousted Cabinet, who has taken refuge in the Mexican embassy in Caracas.

THAT THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN Revolution have no respect for the egalitarian principles of their ancestors is not news. No one was surprised when they refused to rent their Washington auditorium, Constitution Hall, to the pianist Hazel Scott simply because Miss Scott is a Negro. Their rule that the hall shall be available to "white artists only," they said, conforms to the "prevailing custom" of the District of Columbia. A fine excuse for descendants of revolutionists! Better manners, if not greater intelligence, might theoretically have been expected of ladies who pride themselves on their blue blood, but actually there is nothing in the record of the D. A. R. to justify that expectation. Perhaps it is best not to appeal to their sensibilities. A more effective key to the doors of Constitution Hall is the effort of Representatives John M. Coffee, Emmanuel Celler, and Helen Gahagan Douglas to rescind the tax exemption which this exclusive club enjoys in its capacity as a public institution. It is fitting that the ladies' champion in this embarrassing situation is the unmannerly Representative John E. Rankin. That Mrs. Truman consented to take tea with them after their disgraceful behavior is regrettable. She missed an opportunity to reassert the principles of her ancestors and theirs by resigning from the D. A. R.

*

AT THE INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION Conference in Chicago nearly a year ago, Adolf A. Berle, Jr., called in ringing tones for freedom of competition in the air and successfully blocked proposals for a body to regulate international air traffic as the Civil Aeronautics Board regulates domestic American air lines. His stand was generally applauded by American aviation interests with the exception of Pan-American Airways, then still hoping to be appointed a "chosen instrument" with a sole franchise to carry the American flag on transocean routes. Despite this victory for free competition, however, an article in *The Nation* ventured to suggest that if public regulation were ruled out, private regulation would almost certainly be attempted. That prophecy is now well on the way to fulfilment. Meeting at Montreal, the International Air Transport Association, to which fifty-seven air lines of various nationalities have adhered, set up nine regional traffic "conferences" covering all international routes. These conferences are to determine policies, in so far as they can reach unanimous agreements, on a number of matters of common interest, with "tariffs, rates, and schedules" the first items on the list. Thus, following the example of the shipping industry, which has long employed "conferences" to bar "uneconomic competition," the air lines have turned their back on Mr. Berle's ideals. It was inevitable that they would, for air transport is a form of public utility the development of which by means of unlimited competition would surely result in unsafe and uneconomic practices. Since most of the air lines belonging to the I. A. T. A. are government-owned, the conference method adopted at Montreal may be regarded as a backdoor method of introducing the public regulation which the United States rejected at Chicago. To our way of thinking, however, it would be better if the oversight of international air traffic were entrusted openly to an international commission whose members could approach their task more judicially than airline executives.

A New Three-Power Conference

THE widely publicized results of a recent conference held in Dublin, New Hampshire, are rather indicative of the state of mind of the whole nation on the vexing international issues which confront us, particularly since the atomic bomb has given a new urgency to these issues.

The majority at this conference came to the conclusion that the atomic bomb had made the organization of the world as outlined in the United Nations Charter obsolete and irrelevant. It called for the creation of a world government with limited and sharply defined powers, which would, however, be adequate to guarantee the peace between nations. The majority did not indicate how we were to arrive at this desired end, from the position in which we now find ourselves. This position is that even the promise of limited efficacy which the United Nations Organization held out is imperiled by the mutual mistrust between the two great centers of power, the Russian and the Anglo-American, which were intended by the United Nations Charter to be the core of a system of world order.

The minority at the conference, which included the conference chairman, former Justice Roberts, and Clarence Streit, came to the conclusion that the best method of reaching the goal it professed to have in common with the majority was to create a "nuclear alliance" of nations and governments in which individual liberty was recognized. The minority proposed, in effect—and would have been more honest to propose explicitly—an anti-Russian alliance. How such an alliance would lead to the ultimate formation of a world government was not stated. Its most obvious and predictable consequence would be a war between Russia and the West. It could contribute to world peace only if the democratic alliance were powerful enough to cow the opposition into complete submission. That the formation of such a power lies in the realm of political possibilities was, indeed, the guiding assumption of the minority, despite the fact that history proves the hope of establishing such unchallengeable power to belong to the vainest of illusions.

Here, then, was a conference of representative Americans reaching two equally impossible conclusions: the conclusion of the minority had the demerit of being as irresponsible as it was impossible. The conference itself is of no particular importance, unless the two alternatives it elaborated should be—as we think they are—representative of the alternative conclusions too generally reached by American thought, seeking escape from the unhappy and tragic predicament of our present international situation. One may take a limited satisfaction in the fact that the minority at the conference stands for a small minority in the nation. There is, in other words, no general desire to sharpen the issues between ourselves and Russia and hasten the outbreak of a third world war. The majority of the nation, like the majority at tha conference, has a strong sense of responsibility in regard to this matter and is anxious to mitigate rather than aggravate the friction between Russia and the West.

But the majority of internationally minded people at the conference, as in the nation, try to jump out of the present situation to a world government. They do not tell us by what power or by what magic we are to make the jump. They rightly recognize that the United Nations Charter is not adequate for the preservation of a permanent peace. But they forget that many of its inadequacies are due to the lack of genuine trust between Russia and the West. They would now overcome these inadequacies by the creation of a world government. Let them tell us how they would persuade Russia on the one hand and the United States Senate on the other to accept the further abridgments of sovereignty which such a new charter would require. If they answer that they believe the fear of atomic warfare has given the nations a new and more powerful motive for the sacrifices required by a genuine system of world order, it is necessary to point out that the invention of the atomic bomb has also aggravated the mutual mistrust between Russia and the West; and that the immediate fears of a possible foe are politically more potent than the more distant fear of atomic destruction.

Whatever may be the long-range answer to the problem of the world's international anarchy, the short-range problem is how to achieve a psychological disarmament between ourselves and Russia. No long-range program which evades this short-range issue has any relevance. The reason why this issue is so urgent is that the kind of bargaining in which Russia and the West are now engaged aggravates the mistrust because the bargains are concerned with strategic issues which presuppose an ultimate conflict. This is why John Foster Dulles's optimistic estimate of the London Conference of Foreign Ministers was erroneous. We were feeling each other out, declared Mr. Dulles, and our failures must not be taken too seriously. But we were feeling each other out on basic strategic issues which presuppose a permanent lack of trust.

Thus America is rightly apprehensive about the increasing intransigence of Russia when any issue affecting Eastern Europe is raised. Russia wants no interference with its hegemony in Rumania and Hungary; and it threatens to undo the compromises of Yalta on Poland and Yugoslavia. Its interest in the Italian colonies is obviously strategic. Britain wants to preserve its lifeline in the Mediterranean, and Russia wants to be in a position to challenge that line.

But there is no hope of a solution if Americans assume that these Russian policies represent pure perversity or pure aggression. The first prerequisite of psychological disarmament between ourselves and Russia is recognition on our part that our strategic plans, as well as some past history, justify the fears of Russia, or at any rate give them plausibility. We are, in fact, involved in a vicious circle. The strategic plans of each side have nothing to do with permanent peace. They presuppose the instability of the peace. Our vast plans for bases in the Pacific islands are not prompted by fear of Japan; and Russia knows it. When we insisted during the war that the Jews must not press for a solution of the Palestinian settlement lest strategic plans for a pipe-line in the Near East be imperiled, Russia also knew that our general staff was thinking, not of the strategy of the war in which we were then engaged, but of the next war.

Unless we can make a fresh start and break this vicious circle, all our day-to-day bargaining will not help us. A fresh start should be made in a new three-power conference. Such a conference should address itself to the gravity of the total issue. The problem of the atomic bomb should not be its central concern but ought to be placed on the agenda. Each side would have to recognize that only through the sacrifice of particular and unilateral schemes of security can a genuine system of mutual trust be achieved. It is not at all certain that either side would make sufficient gestures of trust to accomplish the purpose of the conference, or that one side would respond to the honest gestures of the other. It is, in short, not at all certain that such a conference would succeed. But there are no alternative roads to peace.

Victory for a Racket

PEACE of a sort has returned to the New York docks, and the ships are once again being unloaded. Probably a few more skulls will be cracked by way of discipline, as "King" Ryan stamps out the revolt that almost dethroned him, but that will make little noise in the papers which published frenzied headlines about Harry Bridges capturing the waterfront.

The Communist issue, which the press seized upon so avidly, was a purely extraneous one injected into the dispute in its later stages. As every good waterfront reporter knows, the real cause of the strike was the totalitarian set-up of the International Longshoremen's Association, a trade-union scandal which has continued for a quarter-century without many New York editors getting excited about it. The boss of the I. L. A. for most of this period has been Joseph P. Ryan, who has contrived to get himself elected president for life at a salary of $20,000 a year. He runs the union, said to have no officially adopted constitution or proper procedure for elections, as a one-man show in which his word is law. Members of long standing declare that he has negotiated all contracts and "rammed them down our throats"; they say they have never seen a financial statement of the I. L. A. or of any of its sixty-five locals in the Port of New York area. There have been attempts to overthrow his rule but they have proved unhealthy for those participating in them. Critics of the boss are apt to be mysteriously beaten up; one leader of an insurgent movement in Brooklyn, Peter Panto, was murdered a few years ago—a still unsolved crime.

Even papers as eager to put a finger on a Communist plot as the New York *World-Telegram* admit that the I. L. A. strike started as a spontaneous rank-and-file movement to oust Ryan. Its occasion was a new contract which, while it included some improvements in wages and conditions, failed to provide for reforms in hiring and working practices which longshoremen considered of vital importance. Among demands strongly supported in the locals were limitation of sling cargo loads in the interests of safety, a guaranty of four hours' work per shift, and two "shape-ups" for hiring daily instead of three. Some reform of the "shape-up" system is long overdue. It involves gatherings of workers at the pierheads where the foremen pick their gangs. When there are more men than jobs—a frequent occurrence—there is every opportunity for favoritism, and, it is alleged, payment for jobs is a normal procedure. On the West Coast, after the I. L. A. was defeated by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, this system was abolished, and union hiring-halls were substituted. But both Ryan and the Shipping Association in New York cling to the old method; it makes for cheaper labor and gives a union boss more power over his members.

The New York strike for a better contract became a strike against the I. L. A. leadership when Ryan ordered the men back to work. Only after it had been in full swing for more than a week did the National Maritime Union intervene by offering something more than moral support. To the left-wing C. I. O. unions the situation was inviting, for they had old scores to settle with Ryan. The insurgents, inexperienced in organization and friendless, naturally accepted the help offered without bothering too much about the label. Actually, apart from sympathetic walkouts on a few ships, that help does not seem to have amounted to much more than advice and publicity and legal assistance. It would appear that after Harry Bridges arrived from San Francisco and surveyed the situation, he and the N. M. U. leaders decided that the time was not ripe for a showdown involving a large financial investment. That being so, there was not much they could do to prevent a collapse of the insurgent movement, once the strikers' slender individual resources were exhausted.

When hunger drove the men back to work, the majority of New York's papers hailed a victory over communism. Actually the end of the strike meant a triumph for a crude labor dictatorship—something that the press is ever ready to denounce in general terms. But when forced to choose sides the typical editor prefers the racketeer to the Communist.

At one point in the strike an opportunity to clean up the waterfront was offered by Mayor LaGuardia's proposal to hold an election for a new I. L. A. negotiating committee under neutral supervision. This plan received no newspaper support except from the New York *Post* and *PM*. The insurgents accepted the proposal, but Ryan scornfully rejected it, and the employers ignored it. They have got along too comfortably with Ryan all these years to risk a change. The cost of Ryanism is a known expense which can be charged to overhead; democratic leadership of the union might well prove more belligerent and costly.

Curiously enough, candidates in the current mayoralty campaign have not been vocal about a situation which is intimately connected with the vital interests and good name of New York City. Jonah J. Goldstein, the Republican-Fusion candidate, tried to make political capital of it by a statement that the strike was "fomented by the C. I. O." and constituted "a public scandal." He said nothing, however, about the scandal of Ryanism. On this subject General O'Dwyer, the Democratic–American Labor Party candidate, has also kept quiet. Enjoying the support of both Tammany Hall, where Ryan is said to have powerful friends, and the C. I. O., his discretion is understandable. We hope, however, that independent citizens will put some questions on this subject to the candidates, all of whom speak very eloquently about "cleaning up" the city. They couldn't do better than start on the waterfront, where the stench is long-standing and doesn't improve with age.

Revolt in Asia: I—Indo-China

BY ANDREW ROTH

(Author of the recently published "Dilemma in Japan"; an Intelligence officer in the navy during the war)

AS THE clock struck three in Saigon on Sunday morning, September 23, a grim and silent army of 300 men padded along the deserted streets. On their heads were berets, on their shoulders crosses of Lorraine roughly cut out of cloth, in their hands a fierce assortment of Bren guns, grenades, pistols, and rifles. The French had come back to Indo-China. By morning they had seized the chief public buildings, captured Dr. Thach, the Annamite Foreign Minister, and mopped up the ill-armed Annamite guards. Machine-guns were set up on street corners, and the banners proclaiming "Death Before French Oppression" were torn down.

This seizure of Saigon by a small band of British-armed French soldiers was the first major blow directed at the Republic of Viet Nam (Indo-China), which had been so proudly proclaimed by Indo-Chinese nationalists less than a month before. Within another month a large part of the French navy steamed into Indo-Chinese ports bringing crack French army units to prop up—with British help—France's tottering control of its "balcony on the Pacific."

Indo-China is worth a struggle. Its 275,000 square miles, more than a third larger than France, support 23,000,000 inhabitants. It is one of the world's leading rice granaries, a rich source of partially exploited raw materials, and an important market and outlet for capital. In 1939 Indo-China exported almost 25 per cent of the world's rice shipments, was the largest coal exporter in the Far East, and was the third largest producer of natural rubber.

The late President Roosevelt considered Indo-China the worst-governed colony in the Far East. He felt so strongly about the callousness, despotism, and incredible shortsightedness of French colonial policies that he wanted French rule to be superseded by an international mandate. There was plenty of evidence to support President Roosevelt's opinion. After seventy years of French rule only 11 per cent of the inhabitants are literate. Despite the colony's rich natural resources the people are compelled to work as indentured plantation laborers for 30 to 40 cents a day, plus primitive shelter and inadequate food. With this meager income they are expected to furnish a market for French goods; colonial policy bars both the importation of cheap competitive goods and the establishment of local industries. Incredible as it may seem, the colonial government controls both the opium and the alcohol monopoly and profits by its encouragement of the natives to poison themselves. The people of Indo-China have no say in these policies, for the government is entirely in the hands of the French and a handful of Indo-Chinese notables and men of wealth who have profited greatly by French rule. Over all hovers the monopolistic control of the Bank of Indo-China, whose directors have tried to sabotage every liberal measure and who proved to be the most ardent pro-German collaborationists in France.

RISE OF INSURGENT NATIONALISM

This head-on clash between French imperialism and the authentic political and economic needs of Indo-China has produced successive waves of insurgent nationalism. The decade preceding World War I became known as the "era of plots" because a new anti-French conspiracy was announced almost daily, and the Poulu Condore Penitentiary bulged with young Annamite nationalists. After the war the tempo of the nationalist movement was considerably stepped up. A hundred thousand Annamites had served in France as soldiers and workers during the war, and they returned to demand the political and economic conditions they had found there. The Indo-Chinese drew further inspiration from the Chinese nationalist revolution, which was marshaling its forces in nearby Canton. Young nationalists flocked to Canton to enrol in the Whampoa Academy, which under Chiang Kai-shek and the Communist Chou En-lai was training Kuomintang officers for the "northern expedition" that was to bring China under Kuomintang rule.

In Canton many young Indo-Chinese came under the influence of Nguyen Ai Quoc, who twenty years later—with his name changed to Ho Chin Minh—was to become the first Premier of the provisional Republic of Viet Nam. Nguyen Ai Quoc was born in 1892, the son of an Annamite official. Resenting the servility of the native officialdom to the French, he left home at the age of seventeen and worked his way around the world on a French ship, winding up in France. There, while sustaining his frail body by various kinds of work, he spent all of his spare time planning and working for Indo-Chinese independence. At the Paris Peace Conference he was a one-man lobby for Indo-China. Having accomplished nothing, he organized the Intercolonial Union of Colored Peoples and later founded a newspaper in which he denounced the abuses of French imperialism.

Nguyen discovered great sympathy for Indo-China among French leftists, especially among the Communists, whose strategy at the time emphasized the possibility of overthrowing capitalism in Europe through nationalist uprisings in the colonies. He attended the French Communist Congress at Tours in 1920 and in 1923 was sent to Moscow to study colonial problems. In 1926 he turned up in Canton, where he founded the Association of Revolutionary Annamite Youth and worked feverishly to turn out agitators and revolutionary literature to be smuggled back into Indo-China. In 1927 the decision of Chiang Kai-shek and the right wing of the Kuomintang to discard their Russian advisers and suppress their Communist collaborators forced Nguyen Ai Quoc to abandon his convenient Cantonese base and with Michael Borodin and prominent Chinese leftists to seek refuge in Russia. He left behind him some 250 trained and fervent nationalists.

In February, 1930, French colonial authorities and the

French public were startled to learn that two companies of Tonkinese troops had mutinied at Yenbay and killed six of their officers. Simultaneously with the Yenbay uprising, groups of natives, most of them unarmed, gathered in widely separated regions to present grievances, and were shot down when they refused to disperse. Sporadic uprisings continued in every part of Indo-China all through the year. The terrorist Nationalist Annamite Party, made up largely of intellectuals, which led this premature and poorly organized outbreak, was virtually destroyed by the brutally repressive measures of the frightened colonial officials.

The victory of the French Popular Front in 1936 raised Indo-Chinese hopes. On assuming office in June, 1936, the Socialist Minister of Colonies, Marius Moutet, said: "The black peasants of the millet and peanut country, the yellow men of the rice fields, we place all of them on the same level of moral equality, social justice, and brotherhood as the workers and farmers of France." At first it looked as if he meant what he said. An authoritarian Governor General was replaced by a more liberal one; the sentences of 1,300 political prisoners were commuted; the publication of *La Lutte*, a native newspaper with Communist leanings, was permitted in Saigon.

But this did not satisfy the Indo-Chinese. A wave of strikes affecting coal mines, rubber plantations, and bus companies underlined the demand for better wages. When the French government sent a special delegate to investigate labor and social conditions, he was greeted at the dock by a crowd of Annamites cheering for the Popular Front but demanding freedom to organize trade unions, freedom of speech and assembly, and other basic reforms. These demands were ignored. Freedom of assembly and organization was never granted. And when agitation continued, Moutet wired the ultra-conservative colonial administrators he had left in office: "Persistent agitation under the pretext of organizing the masses . . . will compromise the liberal policy which the government has decided to inaugurate in a legal way and with respect for French authority. . . . French order must reign in Indo-China, as elsewhere." Six months after this promise of a more liberal policy a native was sentenced to three years of prison and three more of surveillance for reading an Annamite translation of a pamphlet by Léon Blum, then Premier of France!

IMPERIALISM VERSUS DEFENSE

As the tide of Japanese aggression neared Indo-China's shores after 1937, the question of the colony's defense came to the fore. Again a sharp cleavage developed between the interests of the people of the colony and the shortsighted imperialism of the French government. Indo-Chinese nationalists and a few enlightened French leaders like Georges Mandel, later murdered by the Nazis, and Alexander Varenne argued that because France was so far away and so taken up with problems of its own defense Indo-China would have to rely primarily on its own resources. They urged an industrialization program for the colony, the recruiting of a substantial Annamite army under Annamite officers, and a liberalization of French rule to counter Japan's "Asia for the Asiatics" propaganda and give the Indo-Chinese something to fight for. But French officials were apparently more afraid of losing their colonial privileges than of losing their colony. Their obdurately blind policies made it a foregone conclusion that Indo-China should fall like a ripe plum into Japanese hands. When Governor General Catroux tried to resist the Japanese, the Vichy government replaced him with Admiral Decoux. Admiral Decoux's instructions were to maintain the colonial structure at all costs. This suited the Japanese, and for five years Admiral Decoux and the French colonial administrators were Japanese tools, using force to keep the Indo-Chinese in line as they converted the colony's resources to the needs of the Japanese. Anti-fascist Frenchmen, unwilling to serve the Japanese, slipped out of the country to join De Gaulle's forces.

During the entire period of Japanese occupation there was a nationalist anti-Japanese movement which actively aided the cause of the United Nations, despite continual harassing by the colonial authorities. The first upsurge of resistance was in October-December, 1940, as the Japanese were tightening their grip. Twenty serious uprisings occurred in one week, and there were riots and demonstrations in seven districts. According to a Vichy communiqué, the suppression of this anti-Japanese movement required the use of French soldiers and sailors as well as the Indo-Chinese police. More than a thousand persons were arrested in the Saigon area alone.

FOR AN INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC

Out of this resistance grew the League for the Independence of Indo-China, formed in 1941, which included the Annam Nationalist Party, the New Annam Party, the Indo-Chinese Communist Party, the Association of Young Revolutionaries, and national associations of peasants, workers, women, youth, officers, and soldiers. In 1943 the league was broadened to take in anti-fascist French and Chinese—500,000 Chinese live in the colony. Its political program called for the election of a national assembly to draw up a constitution for a free Indo-China on the basis of adult suffrage, restoration of democratic liberties and rights, equal rights for women, the right of minorities to self-determination, the organization of a national army, the nationalization of banks belonging to fascists (meaning the Bank of Indo-China in particular), the development of native industry, agrarian reform, labor legislation, and an adequate educational system.

In January, 1944, the League announced that it believed "in the sanctity of the principles for which the world has shed and is shedding so much blood" and called for guerrilla activity on a large scale. Its peasant adherents, in increasing numbers, refused to pay taxes and withheld rice from the market. The Japanese and their Vichyite colonial assistants retaliated with massacres and mass arrests. In March, 1945, the Japanese established direct rule in Indo-China, working through Emperor Bao Dai; they feared that Admiral Decoux would doublecross them after France had been liberated and it was plain that the Axis was on the defensive. Decoux's regime surrendered without a struggle or took to flight, but not before they had murdered a number of political prisoners in Yonpai and Caobang. The league attempted to take advantage of this period of confusion to seize power but was prevented by the Japanese.

It was more successful in August, when the Japanese capitulated to the Allies. The nationalist groups then unified their forces, staged a number of powerful demonstrations, and secured the abdication of the very willing Emperor Bao Dai. On August 25 the independent Republic of Viet Nam was proclaimed, with none other than the Communist Ho Chin Minh, or Nguyen Ai Quoc, as Premier. At this point the Japanese were more tolerant of a movement certain to cause acute embarrassment to the victorious Allies. In recent weeks the nationalists have reeled back before British and French machine-guns, but the legitimate aspirations of the people of Indo-China cannot be permanently kept down by superior force. Unless the fires of nationalism are banked by substantial reforms, they may consume the rickety structure of the Far Eastern peace.

Palestine and Grand Strategy

BY ELIAHU BEN-HORIN

(For sixteen years a newspaper editor in Palestine; author of "The Middle East, Crossroads of History")

THE real reason for Great Britain's illogical and unjust Palestine policy is not the threat of pan-Arabic resistance to the development of a Zionist state but considerations of grand strategy. Soviet Russia's expansionist tendencies in the Middle East are the major factor in the shaping of both British and American Middle Eastern policy. The foreign offices of the Western democracies have no fear of Pan-Arabia, but they do fear a Soviet-Arabian rapprochement. Is the threat of an alliance between the Soviets and the Arabian effendi real, or is it just another bogy?

One of the most damaging mistakes of Jewish leaders has been their tendency to present the Palestine problem solely as a quarrel between Jews and Arabs. Nothing could be farther from the mark. There is scarcely an issue of major importance to the great powers in which Palestine does not figure, whether it be the future of world communications, trade expansion, sea power versus land power, the balance of power between East and West, or the destiny of the British Empire. The present British Cabinet, like its predecessors, measures the situation with one question in mind: in the world of today, with its swiftly changing conditions and its completely altered balance of power, what policy will best assure British control of the Middle East? Only a Cabinet prepared to liquidate the Empire and transform Britain into a third-rate power could approach Middle Eastern problems with any other yardstick.

The crucial strategic-geographic importance of the Middle East to a maritime and trading empire like Great Britain is of course axiomatic. What seems to escape notice is Palestine's special position in the picture. More than any other land little Palestine constitutes a link between the continents of Europe, Africa, and Asia. It has a long coastline on the eastern Mediterranean. It lies on the northern bank of the Suez Canal. It is the natural outlet for the oil of Arabia. Loss of Palestine would be a deadly blow to Britain.

Washington, as well as London, is acutely aware of these geo-political realities. This country has only lately acquired a world outlook, but it has already come to realize that it cannot afford to neglect the Middle East. It has a very lively interest in Middle Eastern oil, and this interest means that it needs air and naval bases in the region. In the event of war formal ownership of Arabian oil would be of little avail; the important thing would be its accessibility. To operate concessions in peace and to maintain their accessibility in war, the United States must have outposts of military power on the scene. They are the prize America hopes to obtain through its close alliance with Britain.

The American University in Beirut, the colleges in Cairo and Istanbul, the American missions, numerous archaeological expeditions, and various trading and mining enterprises bear witness to America's long-standing interest in the Middle East. However, through the years, America has been a guest there, and not always a welcome one. Now, for the first time, Great Britain regards the United States as a desirable partner. It would be naive to think that American oil companies acquired concessions in Arabia against the will of Great Britain, which is, after all, supreme there. Nor was Britain's compliance an act of altruism. At a time when Soviet Russia's ambitions in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf have become unmistakably clear, Britain wants the United States to share the political and military responsibility for one of the most troublesome spots on the earth. If John Bull must sooner or later encounter the Russian bear in the Arabian desert, he prefers not to have it a tête-à-tête.

Every effort made by Great Britain and the United States to form a counterbalance in Europe against the excessive might of Russia has failed. Both Western countries have been forced to acknowledge Soviet supremacy on the Continent. A desperate Britain has therefore fallen back on the old formula of sea power versus land power, with air power viewed as an appendix of sea power. This is the true basis of the British-American alliance—to keep the Russian colossus within the boundaries of a land-locked empire. In this strategy the Middle East assumes new importance, for the future balance of power will be determined at the Straits, in the eastern Mediterranean, and in the Persian Gulf.

The Jewish-Arab Palestine controversy must be examined in this perspective. British love for the Arabs or dislike of the Jews does not enter into the question. The British know precisely where they stand so far as the Arabs are concerned. They can permit the Arabs their delusions of grandeur. No harm is done. The British know that no such thing as a united Arabia exists or is likely to arise, and that the petty kings and sheiks can be managed or bought in the future as they have been in the past.

But the United States, new at this game of colonial imperialism, apparently takes what it sees and hears at face value. Emissaries of American oil companies, naive young men from the War Department and the OWI, even State Department officials have been bluffed by the shrewd Moslem potentates. They have returned from their missions to the Middle East with alarming reports of a probable Soviet-Arab alliance through which Russia would emerge dominant in the entire area. The only way to ward off this catastrophe, they report, is to forget the pledges to the Jewish people and the demands of justice and to placate the Arabs.

King Ibn Saud and other Arab politicians must have smiled in their beards when they sold this bill of goods to the Americans. If the Arab rulers have any say in the matter, the Soviets will not penetrate far into the Middle East. They may not be learned gentlemen, but they do know that where Soviet Russia enters, political reaction and social-economic backwardness go out. There is nothing the Arab barons dread more than Soviet influence in their domains.

At the same time they dislike Great Britain, with its insistence on military and political control behind the façade of native independence, and they are also eager to get rid of French domination. The United States thus emerges as a favorite foreign power. It is the only great power which offers large oil royalties, trading advantages, and cultural opportunities without asking anything important in return. This pro-American orientation of the Arabs can be counted upon to continue as long as America remains the richest and the least imperialistic power in sight. If the situation changed, Arab "loyalties" would change overnight. (In the 1930's, when the Arabs felt that Nazi Germany was growing stronger than Great Britain, they became definitely pro-German.) Should America or the American-British alliance suffer an eclipse, the most violent anti-Jewish attitude in Palestine would not enable us to retain Arab friendship.

My point is that Britain and the United States do not have to trade Jewish blood and Jewish suffering for Arab oil and sympathies; that fear of an Arab-Soviet alliance is fantastic. Moreover, if the Western democracies were looking for a way to increase the propaganda appeal of Soviet policies and to weaken their own moral standing, they could find no surer method than taking an anti-Jewish stand on Palestine. The conviction is spreading in a great many quarters that the Soviet Union is the true bearer of progressive ideas, and that Britain—now joined by America—upholds diehard conservatism and reaction. British-American support of the Arab kings and effendis and obstruction of Jewish aspirations in Palestine reinforces the conviction.

That Moscow is fully alive to the situation is shown by its radical change of attitude toward Zionism in the last two or three years. For nearly a quarter of a century Zionism was outlawed in Soviet Russia, and Zionists were severely persecuted. Now Soviet Jewry has been permitted to acknowledge its fraternal ties with the Jewish people. Ivan Maisky was sent on an official, and sympathetic, mission to Palestine, to survey the possibilities for further Jewish immigration. And on several occasions Soviet delegates to international conferences have voted for pro-Zionist resolutions.

Stalin, with his usual astuteness, apparently has a better understanding than British and American statesmen of the true relationship of the Zionist enterprise in Palestine to the whole politico-economic and strategic situation in the Middle East. He realizes the improbability of a Soviet-Arab alliance and sees that a pro-Jewish attitude in the Middle East would be valuable moral propaganda for Soviet Russia.

With tension mounting in Palestine, Britain and America must make a fateful choice. Either they must persevere in a course which encourages political, economic, and social reaction and the spread of xenophobia, which ignores the frightful Jewish tragedy as well as the solemn pledges given the Jews, and which compromises democracy in the eyes of the world, or they must adopt a new policy which will be progressive and just and also thoroughly sound from the point of view of grand strategy and international peace.

In the Wind

NOMENCLATURE: A new bridge will soon cross the Mississippi River at Memphis, Tennessee, and the citizens are undecided what to call it. Among the names that have been proposed are Franklin D. Roosevelt, Ed Crump, and Westbrook Pegler. . . . War Department records show that more men named Cohen enlisted in New York City than those of any other name. . . . A prize boar owned by Emmert Brothers, Mason City, Iowa, is named One World. . . . And the blue ribbon for male Duroc-Jersey hogs at the Mississippi-Alabama fair September 30 went to an eleven-hundred-pounder named Congressman, from Tupelo, the home town of Representative Rankin.

CENSORSHIP: A soldier stationed in White Horse, Alaska, during the war recently learned that a letter of his had been held by army censors for two years because it contained a snapshot that revealed his location. "The only thing we could write about freely was our excursion trip to Great Bear Lake on the Arctic Circle," he says. "Now I find that all the uranium used in the atom experiments came from Great Bear Lake."

LABOR: T. D. Kemp, Jr., a columnist in the Charlotte, North Carolina, *Observer*, makes this suggestion: "Should the Russians succeed in having General MacArthur thrown out of Japan, he would be useful here in our own country. You can think of no better way to end these strikes, particularly the ones that get out of hand, than to have General MacArthur take the job of assisting President Truman in straightening things out. With a few million veterans rallying around MacArthur, labor bosses will think twice before calling or prolonging strikes."

ANNOUNCEMENT: The Julian Messner Award for the best book combating intolerance in America has been increased to an outright prize of $5,000 plus an advance of $1,500 against royalties by a grant from the foundation established in memory of Ensign Lionel Judah Tachna, who was killed in the Battle of the Coral Sea.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

On Criticizing the Vatican

BY LAWRENCE FERNSWORTH

(Mr. Fernsworth, liberal Catholic writer, was correspondent of the New York Times *and the London* Times *in Spain during the civil war. He is the author of "Protestants Under Franco" and "Dictators and Democrats.")*

IN A broadcast to a recent rally of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee in Madison Square Garden, Harold J. Laski criticized the Vatican for its support of Franco and by implication for its whole policy of political interventionism. The Catholic press construed his remarks as an attack on Catholicism; and as if to confirm Mr. Laski's arguments, Catholic groups made a concerted effort to silence Station WJZ, which broadcast his address, and to have Actors' Equity expel five actors who had participated in the rally. These events make it appropriate to recall some of the basic facts about the political character of the Vatican.

In recent years Catholic authorities have written vigorously and eloquently in defense of the thesis that the Vatican is a sovereign political state and as such has the qualifications for political action. On October 10 the New York *Times* carried a dispatch from Rome on the action of the Allied Control Council in addressing the Vatican, among other "countries," on the subject of the repatriation of German and other Axis diplomats accredited to those "countries."

The New York *Times* for May 12, 1940, printed on its editorial page a lengthy, two-column letter written by Bishop (now Archbishop) James H. Ryan of Omaha setting forth the Vatican's claims to be recognized as a political entity. Bishop Ryan said, "Though conscious of the religious power of the Pope, head of the Catholic church, we have chosen to remain blind to the political power of the Pope who is King. But is it the part of wisdom not to recognize the Papacy for what it is, despite any religious feelings to the contrary?" Elaborating further on the political character of the Vatican, Bishop Ryan described it as "the listening post of Europe" and said that, from "its far-flung outposts" "thousands of well-trained official and unofficial diplomats are constantly reporting on even the slightest changes in public opinion in their respective territories." All this was in support of the thesis, put forward by the entire hierarchy and its press, that the United States should grant diplomatic recognition to the Vatican as a political institution.

Professor Laski's criticisms were directed against the Vatican's political attitude toward Franco's Spain. As Archbishop Ryan suggested, he seems to have chosen "to recognize the Papacy for what it is."

Surely the actions of any political entity, large or small, are a proper object of comment. To hold otherwise is a blow at free speech and, it would seem, a real affront to those millions of Americans who cherish free speech. To call this kind of legitimate debate an "insult" to Catholics is no more justified than to call adverse criticism of our government's acts an "insult" to Americans. Americans would be the first to take offense at a claim which so stultified their intelligence. This, I am sure, holds true of the great majority of Catholics, who, being intelligent, must resent being made to look foolish.

The rally for the Spanish anti-fascist refugees was, in fact, presided over by a Catholic. What is more, millions of Catholics applauded—and continue to applaud—the letter of the late President Roosevelt denouncing Franco as a fascist and the recent statement of President Truman, issued in support of President Roosevelt's directive to our Spanish ambassador, "We do not like Franco." During the Spanish civil war a poll showed that Catholics, for the most part, declined to accept the political conduct urged upon them by their hierarchy.

In its issue of October 19 the *Commonweal* said: "What Mr. Laski attacked was the discipline and politics of the church and not the church itself, and it is a sad thing when Catholics so easily earn the dislike of their neighbors by the assumption that any criticism of any aspect of the church is inadmissible. We must ever be watchful not to allow our faith to serve as a cloak under which we strive to smother political discussion." One of our greatest liberal Catholics, Associate Justice Murphy of the United States Supreme Court, said in a speech last Fourth of July: "Ours is now the spiritual battle—the battle against all manifestations of the Nazi disease we find among our own people."

The new push to bolster the Fascist regime of Spain, which owes its being to the Fascist regime of Italy and the Nazi regime of Germany, and the efforts to stifle the legitimate criticism of those who continue to fight against fascism—World War II will not be ended until its causes are liquidated—are "manifestations of the Nazi disease."

The bizarre kind of thinking indulged in by those who would try to silence all criticism of Franco, and all comment on the political role of the Vatican in the matter of Spain, is illustrated by an editorial in the *Catholic News*, Archbishop Spellman's diocesan organ, for October 13. Commenting on the "Frank Fay case," the paper charges that the five actors who attended the meeting "represented themselves as reflecting the attitude of all the members of their casts"—this is not substantiated by any report I have seen. Mr. Fay, it goes on, in accusing fellow-actors of misrepresenting the attitude of other actors, "spoke for millions of Americans." The paper brands the alleged action of five actors in claiming to speak for a limited number of fellow-actors as a public offense, but in the same breath itself claims that Mr. Fay spoke "for millions of Americans," although there is not the slightest evidence that he had any such mandate.

Concerning the refusal of various groups to let free speech about Spain be stifled by such tactics, the editorial continues: "This incident is further evidence of the manner in which the organized radical minority strives to control all avenues of contact with the mind of the public; if this effort to silence inquiry about leftist-influenced activities succeeds we may expect even more brazen attempts."

The same column of editorial comment which demanded an investigation of "leftist" activities accused the New York *Post* of "violating all canons of journalism" because it turned the spotlight on a Christian Front meeting in Queens, and as a result some of the chief participants were arrested and charged with insulting Jews. There was no word of regret for the insults to the Jews—which were real.

It seems plain that the apologists for Franco, the Spanish usurper, will never understand that firm opposition to all attempts to silence criticism of this "Nazi disease" among our own people is part of the "spiritual battle" in which all who cherish man's freedom and dignity must take part.

America's Homesick Army

BY JOSEPH FREEMAN

(Joseph Freeman, author of the novel "Never Call Retreat," traveled with a USO show for nine weeks this summer in France, Germany, and Austria. During that time he lived in army billets and talked with many G. I.'s and officers.)

THE *Jagdschloss* was hidden deep in the forest. Once the hunting lodge of a German millionaire, it was now an officers' club of the Thirtieth Infantry, spacious and luxuriously furnished. Veterans of the famous Third Division welcomed us in the lounge, bar, and music room. An orchestra played "Oh, What a Beautiful Morning!" Then the club officer, a young lieutenant who looked a little like Robert E. Sherwood, gave me a copy of "The Dogfaced Soldier," song of the Fighting Third. A USO pianist played it on the Bechstein and we all sang it. There was plenty of champagne and cognac, the house was impressive and comfortable, the evening full of high animal spirits, friendly laughter. It was hard to believe that these men had been fighting in the Bulge six months ago, that war was still raging in this area only three months ago, that the nearby city of Kassel lay in utter ruins.

The lieutenant who resembled Sherwood asked me to follow him. On the stairway he said, "I'm going to show you how far away from a foxhole a man can get in this army." We entered a vast, beautifully furnished apartment. The lieutenant went to a small table near the French windows, shoved aside his forty-five, and put out a bottle of Black and White and two glasses. "I've never lived like this before," he said. "What do you think of it?"

"Great," I said.

"Back home," he said, "I was a salesman. I don't know what I'll do when I get out of the army, but I know I won't live like this." He showed me pictures of his pretty wife and six-year-old son whom he had not seen since the kid was four. "I like to sit here late at night," he said, "and write them letters." Then he swept his hand around the room and said, "You can have it. Just give me any place in the U. S. A."

The army doesn't all live as elegantly as this lieutenant or as the young warrant officer from Brooklyn who runs the three best hotels in Paris for big brass. I've seen open-air camps where fifteen or twenty thousand troops lived under canvas and have eaten chow carelessly cooked and ladled out of huge aluminum cans into a precarious blueplate. Some soldiers take this philosophically. In the tent city outside Marburg one corporal said to me, "Everything is relative. Big tents are luxury compared to pup tents; pup tents are luxury compared to foxholes." Many G. I.'s, however, resent the inequalities in army life. They particularly resent it in sections of Germany where their living conditions are inferior to those of many German prisoners of war and of Nazi big shots who have been allowed to retain their homes.

Our army, like our civilian population, has its gradations of income, comfort, and status, but on any level the G. I. in Europe is a privileged character. He is sitting on top of the world. He is the best-equipped fighting man there is, and he has just finished off the most powerful army in Europe's history. Against the background of a continent wrecked by fascism and war, whose people are for the most part sallow, undernourished, small, poorly dressed, and thoroughly frightened, G. I. Joe stands out for his youth, good looks, energy, robust health, easygoing humor, and immense generosity. He is the best-dressed man in Europe and the richest. A pack of cigarettes, a piece of five-cent chocolate, a cake of soap, gets him services even a black marketeer can't buy. Many officers live in first-class hotels requisitioned from the French or in palatial homes taken from German industrialists and Gauleiters. Enlisted men often have barracks and clubs that would do credit to any American community. Everywhere appreciative laughter greeted F. P. A.'s gag, "How are we going to get used to the rigors of civilian life?" Europeans have the psychology of scarcity, Americans the psychology of plenty, and G. I. Joe has all the confidence and candor that go with plenty.

Yet nearly every man in the army wants to go home toot sweet, and that gives him another distinction in Europe. I ran into Poles who did not want to go back to Poland, Rumanians who did not want to go back to Rumania, and Russians who did not want to go back to Russia. The only one who invariably wants to go back to his own country is G. I. Joe. This is his central urge; it decides his gripes, amusements, and hopes.

You notice this the moment you reach Paris. You have your own sentimental memories of the city, and as your jeep rattles in from Orley Field you are not a bit disappointed visually. It is all there, the marvelous capital that has enchanted many generations. But Henry, our driver, a young Jersey grocer with a good combat record, warned us: "Hope you brought plenty of soap and towels. You won't be able to get anything except in PX. Them Frogs have nothing at all." Then, as a crowd began to gather at 6 a. m. in the Etoile to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the liberation movement, Henry said, "They're going to parade again. There's nothing them Frogs love better than a parade. They'd rather parade than eat."

You are surprised the first time you hear this gripe. Then you reach the point where you are surprised if a G. I. says a good word for France. With some exceptions the G. I. is lonely in Paris. For a while it is all a great adventure, the thing he dreamed of in his foxhole. He goes to the Louvre, Notre Dame, the Bois; stares at the inscriptions on the Arc de Triomphe; strolls along the Left Bank; visits Gertrude Stein and Picasso. He picks up girls in the Pigalle, which he calls Pig Alley; makes money selling watches and cameras to the French; buys Chanel No. 5 and Schiaparelli for someone back home; sees the Folies Bergères; gets drunk in the Lido. But you can't keep that up forever. There comes a time when Joe stops whistling after the girls and resents it when they ask him for money right off the bat and plenty of it. He is sore about paying $1.25 for a small slug of inferior cognac or sour wine, especially since he knows the French get it for 20 francs. He hates to be gypped; he is bored. The letdown from the exciting period of combat is terrific, and Paris can't make up for it. I've seen G. I.'s wandering in the streets at night alone or in couples singing high-school songs or lying by the dozens on their backs in the Place de la Concorde, right out in the street, smoking in silence, looking up at the sky and thinking of home.

This nostalgia finds relief in criticizing the French. The women are no beauties; the men are rude and lazy, they won't work, they are not rebuilding the country. Every trifle is exaggerated, and the French do not help matters by their attitude. I've heard them tell G. I.'s openly: "You are not needed here; why don't you go home?" They complain that our soldiers are boisterous, get drunk in the streets, make no distinction between one kind of woman and another, calling after anything in skirts, and buy up things which are scarce in France.

The G. I. knows chiefly the street girl and the shopkeeper. He rarely sees real French life, which is in the home. He thinks the French are ungrateful after that marvelous day of liberation when they kissed and embraced him. When they tell him to go home, he says: "Okay, brother, just fix it for me."

The upshot of these petty conflicts is a disquieting paradox. The G. I. does not like our allies, and he has a growing admiration for the people he was fighting a few months ago. It was in France that I first heard an American soldier praising the Germans: "Them Krauts are rebuilding their country. Boy, they know how to work."

Then comes the real surprise, the G. I.'s enthusiasm for German women. We heard it for the first time from Roger, the pfc. who drove us in a jeep to Reims. He was a tall, blond, gangly boy of twenty-four from the deep South. He had lost an eye in combat, and his arms and legs were wired where German shrapnel had shattered the nerves. But he was a cheerful wag who talked about himself with great humor. He was crazy about his family back home, and talked a lot about them, too. Then he got off on his adventures with European women. In France, he said, the boys put up with street girls because what else can they do, but if you want to see real nice dames, go to Germany. They're beautiful, *beau-ti-ful,* he said, and told us about the girl who had been his "wife" in Germany.

"See these pants?" he said. "She sewed that permanent crease in them. It'll last forever. She sewed creases like that in all my pants and shirts, see what I mean. Once they put me in the guardhouse for sassing an officer. This girl heard I was on bread and water." He laughed. "I was, too. So one night she comes around to the clink and brings me a chicken. I used to tell her about Southern fried chicken, and I'll be a son of a gun if she didn't make it for me. The M. P.'s wouldn't let her into the guardhouse, but their eyes popped. They brought that chicken in to me themselves and you ain't kiddin', it was good. What a dame!"

General Eisenhower's ban on fraternization was still on when we reached Augsburg the first week of July. It prohibited "visiting German homes; drinking with Germans; shaking hands with them; playing games or sports with them; giving or accepting gifts; attending German dances or other social events; accompanying Germans on the streets, in theaters, taverns, hotels, or elsewhere except on official business; discussion and argument with Germans, especially on politics or the future of Germany."

In most respects the ban was adhered to. There was no difficulty about that. The Germans were not fraternizing with *us*. You walked along the streets of Augsburg surveying the damage our bombs had done, and streams of Germans passed you looking straight ahead in grim silence. That was typical of the United States zone.

But in regard to women the ban was a flop. Venus always follows Mars, and the Fräuleins were as the G. I.'s had described them—the healthiest, best-looking, most attractive girls in ETO and the best-dressed, too. In Paris you rarely saw women with stockings; in Germany you rarely saw women without them. It was no use telling Joe that these women were well fed and well dressed because Germany had robbed all Europe for them. Joe wanted companionship, and the Fräuleins were lonely, too. Five million German men have been killed in battle; millions of others are caged P. W.'s. And the Fräuleins play the oldest game in the world the way Joe likes it. They have a sense of humor. Laughing, they slap their backsides and say, *"Verboten!"* They do not ask for money. They do it only for their friends, and they haven't an enemy in the world.

So the G. I.'s violated the fraternization ban, sneaking off with Fräuleins into the woods or their homes. Going with German girls like that was scarcely an act of friendship toward the beaten foe. The most crushing humiliation that can be inflicted on men is to take away their women. Sometimes conquering soldiers take the enemy's women by force. G. I. Joe likes to make friends and influence women by the charm of his personality and his PX rations.

Some officers acquired steady sweethearts among the German women. The Joes picked them up in the street. When you pick up girls in the street you are likely to encounter little bugs known as gonococci and spirochaetae pallidae.

It is now no secret that these had a great deal to do with altering the formal relations between the G. I.'s and the Germans. There was a $65 penalty for fraternizing. The idea was to fine Joe so heavily that he would stay away from the women. What he did was to stay away from the prophylactic station. In the army the word fraternization came to mean sex. The grapevine quoted a three-star general to the effect that cohabitation without conversation is not fraternization. The boys called *Was ist los?*—the opening phrase of a flirtation—the $65 question. The result was an alarming rise in the venereal-disease rate. The ban on fraternization had to be lifted. At first Americans were allowed to associate with Germans only in public places. Now they may visit them in their homes, too.

This solved one problem by creating two others. In general, G. I.'s are not politically minded. When they heard we had just arrived from the states, they asked about the cigarette, meat, and gasoline shortage; whether it was hot when we left; what movies were playing back home; how we celebrated V-E Day. They showed no interest in the British elections, the Truman Administration, or Germany's future. The questions they asked everybody all the time were: When do you think the Pacific war will be over, and when do you think we'll go home? The way they were put, in the intention behind them, these were personal, not political questions. They revealed that G. I. Joe, the world's best soldier, hates war and doesn't care much for army life. They revealed, too, the power of the silver cord, what Philip Wylie once called the "pull of Mom," the longing to get back to Main Street and stay there. But it was more than that. It was a recoil from Europe as the scene of slaughter, a longing for America, which was remembered and idealized as a place of peace, plenty, and freedom. In any event, wasn't Joe drifting back into a state of mind whose political expression is isolationism? And now that he could meet Germans freely and indiscriminately, wouldn't he be a sucker for Nazi propaganda? The danger was all the greater since the army made no serious effort to teach him what the basic conflicts in the modern world were about.

I was still in Augsburg when the fraternization ban was lifted. The immediate effect was interesting. People who the day before had passed us on the street in resentful silence now looked for an excuse to talk to us. An elderly woman, seeing me standing near an army car, asked if I could drive her to her mother thirty miles away. A fifteen-year-old boy wanted to know where the American Gestapo was. Gestapo means state police, and he was looking for our M. P.'s. The G. I.'s came out into the open with their Fräuleins. They complained humorously that this took all the fun out of it, but whenever necessary they reported to the Pro station. A few refused to have anything to do with the Germans even after there was no rule against it. They said that Germans are incurably evil, that the only good German is a dead German, that nothing can change their lust for world dominion, that they would start another war as soon as possible. But for the most part our soldiers were friendly to the Germans they met. They made a very clear distinction, however—at least this summer—between taking out German girls and taking in German ideas.

[*This is the first of two articles on the G. I. in Europe.*]

Brittany Goes to the Polls

BY IDA TREAT

(Ida Treat is the author of "The Anchored Heart," a story of the Breton island which was her home during the invasion and early occupation and to which she has now returned. Her husband was commander of a Free French corvette.)

Ile de Bréhat, France, September 24

THE *garde-champêtre,* our island cobbler and one policeman, knocked at my door the day before yesterday. Before I left France five years ago I used to dread his coming; invariably he brought unpleasant messages. Had I hens, ducks, or rabbits? They had to be listed for the Germans. Did I own a radio set or a wood-burning stove? Of course if I hid them well, I needn't hand them over. But would I please make a bundle of two blankets, three sheets, and as many pillow-slips? "If you don't give them willingly, they'll come and take all you have."

This time, too, the *garde-champêtre's* visit was official. But pleasanter. He brought me my voter's card. A little blue folder with Marianne in her Phrygian cap crossed by three lines of print: *"Carte d'électeur,* valid for all electors until March 31, 1946." At the top, *"République Française, Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité."* A woman citizen of the liberated French Republic, I am now entitled to vote.

As it happens, I have never voted anywhere before. Marie-Anaik, my peasant neighbor, is one ahead of me. She cast her ballot last spring for the town council. "You come with me and I'll show you how it's done," Alain Lebras, her husband, reassured me. An elector for forty-five years, Alain can neither read nor write.

After the *garde-champêtre's* visit I received three others. Agents of the local candidates called to leave literature and ballot slips. They merely handed them in at the door. There is no house-to-house canvassing in France. Alain Lebras sums up the general feeling about tactics of that sort when he says belligerently, "I'll have no stranger coming to tell me who to vote for."

For the past week a long panel by the Town Hall has been plastered over with election posters. They all say more or less the same thing: "Our policy—reconstruction, efficient rationing, suppression of the black market, *épuration,* clean politics." The Communist posters are the only ones that show photographs: a man plowing beneath a giant crab poised in the sky—"trusts, Vichy committees, bureaucracy, parasitism, disorder"; German prisoners busy in the mined fields, with the caption "They sowed the mines; they must clear them out. They destroyed; they must rebuild." That strikes home. A gang of prisoners has already removed eighty of the deadly "bottles" from the pasture beyond my garden wall. Alain Lebras was blown up in his own clover patch last year and by miracle is still alive. Every day we hear of accidents to farmers on the mainland, less lucky than my neighbor Alain. One hundred million German mines in France!

There are three candidates for the seat of *conseiller général* in our *département*—an Independent Republican, a Socialist, a Communist. The first is a retired mine engineer; the second, a local merchant's clerk; the third, the mayor of a village on the mainland.

"What's an Independent Republican?" Amélie, our village seamstress, wants to know.

"Probably a white," says Alain Lebras. (On our island the old term still applies to anyone tinged with conservatism.)

"At any rate he's old," says Marie-Anaik. *"Une vieille barbe.* What we need today is young men."

"You wouldn't vote for a Socialist!" Amélie peers scandalized from beneath the ruffles of her black wind-bonnet.

"I'm not saying. But we don't want any *ci-devants* in the new government."

Amélie is still perplexed. She is a pious woman, and the word "Republican" in pre-war days meant but one thing to her. What if the Republican candidate should turn out to be an anti-clerical!

The widow of a manufacturer of church ornaments who has just called at the farm for her milk says she has a poor opinion of all three candidates. She doesn't intend to vote at all—not until the referendum next month. The other women eye her severely. Is that the way to build up a new France?

Before the war I never felt there was much justification for the claim that French women were indifferent to suffrage. Certainly what has happened since—defeat, invasion, resistance, and the daily fight for bare essentials—has been enough to shake any woman out of her lethargy (though I should never think of associating "lethargy" with any French woman of my acquaintance). Here in Brittany women have run farm and family—including the seafaring husband during his brief appearances—for generations. No shock of war was needed to give the sailor's wife a sense of responsibility. Is her status as citizen now recognized officially? So much the better. That is justice. To govern a state, what is it but governing a family and a farm on a bigger scale? Brittany women are interested in government rather than "politics." They leave the political game to the men of the household—a pastime like *belotte* or *manille* at the village inn, or bowls on the square. The women on the farm have never had time for play.

In the farmhouse kitchen Marie-Anaik adjusts her spectacles and studies the three programs laid side by side on the kitchen table.

"When we chose the town council, a lot of people wanted Yvonne Leguen, the baker's wife. She's been to school, knows everybody, and talks well. Talks a lot. I voted for Alice Lasblé. She's no talker, but she has one of the best-run farms on the east shore and she did it all herself. Yvonne bakes the bread, but the rest of us furnish the wheat. When threshing stopped last month because there wasn't any more gasoline for the thresher, the Mayor—he's another talker—said we'd have to wait and that was all there was to it. As if we could wait, with the autumn storms coming on! But Alice went off to the *Préfecture* and we got fuel for the thresher in two days. We have to deliver our wheat if we want unrationed bread next month. I'm glad Alice was elected. You see, she understands; she's one of us."

Obviously the retired engineer is not "one of us." That must be one of the reasons why Marie-Anaik pushes aside the ballot slip of the Independent Republican. An additional reason: she doesn't like the word "Independent." "If he's alone he's nobody. If there are people behind him I want to know who they are." As for the labels "Socialist" and "Communist," they have no terrors for her. "They can't frighten me any more with words."

Election Day. A typical autumn Sunday—high winds chasing the clouds across the sky, brief squalls of driven rain, and the tide of the equinox piling up thirty feet of water against the rocks. In the Town Hall on the square the *urne,* the ballot-box, stands ready, between the *isoloirs,* two red curtains tacked to the rafters. Six hundred voters are on the list that the Mayor's assistant checks off one by one.

All day long they come. After early mass the congregation queues up on the steps of the *Mairie.* "The whites vote in the morning, the reds in the afternoon," grins the *garde-champêtre.*

Old women in their wind-bonnets, clutching the blue card. Families in their Sunday best. The doctor's widow, back from two years in the concentration camp, where her husband died. The electrician, still wearing the beret and khaki uniform of General LeClerc's troops. (The electrician's wife was shot for denouncing patriots.) The schoolmistress on crutches—she was injured during the bombing of Nantes. The innkeeper's wife, whose son, a political deportee, is still missing. The former Mayor, who was accused of intelligence with the enemy, and acquitted. The white-haired woman who delivers telegrams—in black for her prisoner of war who never came home.

At the inn two red-faced merchants from the mainland are having lunch with two noisy girls. Wine at 250 francs the bottle, lobster at 160 francs the portion. The girls in brand-new tailored suits, brand-new high-heeled shoes—there is not a scrap of leather at our cobbler's—and with huge leather handbags. The whole get-up of the party screams black market.

"Are you voting, Yvice?" asks one of the girls.

"Penses-tu!" guffaws the merchant. "Haven't you seen the posters? It's Cachin, Thorez and Company who are going to save France."

I climbed the steps of the Town Hall, flanked by Marie-Anaik and Alain. One by one we handed in our cards and received in exchange a blue envelope with the seal of the Republic in the center. Behind the red curtain each slipped his ballot in the envelope and stepped out again to drop it in the box. Three more names checked off the voters' list.

"I hope our man wins," said Alain as we crossed the square.

"Whoever wins, he'll have a lot to do."

"He and the rest of us," said Marie-Anaik.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Heresy in High Places

THE Committee for Economic Development is the youngest, the best publicized, and the most evangelical of the national organizations devoted to the advancement of private enterprise. Unlike the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce, it does not carry on offensive and defensive lobbying in Congress. Its mission has been to create faith in the ability of business to solve the nation's economic problems by encouraging business to plan for prosperity. To this end it has organized intensively at the community level, setting up more than 2,900 local C. E. D.'s to spread the gospel throughout the land. From these branches a mass of data has flowed to the busy headquarters in New York, there to be translated into inspirational releases.

As a result of all this activity, the C. E. D. was able to announce promptly on the cessation of hostilities in August that in the first full post-war year, out of a total labor force of 60,000,000, 53,500,000 would be employed. Allowing for 3,500,000 men in the armed forces, and a "labor float" composed of men changing jobs or voluntarily idle numbering 2,500,000, it estimated that only about a half-million men would be actually unemployed. Another report issued in September suggested that reconversion would be completed by September 1, 1946, when total employment would be 24 per cent higher than in 1940 and only 12½ per cent below the war-time peak. If this did not mean "full employment"—a phrase which the committee appears to shun—it did indicate employment at a fairly high level.

The basis of the committee's statistics is the collection through local and industry groups of estimates by individual business men of the numbers on their pay rolls if orders come in as plentifully as they hope. That is to say, the figures tell us a good deal more about potential production than they do about actual demand. Clearly, the C. E. D. board was aware of this fact, even though its publicity tended to obscure its significance, for it set its Research Committee to work on the problem of how to maintain total demand so as to absorb total production.

The report of this committee, published on October 11 under the title "Toward More Jobs and More Freedom," is an important document. In fact, I am tempted to call it "historic," for it provides proof that some of the basic concepts of Keynesian economics have at last penetrated into the upper stratum of American business society.

America's capacity to produce in abundance and variety, the report asserts, has been amply demonstrated, but "we have not yet shown a corresponding ability to maintain peace-time market demand for goods and services at satisfactory levels." How, then, since business men cannot produce unless they sell, is demand to be sustained? I have insufficient space to summarize the report's analysis of the different causes of instability in demand. It is good to note, however, that "consumer confidence" is given the same prominence as "business confidence," and that the role of insecurity of employment in undermining consumer confidence and so curtailing demand is recognized.

The most striking section of the report is that devoted to the "crucial responsibilities" of government "for promoting and maintaining high levels of productive employment." In the fiscal and monetary fields, it declares, government exerts a major influence on the stability of demand. The huge volume of public debt and the probable magnitude of national revenue and expenditure in the post-war period will give government fiscal policy a greater "leverage" than ever. In what way can this leverage be most effectively exercised? The conventional business answer is by rigid economy, by tax reduction, by balancing the budget, and by reducing debt. The C. E. D. Research Committee takes another view. "It is generally agreed," its report declares, "that an annual balance of the budget is impractical—that an attempt to balance in a depression year might work against recovery. And yet it is agreed that a peace-time increase in the public debt should be avoided and that as much debt should be retired as is consistent with maintaining high levels of employment and production." How are these two objectives to be reconciled? The answer, the committee suggests, is to increase expenditure and reduce taxes when market demand is weak, to reduce spending and raise taxes in periods of prosperity.

Here we have, in short, a new statement of the "compensatory theory," which looks to government fiscal policies to offset the fluctuations in demand inherent in the free-market system. It is the theory which gave potency to the Murray Full Employment bill before that measure was emasculated by Senator Taft's amendment assuring a balanced budget precedence over the maintenance of jobs. The C. E. D., although it has phrased its statement timidly, and shrunk from exploring its full implications, does indorse the view that it is the state of employment which must determine budgetary policy and not vice versa.

Members of the Research Committee responsible for this report include Ralph E. Flanders, New England industrialist and president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston; Marion B. Folsom, treasurer of Eastman Kodak; Paul Hoffman, president of Studebaker; Eric A. Johnston, of Chamber of Commerce fame and now "movie czar"; Ernest Kanzler, chairman of Universal Credit Corporation; Beardsley Ruml, treasurer of Macy's; and R. Gordon Wasson, vice-president of J. P. Morgan and Company. No impractical professors of economics on this list! The one member of the committee who dissented from the fiscal policies advocated in the report was John Fennelly, partner in the investment firm of Glore, Forgan and Company.

Looking at this roster of eminently respectable business men, one is not surprised that the *Wall Street Journal* could hardly believe its eyes. Unable to shake off a life-long habit of never directly criticizing powerful figures in the business world, it makes the rather insulting suggestion that the majority of the men responsible for the report actually disagree with it. Henry Hazlitt, the Hayek of the New York *Times*, is more frank. He finds the report a "most disheartening development," and while I take an exactly opposite view, I understand his dismay. When economic heresy spreads to such quarters, where is it going to stop?

The People's Front

OF ALL those who, during the past five years, have talked so much about the necessity of unity and concerted effort to make sure that the war should not be lost politically, only the workers have translated words into action. The liberals, divided before the war, remain divided today. They cling stubbornly to their separate organizations and continue to conduct little vendettas among themselves mixed in with all sorts of courtesies and smiles. Some of them have become bitter and cynical: they are anti-British, anti-Russian, anti-everything. Others have fallen into a kind of mysticism: they think that merely by pronouncing the magic words "world government" they can open a door of escape from the hard realities that we face today.

Until now only labor has taken effective international action. Governments and workers began to deal with the peace at the same moment. But while the governments wrangled at San Francisco, the labor leaders of the world were working together in Oakland to build a new international. Few people paid any attention to their efforts; of the thousand newspapermen in San Francisco, only a half-dozen of us crossed the bridge to Oakland to watch them at work. The Oakland meeting, unlike the one at San Francisco, was successful; in September at Paris the World Federation of Trade Unions emerged, fully articulated and united, as one of the few promises of the post-war world. We don't know how the first public assembly of the new league of nations will come out. We don't know whether we shall witness the divisive bickering that took place at San Francisco and ruined the recent Conference of Foreign Ministers in London. But the international labor organization is already there, uniting the proletariat of forty countries, broadening day by day the sphere of its activities.

The World Federation of Trade Unions has demanded representation in the United Nations Organization in an advisory capacity. Its demand should be strongly supported by everyone who wants to avoid a new war. The presence of the labor international would inject blood and sinew into the UNO. The new league had a difficult birth, complicated by the rivalries and suspicions of its members, big and small. But what weighs most heavily against it is its remoteness from the people. During the war there was much brave talk about giving the common man a place at the peace conference, about the participation of citizens' organizations in administering the peace. Women's groups, liberal organizations saw themselves seated around the green baize table. They believed that at the very least their leaders would have a voice and would form part of the new world secretariat. It was a nice dream. But old-time diplomacy, which still rules the world, has no intention of permitting "the people" to participate in the peace. It will continue the tested practice of Geneva: one condescended to receive a delegation from time to time; one talked vague generalities with them and then ignored their demands entirely.

But the world labor movement is no "delegation to Geneva." It is 70,000,000 organized workers, knowing what they want and how to ask for it. They will not be so easy to brush off, especially if they are courageously led. And that is just what the new organization has—leaders who realize their strength and are determined to have that strength acknowledged and respected.

Among those leaders I particularly want to mention Sidney Hillman. His share in the creation of the labor international was in a certain sense decisive. He has proved an able and skilful diplomat at a time when diplomacy's stock is very low indeed. Without his patient intervention it might have been impossible to hold the British and Russian delegates together. But his historic contribution has been to introduce the American labor movement into world affairs. From time immemorial American labor has been all but absent from the international movement. The role of the American Federation of Labor in the International Federation of Trades Unions was hardly more than nominal—and what influence it exercised was reactionary. At international labor conferences or at moments of crisis like the terrible days of Munich, when the question of mobilizing world labor came up, someone always suggested, "We must get the Americans in on this." Came the invariable answer: "That's a waste of time. American labor leaders are not interested in foreign affairs unless their country is directly involved; they are concerned only with wages, hours, and working conditions."

I have spent more than thirty years in the world struggle for socialism; in that time American labor as a political factor has been practically non-existent. Everybody was familiar, of course, with the I. W. W. program of direct action. We knew, too, the fighting spirit of certain unions, notably the steel workers and the miners. But the I. W. W. was an anarcho-syndicalist, anti-socialist organization, while other powerful unions confined their interests exclusively to American problems.

It is the C. I. O. leaders who have put an end to this position, which in no way reflected the strength or even the militancy of American labor. The day on which Philip Murray announced that labor was going to ask for a place at the peace table marked a turning point for workers in America and in the world. Labor must participate in solving all the problems connected with the peace, beginning with the problem of the control of atomic energy. By courageously crossing the frontiers of the United States, American labor will now command attention in Europe as well as at home. In the international crises that lie ahead it can play a decisive role. At the same time the increase in its prestige abroad will place it in a better position to fight for the interests of American workers. Sidney Hillman and the C. I. O. have rendered an invaluable service to international democracy.

DEL VAYO

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

MORGENTHAU'S PLAN FOR GERMANY

BY LEON HENDERSON

GERMANY IS OUR PROBLEM. By Henry Morgenthau, Jr. Harper and Brothers. $2.

MOST people are familiar with the general outlines of the Morgenthau plan for Germany. But I recommend that this book be read from cover to cover, copiously underlined, and kept handy in the magazine rack as background for news stories on the subject, which will serve to illumine the plan's weaknesses and strengths. The German problem will be with us for many moons. Current procedure will be reorganized many times, it is safe to predict, but the Morgenthau plan in toto will never be adopted. It can be, however, a yardstick to measure our "flagging will" to render Germany impotent for war.

Henry Morgenthau would deprive Germany of all heavy industries and by breaking up the Junker estates provide farms for its surplus population. He would evict all Germans from the industrial Ruhr, internationalize it, and partition the rest of the Reich into a northern and a southern state. These states would be under Allied control, operating through a ministry of German civil servants, until satisfactory self-governance is possible. The European economy would be fortified by all useful machinery, raw materials, and labor to be found in Germany, but no continuing reparations in industrial products would be exacted, lest this help Germany to rebuild its war-making potential again. Morgenthau would bring our soldiers home and leave the military occupation to Germany's continental neighbors. Real disarmament would be undertaken immediately by commissions of the United Nations as war allies, and not by the UNO. As war allies, they would exercise complete external control over foreign trade, foreign exchange, foreign assets, and the like, but they would be forbidden to assume any responsibility for internal economic controls except for military purposes.

One of the chief values of the book is to be found in the forceful review of the tragic mistakes made by the Allies after World War I. Without quoting Poincaré's prophetic forebodings or Winston Churchill's expressed fears of the Bolshevist menace, the author recaptures the essence of both for pertinent warning today. His chapters on the dangers of long-continued reparations and on Germany's will to try it again and ability to try it again are convincing. (The War Department has had an elaborate survey of bombing damage made by qualified civilians. Their disturbing report, if it is made public, will amply fortify Mr. Morgenthau's contention that 75 per cent of Germany's industrial potential is intact.) These chapters take on added strength when considered in conjunction with the future of atomic-bomb warfare and with the Kilgore report, "Elimination of German Resources for War."

The case for de-industrialization of Nazi Germany is well made, but the methods proposed leave much to be desired, unless the book is to be an "I-told-you-so" twenty years hence. Mr. Morgenthau, in stating his reasons for writing the book, says that the Potsdam Declaration was an attempt by the three principal Allies to carry out the objectives of his policy. Reserving comment on the Potsdam Declaration and the nullifications and deviations by its administrators and their advisers, this reviewer finds great difficulty in believing that the Big Three saw eye to eye with the ex-Secretary of the Treasury. The difficulty is greater when one reads Part Two of the Morgenthau plan, which is omitted from the book for some reason, though it was the portion which excited the most violent opposition of Henry Stimson. As I understood the basic philosophy of the plan from a reading of it and explanations by the Morgenthau subordinates, all heavy industries were to be removed or destroyed, and the Germans were to be left to shift for themselves in a pastoral state. "Let them stew in their own juice" was the phrase most often used to describe the plan. History may prove this to have been the ablest suggestion, or Henry Morgenthau's plan may win by default later, but that is quite different from finding it within the Potsdam Declaration. (There is a similarity of language between the declaration and the recently published directive of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1067, revised, by which American control is exercised.)

No, the Potsdam Declaration does not reflect the Morgenthau philosophy, and the British especially would certainly deny it. Morgenthau wants complete elimination of heavy industries; the declaration speaks of rigid control and restriction, and plainly contemplates not a pastoral state but a modest balance between agriculture and industry. Take steel, for example. The dispute among the Allies is not concerned with the entire destruction of the industry but with how much tonnage should be retained of Germany's 23,000,000-ton capacity. The Russians suggest 3,000,000 tons, the British urge 11,000,000 tons, our own FEA experts suggest 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 tons. In 1932 Germany used 4,000,000 tons of steel for domestic purposes. If Germany were left to govern itself, on Morgenthau lines, even 3,000,000 tons of steel could rebuild a military machine.

Morgenthau as prophet is proving to be accurate. Nearly every dispatch describing the operation of United States controls seems to buttress his forecasts that the American soldier is "too inexperienced in the ways of international banditry to serve as a guard in the German reformatory." Raymond Daniell, the New York *Times* correspondent, reports from Berlin, "We Talk Tough, but We Act Soft," "Pity for Germans Grows in U. S. Ranks," "Germans to Regain County, City Rule," and "U. S. Experts Urge Reich Export Rise, Russia Suspicious."

Such signs are ominous. Taken together with the failure of the London conference of Foreign Ministers, they may influence us to withdraw from Europe. Taken together with Patton's removal in Bavaria, they may mean what Morgenthau hesitates to say—that it was a mistake to intrust the army with civil administration, and that the State Department's German policy has been weak. It is fair to assume from present indications that President Truman will act soon to eradicate soft tendencies in our German administration, perhaps by replacement with civilians and by a stronger political representative. Certainly a major change is called for. In the circumstances, what workability has the Morgenthau plan?

The first hurdle is to persuade our European Allies, particularly the French and the British, to accept the reduction of Germany to a state primarily of small farms. I spent most of last winter in Europe studying plans for the economic control of Germany. I was compelled to report my disappointment over the lack of determination to dismantle the German industrial state. The reasons were many and mixed, but bulking large was the fact that the Western European countries were far more exhausted and crippled than we, who gained strength through the war effort, can realize. These European countries, faced with desperate problems of national existence, just do not possess the extra energy and resources to reorganize Europe's industrial economy and at the same time handle all the dislocation and chaos which would attend forced agriculturalization of the enemy. They have other ideas, and they are sure the Russians have, too.

De Gaulle and most of the French support the proposal to internationalize the Ruhr, but for the most part the British and the Russians are indifferent. Even the French say it would be impossible to deport all Germans from the Ruhr, or to repopulate the region with other nationalities. Most of the French officials whom I consulted said they would not favor Ruhr internationalization unless the United States promised to maintain troops in Europe for more than twenty years. The memory of Allied resistance to French occupation in the twenties, which eventually led to English support of German rearmament, is still too vivid in France. Again, the four-way partition of Germany and the peculiar alignment of reparations validated at Potsdam set a pattern which is almost an insurmountable barrier to internationalization of the Ruhr. Some of the drive generated by the "heat of battle" has been lost. A different pattern of accord, even a modified Morgenthau plan, might have been set up by the European Advisory Commission if the American agencies had permitted it to try to get agreement on matters requiring joint operations. Even the Russians seemed willing last winter to cooperate with Ambassador Winant on over-all matters, but our difficulties with policy here at home prevented agreement.

The greatest obstacle to acceptance of the Morgenthau plan is doubt whether 5,000,000 workers, displaced by the removal of heavy industries, could be relocated on farms in Germany's reduced territory. The British study of this possibility vigorously denies it. So does FEA Project 23, a careful survey by four American agricultural experts whose opinion I respect. Morgenthau argues the possibility of absorption, but says anyway it is a German, not an Allied, problem. This may mean that he feels that if chaos, dislocation, and unemployment result, these may serve to carry out Roosevelt's idea, as expressed in a letter to Secretary of War Stimson: "It is of utmost importance that every person in Germany should realize that this time Germany is a defeated nation. I do not want them to starve to death, but, as an example, if they need food to keep body and soul beyond what they have, they should be fed three times a day with soup from army soup kitchens. That will keep them perfectly healthy, and they will remember that experience all their lives. The fact that they are a defeated nation, collectively and individually, must be so impressed on them that they will hesitate to start any new war."

Most of us, for mixed reasons, would like to have the lesson of defeat driven home, but we shrink from any personal responsibility. The plan strives valiantly to sidestep the responsibility for consequences but does not quite succeed. Those who must administer the country, unless they are drawn from those who survived Nazi horrors, will be driven to ease tensions, to get things going again. Human nature is the strongest opponent of the plan.

Despite the challenges to the workability of his plan, Henry Morgenthau's book is now the ablest fighting weapon against a soft peace.

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

THE HENRY JAMES REVIVAL may be said to have reached something of a milestone with the publication of a volume of James's short stories selected and edited by Clifton Fadiman (Random House, $3), if only because Mr. Fadiman's imprimatur will bring this book to rest on so many living-room tables, likely and unlikely, throughout the land. It is a circumstance which might have elicited one of James's deeper chuckles—the circumstance, I mean, that the least known of his little-read works should be not only presented to a "vast audience" by one who happens to be master of ceremonies of a popular radio program but presented in the manner, ingratiating but strict, of a good instructor.

The seventeen stories are arranged in a "course," progressing from "the relatively simple to the supremely complex, from the casual to the concentrated, from the merely serious to the grandly tragic," from Four Meetings to The Pupil, The Beast in the Jungle, and The Jolly Corner. And aside from the introduction there is appended to each story a note which "places" it in James's development—and often, I may add, puts the putative reader in his place as well.

I find it an excellent course. The introduction goes straight to the important points. Among other things, Mr. Fadiman formulates "the case against James" and discusses it with coolness and intelligence and with the simplicity which "is on the other side of the complex—not that which never has divined it." He has understood, for instance, James's view of art and its function, not as the embalming process implied in the phrase "art for art's sake" as it is ordinarily used, but as an organizing principle which confers meaning, shape, and immortality on the perishable materials of human experience and character. Mr. Fadiman defends James, but

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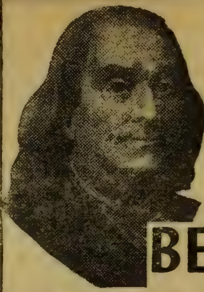

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he manages pretty much to avoid the defensive tone. He does not write down and he does not simplify. As a result, the rich complexity of a great artist stands forth as a value to be plumbed, not as a defect to be overcome. He cannot resist making use, and clever use, of James as a witness to the incorrigibly vicious character of "the German." This is the only gaffe in the book—I call it a gaffe not merely because I disagree with Mr. Fadiman's attitude toward the German question but because so crude a generalization seems utterly out of place among the meticulous differentiations of James. But it is far less telling than the use James makes, so to speak, of Fadiman. For Mr. Fadiman's introduction and his notes, brief as they are, contain an indictment of our contemporary way of life and culture in which texts from James are driven home with such fierce feeling that the arraignment takes on the aspect of a personal testament, even of a mea culpa. I quote several paragraphs, not merely because they illustrate the tone and temper of Mr. Fadiman's comments, but because his polemic seems to me so full of force and pertinence.

> For example [he writes in his introduction], those who care passionately for our English speech find in the precision, the exquisiteness, the close workmanship of James's prose a relief from the careless, uncleanly, and hyperthyroid jargon which currently passes muster for sound writing. James's almost fussy concern for elevated, even noble standards of craftsmanship operates in agreeable contrast to our own fetish of relaxation, our cult of "informality" (a sweet name for mental laziness). Ours is a period in which books are made easy for us to read; in which, if this reading is too hard for us, we are given pictures accompanied by nursery-prose captions; in which if pictures are too difficult we are furnished with comic-strips. Years ago James saw all this coming. Indeed, he described with stunning accuracy the triumph of our most admired journalism when he spoke of "the bastard vernacular of communities disinherited of the felt difference between the speech of the soil and the speech of the newspaper, and capable thereby, accordingly, of taking slang for simplicity, the composite for the quaint, and the vulgar for the natural." To Howells he wrote, "The *faculty of attention* has utterly vanished from the Anglo-Saxon mind, extinguished at its source by the big, blatant Bayadère of Journalism." Those who find themselves unable to agree that the communication of ideas and feelings must necessarily be on a pre-adolescent level find in the careful complexities of Henry James a welcome challenge.

In the following passage he is writing of The Great Good Place, the story which he considers "most densely charged with contemporary application."

> One good way to feel this story is to read it, as I chance just to have done, after listening to Mozart. The Mozartian note—perfection achieved with essentials—is precisely *not* the note of our time. We are anti-Mozartian in many ways but primarily in our passion for organizing non-essentials, both material and mental. Dimly conscious that we have lost a few simple things, we cover over our sense of loss by distributing as widely and as ingeniously as possible a million complicated things. . . .
>
> The consequence of what James in this story calls "the modern madness, mere maniacal extension and emotion," is a special form of lunacy known as being "under pressure." The sense of pressure has little to do with overwork or specific worries. Rather is it identical with the whole pattern of our lives, based on "getting somewhere" or "getting something." It comes about because we are engaged in doing something unnatural. We are neglecting, we are denying, man's rational mind.
>
> The Great Good Place is the world of Mozart's music, "all beautiful with omissions." It is not—this is the whole point—a mere refuge, an escape hole. On the contrary, it is "real life"—the life of achievement, success, accumulation, and motion—that is the escape. It is the escape from the mind, the escape from reflection, the escape from a recognition of one's own personality. The Great Good Place is simply ordered reality, stripped truth. Wherever the mind comes into its own, that is the Great Good Place. As the Brother says, "I don't speak of the putting off of one's self; I speak only—if one has a self worth sixpence —of the getting it back."

Mr. Fadiman has "done well" by James's shorter fictions; and he himself is not the least interesting, or the least Jamesian, of the characters to be met with in the pages of this book.

The Voice of Liberal Japan

DILEMMA IN JAPAN. By Andrew Roth. Little, Brown and Company. $2.50.

THE dilemma discussed here is that of the victorious powers in dealing with defeated Japan, a dilemma born of the conflicting policies of the "Japan gang" and the "China gang" in the State Department. Despite the recent reorganization of the department, despite the "hard peace" now being increasingly driven home to the Japanese people by the MacArthur administration, some embarrassing signs of this dilemma have risen to the surface during the first several weeks of the occupation. Thus we find the occupation government still doing business with "the group which proclaim themselves authentic moderates and liberals," as Mr. Roth warns our authorities might do, and getting dangerously close to becoming "the watchdogs of the Old Order and the Old Gang" in Japan. Mr. Roth's uncanny analysis of the situation, written long before the events he forecasts actually happened, reads like a well-documented history except that it is written in the future instead of the past tense. It is a monument to the intelligence of the American experts on Japan. Many so-called experts, including the Old Gang, have written copiously but often with disappointing naivete and superficiality about Japan. In sharp contrast, Mr. Roth writes with rare insight and deep understanding. He deals with the basic cause of Japan's military aggression, its economic, political, and social feudalism, and uncovers the democratic forces within Japan with which we can and must work.

Mr. Roth has rendered an important public service by showing how we may revert to our earlier occupation policy of "appeasement" and, on the other hand, how the democratic forces within Japan can be assisted and encouraged to make "a sweeping democratic transformation and a complete recasting of . . . its entire political and economic system." These forces, Mr. Roth points out, are to be found in four groups: "among small business men who seek to break the crushing hold the *Zaibatsu* and the burden of

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war-time taxation, among professionals opposed to militarism and favoring democracy and the opportunities it provides for full use of their skills, among industrial laborers seeking democracy and the opportunities for improving their living standards, and among peasants interested in throwing off the yoke of a semi-feudal and parasitic landlordism." The four groups form "a core of conscious democrats and genuine anti-militarists," and while they may not agree "on ultimate objectives or on tactics," they will nevertheless rally under one banner because "the task of reforming Japan is sufficient in scope to command the assiduous and cooperative efforts of all democrats and anti-fascists." Mr. Roth describes dramatically the past performances of these "hardy democrats," and gives us assurance that the Japanese people lack neither "forward-looking individuals" for necessary political and economic leadership nor the will for a fundamental and lasting change.

No more accurate record of Japan's "conscious democrats and genuine anti-fascists" has ever appeared in print. Indeed, Mr. Roth has contributed to the democratization of Japan by giving a voice to Japan's hardy democrats. The most amazing fact is that though he is not one of them himself, he has so much and such correct knowledge about them. This reviewer, if he may be forgiven for asserting it, counts himself one of those Japanese "who received their higher education in the twenties, when non-traditional thought was most widespread in the universities"—this was true at the college, Meiji Gakuin, whose president was none other than the Daikichiro Tagawa that Mr. Roth mentions along with Yukio Ozaki in Chapter VII.

Mr. Roth speaks for the long-suffering democratic leaders of Japan the words they have been forbidden to utter in Japan and cannot yet freely speak. And he speaks for them—for us—eloquently and sincerely. Everyone who wishes to know what "Ozaki, Tagawa, and Saito, as well as the lesser-known democrats" in Japan are thinking but are prevented from communicating because of language and other difficulties will find it in Mr. Roth's book, for he has given us the voice of liberal Japan.

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BRIEFER COMMENT

Oklahoma

OLD-TIME EDITORS of small-town papers had a success formula to the effect that you printed the names of every subscriber to your paper at least once a year. Marquis James seems to have applied this to his story of his Oklahoma boyhood, called "The Cherokee Strip" (Viking Press, $3). If he has left out the name of any man, woman, or child who was in or around Enid, Oklahoma, in the years between 1893 and 1911, said Oklahoman has a just complaint. The winner of the Pulitzer prize for his first-rate biography of Andrew Jackson has done an autobiography filled to the brim with small-town characters, about each of whom he has some anecdote, engaging, indifferent, boresome. His father's story about the famous "run" in 1893, when the section of Indian land which is the locale of this book was opened to white settlement, is a good one, and his accounts of some of the ways of the tramp printers who were always blowing in and out of the newspaper shops are faintly amusing. But a few pages of Oscar Ameringer's neglected autobiography, "If You Don't Weaken," are worth all of Mr. James's prolonged memories if you want a good picture of what the Southwest was like before it was conquered by the oil men and their pliant politicians.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

Aldous Huxley's Philosophy

MANY WISE MEN are quoted in Aldous Huxley's new book, "The Perennial Philosophy" (Harper's, $3), to show that the great religious and mystical writers of the East and the West really agreed with each other about the good life and God. One would expect this hidden unanimity to be suspected, like everything else that is too good to be true. But Mr. Huxley is without suspicion. He is not disturbed that these great authors appear to disagree with each other, nor is he perplexed by their own strong impression of disagreement. He has found a sufficient number of resemblances in their writings to persuade himself that there is a Perennial Philosophy, a phrase which he capitalizes and whose common usage to signify Thomism he ignores.

Drawing without bias or hesitation upon texts which are Buddhist, Brahman, Taoist, and Christian in inspiration, Mr. Huxley provides a mixture of quotation and comment upon such subjects as Grace and Free Will; Immortality and Survival; Time and Eternity; and Contemplation, Action, and Social Utility. These and other important matters are dealt with in from ten to twenty pages, and when the brief citation and elucidation are concluded, the reader is confronted with the tacit assumption that there is little more to be said. The significance of this consensus of opinion is neither discussed nor elucidated. What if many writers have said the same thing about many important subjects? Agreement is not proof. It is not illuminating, and it is often deceptive. Even if the doctrine which Mr. Huxley represents is "immemorial and universal," it is the doctrine as such which requires attention, not mere age, repetition, or popularity. The fact is that Mr. Huxley's perennial philosophy is at once brand-new, old-hat, and a hodge-podge in which he has put together whatever he wanted to find in his reading. The reader who knows nothing of religion or mysticism will be deceived by this book, and the reader who has some acquaintance with these difficult matters will merely be irritated.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

Sovereignty and Peace

NOTHING SHOWS more convincingly the obsessive character of the principle of self-determination than its inclusion in the Atlantic Charter despite its glaring failure as a device for implementing Wilson's Fourteen Points. It was its practical inadequacy which led Dr. Alfred Cobban to a reexamination of the theory. His penetrating analysis in "National Self-Determination" (Oxford, $4.50) may disappoint both the realists and the sentimentalists of political science. Zealots of nationalism will dislike Dr. Cobban's conclusion that "national sovereignty is irreconcilable with any solution of the fundamental problems of the modern world" and leads both to national and international disaster. But his book will find favor among those concerned with the establishment of a fair balance between the big powers and the small nations which are dependent upon them. Rejecting self-determination as an "absolute right," Dr. Cobban arrives at his ultimate conclusion after unbiased examination of three multi-national empires—the British Commonwealth, the United States, and the U. S. S. R.

This conclusion is that regions having a distinct national consciousness must be treated as the basic elements "in the pattern of European society" and that the rights of scattered minorities must be enforced. Any disinterested observer will agree with Dr. Cobban that if self-determination for small nations means suicidal economic nationalism, the less we have of it the better. But since dependence on the great powers is more absolute now than ever before, this statement somehow contradicts Dr. Cobban's view that all nations "have equal rights in economic, cultural, and spiritual well-being." Even admitting that small states enjoying material prosperity are less likely to become bones of contention between great states struggling for domination over them, the assumption of unselfishness in the great states is as unwarranted as the hope of enforcing the rights of scattered minorities. Dr. Cobban himself admits that equal sovereignty of all states might become "a barrier against consolidation of world peace," and even his scholarly book fails to offer a remedy against aggressive nationalism, which has, unfortunately, survived two world wars.

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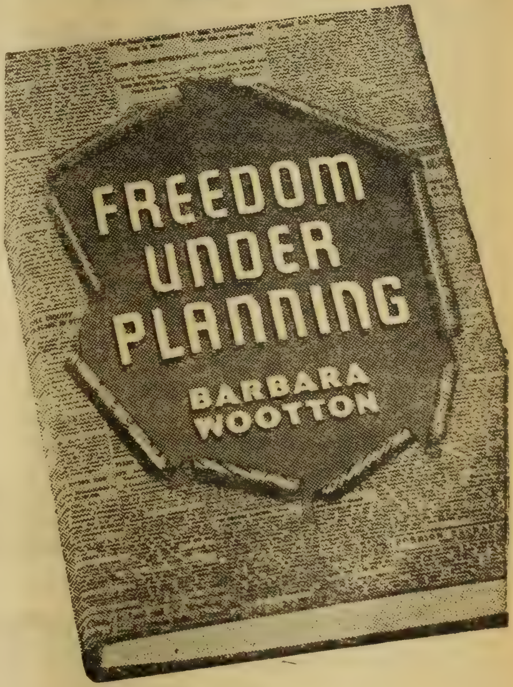
"Debunks the generalities of Hayek" — MORDECAI EZEKIEL



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The CHRISTMAS BOOK NUMBER of The Nation will be dated Dec. 1. Advertisers are already placing space reservations for this annual feature, which will be printed in 48 pages or more. Deadlines: Nov. 16 for space reservations and copy to set; Nov. 21 for final OK's and complete plates.

- BOOKS OF 1945, Margaret Marshall's selective listing, will be published on Dec. 8. Deadlines for this issue are Nov. 27 for space reservations, Nov. 30 for final OK's and plates.
- Publishers' advertising rate, $200 per page. Current circulation is running well above the 42,300 reported in the Spring ABC statement.

THE *Nation*
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Films

JAMES AGEE

EARLY in "Kiss and Tell" Shirley Temple's screen mother is horrified to find the child stepping up her sales of guest towels to soldiers, at some kind of patriotic ice-cream supper, by throwing in kisses. This is so played that one half expects the injured innocent to squawk suddenly, "But *jee*pers, Mommy, it was only for *mon*ey," and to be snatched-to-bosom and cooed over forgivingly for the quintessence of clean-limbed American nubility she is. But that would have given too quick and conscious a happy ending; the authors have hours more of the same and worse up their sleeves. There is, for instance, a lump of calf love from across the lawn who, when he is not too busy bumping into properties, expresses himself all but exclusively through several thousand exclamations of "*ho*-ly *ca*-ow!" not too mercifully varied, now and then, by "*don't* be a *dree-yup!*" There is a Horrid Little Brother whose own favorite aria is a withering "persnly I think it's all *ve*-ry *dumb.*" There is an hour or so during which the audience, pimpishly helped out by the camera, which develops an almost pathological interest in the girl's hind quarters, may tickle itself with the thought that most of the other players think that Shirley—yes, little tiny *Shir*ley—is pregnant and, for a while, even unmarried. There is a plot held together only through the enormous stupidity, cowardice, and mean-heartedness of as ugly a bunch of suburban parents as have never yet got themselves done up brown, in any treatment worthy of them. It is all brilliantly characteristic of the worst anyone could think of American family life, and it is all clearly presented on the assumption that you will find it charming, and sympathetic, and funny, because everyone in it is so exactly like you. I like Shirley Temple, and I rather like this movie, but I can't accept a foot of it, I'm afraid, in quite the spirit it is offered in.

"Blithe Spirit." Noel Coward's smooth color production of his play about the ghostly wife who returns to make mischief with the kind of second marriage generally insisted on in the dangerous words "perfectly happy." The ghost, who faintly suggests a *bidet* out of repair, is very entertaining. Whenever Margaret Rutherford is on screen, as the medium who starts and tries to control the trouble, the picture is wonderfully funny.

"And Then There Were None." René Clair–Dudley Nichols version of the Agatha Christie round-robin. Might better have been played for fear as much as for taste and laughs. Skilful cast, stretches of pretty Clair adroitness; almost devoid of feeling; a smooth, cold, amusing show.

"Duffy's Tavern." The radio characters and a variety show including everyone in Paramount—except maybe Y. Frank Freeman—who was not overseas, in hiding, or out to lunch. Most of their turns are about as incisive as a Mozart sonata played through a catcher's mitt; but Ed Gardner and Victor Moore are very likable and sometimes quite funny.

"Paris Underground." Constance Bennett production of the Etta Shiber novel about two women who helped innumerable grounded airmen get back to England. Good performance by Bennett except in any attempt to portray actions requiring a heart. Excellent performance by Gracie Fields. Otherwise mainly trash, involving enough handsome young men, in various postures of gallant gratitude, to satisfy Mae West in her prime.

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

VICTOR HERBERT'S "The Red Mill" is hardly a classic, and reviving it is not exactly a cultural duty. Nevertheless, Miss Paula Stone, daughter of the star comedian in the original production, has brought it from the West Coast for an eight weeks' stay at the Ziegfeld, and I imagine that her motives are simple. Actuary statistics show that the average life span is considerably longer than it used to be, and there are undoubtedly still extant a considerable number of people who, like the present writer, remember "The Red Mill" as among the first musical comedies they ever saw. Youngsters who get taken along to the revival will probably not, as a result, be more inclined to listen with conviction to stories of the good old days, but the nostalgic—if I may use the copywriter's favorite word—will probably have a good time. And for them "The Red Mill" is not a bad choice.

In plot and atmosphere and musical style it is enough like some dozens of other operettas of the same epoch to serve a generalized purpose. Few persons now between the ages of forty-five and eighty can have failed to see in their youth something enough like it to prepare them for a *recherche du temps perdu*. In fact, most of them may be pardoned if they remain not certain whether they ever actually saw "The Red Mill" or only the same thing under several other names. In the revival some of the dancing is in a manner considerably less simple than anything known on the popular stage of 1906, but otherwise few attempts have been made at that modernization which seldom succeeds in accomplishing anything except the destruction of whatever authentic style the original may have had.

Henry Blossom's standard book, with its scene laid in picturesque Holland and its story of the burgomaster's pretty daughter doomed to marry the bigwig of a neighboring village, is relentlessly followed. Dorothy Stone plays the skirt-tossing ingenue of the period in strictly traditional fashion, and the inevitable chorus of merry village maidens starts the proceedings with the inevitable gleeful song about the holiday which has just been proclaimed. As for the rest of the score, it contains, despite long stretches of eminently forgettable filler, three or four of Herbert's better tunes, still familiar to all who occasionally eat where a string ensemble discourses discreet "dinner music"; and they are really good tunes even though each is in a long-consecrated genre — namely, the comic song "In Old New York," the romantic duet, "Because You're You," and the march song, "Every Day Is Ladies' Day with Me," the last inevitably sung in a dashing uniform and fitted out with a male chorus. If "The Red Mill" is taken as evidence, it will leave the argument concerning the good old days versus the modern still in the state where there is something to be said on both sides. Forty years from now "Oklahoma!" will almost certainly seem a good deal better than the Herbert-Blossom opus does today. On the other hand, I doubt that even the rather better than run-of-the-mill contemporary musical comedies will stand up one bit better.

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The "Ladies' Day" song is very well sung by a newcomer to Broadway named Edward Dew, and a word should be said for Eddie Foy, Jr., who knows the tricks of the low comedian's trade as they are almost never known except by those who began to learn them in infancy. As chief comedian he has very nearly nothing to work with, and he fills the part out with standard steps and gestures and tumbles, every one of which is as old as the hills but most of which still get laughs when they are expertly performed.

Dance

B. H. HAGGIN

WHEN I said there had been occasion to observe that not only composers but choreographers and even dancers can have a facility in the use of their medium which enables them to go through the motions of artistic creation without having what it takes to achieve genuine artistic communication, I was thinking, in the first place, of Todd Bolender's "Comedia Balletica," which the Monte Carlo Ballet Russe has added to its repertory, and in which the given space and time is filled in with movements that convey nothing but the ability to fill a given space and time with movements. And I was thinking, in the second place, of Danielian's performance in the Monte Carlo revival of "L'Après-midi d'un faune." Any pianist with finger facility can make some effect with the cascades of sounds of a Liszt Etude; but it takes a great artist to inflect a Mozart melody. Similarly, a dancer with agility can fling himself around the stage and fill the air with leaps and turns; but it takes what the great dancer has—the inner force that projects itself through his slightest gesture, even his motionless presence—to give effect to the few simple and quiet movements of the Faun. Danielian's agility has covered his lack of that force, which is now glaringly revealed by his ineffectual movements in "L'Après-midi d'un faune"; and the piece has nothing of the power it has had in some past performances.

For the rest the Monte Carlo persists with "Red Poppy" and "Scheherazade," and without all the first-rank dancers it needs for all its first-rank parts—the result being that along with such glories as the classic ballets danced by Danilova and Franklin it continues to offer classic *pas de deux* badly danced by Krassovaka and Danielian, a "Beau Danube" that gets worse and worse with the new vulgarities that Danielian has added to his old violence, and with Danilova's lack of stamina (to say nothing of the colors of the replaced costumes).

I should mention the secure musical foundations for the dancing provided by Balaban's work with the orchestra; the somewhat shaky ones provided by Boutnikoff.

The Metropolitan's recent "Marriage of Figaro" has been one of the finest productions in its history, and Eleanor Steber's Countess one of the outstanding things in the production. Victor now offers her singing of *Porgi amor* and *Dove sono* (11-8850; $1); and I am happy to report that it is as beautiful on the record as in the opera house: the voice is as lovely, the phrasing as musical. What I am unhappy about is the orchestral contexts. And the easiest way to describe what I find wrong with them is to describe what I find right in the ones that Fritz Busch provides in the Glyndebourne recording—their relaxed pace, their refined and sensitive execution, and their integration with the vocal part. Last year I mentioned the bad effect of Leinsdorf's hurried, driving treatment of the opera when he took it over at the Metropolitan in Bruno Walter's absence; now again on the record he takes *Dove sono* at a pace too fast for its character and effect; and in addition the excellent players do no more than play their notes—with no refinement of tone, or grace, or subtlety of inflection, and above all with no relation to the line of Steber's phrasing. Moreover, the sound of the orchestra is made harsh by the recording.

The rest of Victor's October list is far less distinguished; and only two items call for discussion here. One is an album of music from "Carmen" recorded by Stokowski with the New York City Symphony (Set 1002; $4.50). The excerpts are the Prelude and Entr'actes, the Changing of the Guard, and the Chanson Bohême recorded by Beecham in the Columbia set, with the Smugglers' March, Stokowskian transcriptions of Micaela's aria and the Habanera, and the Minuet and Farandole from the "L'Arlésienne" Suite. The performances document Stokowski's further deterioration as a musician, which one had thought could not go any further: for a long time now he has not played music but played with it; until now the play has been with sonority and pace; now it is with phrasing, and one listens openmouthed to the excessive and perverse inflections and accents that he inflicts on the music. The performances are recorded with spaciousness and distinctness; but the reverberation of the empty hall has bad effects. It is regrettable that the performances have been recorded and issued at all; but it will be even more deplorable if they replace the ones that Stokowski recorded with the Philadelphia Orchestra many years ago.

Then there is the single record (11-8826; $1) with the Polonaise *Je suis Titania* from "Mignon" and the Hymn to the Sun from "Le Coq d'or," sung by Patricia Munsel. It is almost two years since I heard her sing the Polonaise in a broadcast of "Mignon" from the Metropolitan; and the bright, steady, clear tones that she produced with ease and security on that occasion left me completely unprepared for what came off the record now. If I were Miss Munsel I would, if necessary, have paid Victor back the cost of the record to keep it from being issued; and I would have stopped singing in public until I had found out how not to produce this tremolo-ridden shrieking.

I will discuss Victor's new plastic record next week.

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Letters to the Editors

America's Duty

Dear Sirs: Earl G. Harrison says, and I. F. Stone echoes him approvingly, that, because of anti-Semitism and xenophobia in all places, including America, but Palestine, the Jews have only Palestine as a possible refuge. Will they find neither anti-Semitism nor xenophobia there? It seems to me cowardice and hypocrisy for us to demand that another country be hospitable, yet not to demand it of our own. To justify the appeal made to Britain, our government ought openly to say that we will facilitate immigration, especially of the persecuted and the homeless, as far as our laws allow. And more, every man who pretends to hate Nazism should accord to the Jew in America completely equal rights of residence, of education, of employment.

EDWARD S. ALLEN

Ames, Iowa, October 9

"Fan Her Head!"

Dear Sirs: "We want democracy," said the Red Queen.

"But a revolution starts with a minority," said Alice.

"A revolution is always wrong," said the Red Queen, "until it succeeds and then it—"

"So," said Alice, "that's why the anti-fascists are now asked to keep quiet."

"Certainly," said the Red Queen. "All revolutions are wicked unless they succeed and then they are democratic and the fascists must be permitted to vote."

"But," said Alice—

JOHN BUCHANAN

Berwick, Nova Scotia, October 8

Penny-Mindedness

Dear Sirs: It is humiliating to read the protests of Senator Taft and other reactionaries against President Truman's proposal to wipe the Lend-Lease slate clean, on the ground that we are throwing away our "bargaining position" with Great Britain.

Now that we have delivered a resounding kick in the teeth to Great Britain by terminating Lend-Lease in the most ungenerous and ungracious way possible, are we to follow it up by beating our ally over the head with the bludgeon of a penny-by-penny accounting? We did our best and gave our utmost: so did the British, and for an extra two long years. Isn't that enough?

What do any of our allies have that we want and that we must extract from them by such strong-arm tactics? If we have learned anything from the last few years, it should be that what we most want from our allies is their continued friendship and trust. There are hard years ahead for all of us, and we shall not make them any easier by exercising a strangle-hold on the windpipes of our friends.

Let's stop talking and acting like a bunch of shyster lawyers and shifty-eyed horse traders, and behave like men. We American soldiers who have been stationed in England have tried to act like men, and we like to think that we have gained the friendship and respect of the English people. We don't sneak up behind our friends when they are resting in the pub from a long day in the fields with the knowledge of a very scanty supper ahead of them and sock them behind the ear. Let's have a little less loud talk from Washington about the American way of life and a little better demonstration of it in practice.

SGT. JOHN T. APPPLEBY,
U. S. A. A. F.

The Austrian Maquis

Dear Sirs: "Service Man's" letter about Austria in your October 6 issue seems to me to demonstrate in every line where and why and how AMG is making a hopeless mess of governing the liberated territories of Europe. He, like the vast majority of other Americans in uniform over there, is scarcely acquainted with European history (which is in great part the fault of the American method of schooling), and has no interest in informing himself. He states that he finds "the Austrians more disgusting than the Germans" because—among other things—they "heiled Hitler and continued doing so during the Anschluss." Perhaps the following lines written to me recently by my husband, an officer in the American army, may suggest to "Service Man" that he has a very great deal to learn about the people in whose country he is at present stationed.

But no matter what happens in the future to Austria, my memories of these days will always be tragic ones. So many Austrians died in the cause for which we all fought, and so many of them suffered, and I can still see the agony in their eyes—not from hunger and poverty, which they had experienced too, but agony that they should be treated as enemies. You must understand if I want to stay here for a while longer and do what I can. . . . I am writing a report on the whole Austrian resistance movement in my spare time. Something has got to be done to make the world realize the difference, the difficulties, the undescribable hardships of the Austrian Maquis in comparison with the Maquis in any other country of Europe. The French, may it be said to their everlasting honor, are wonderful about Austria. Only those who have suffered as Austria did have any understanding of what she has been through.

KAY BOYLE

New York, October 4

The A. V. C.

Dear Sirs: Although your articles on the subject of veterans have been generally good, I have never seen a complete article done on the subject of veterans' organizations. Because this subject is of such obvious importance, it seems to me that you are overlooking an opportunity to do complete justice to a new group, the American Veterans' Committee, that stands for the principles and ideals you proclaim.

I am a member of this organization and have been fortunate enough to be present at the founding of three local chapters in Indiana. The task has been no easy one because the older organizations completely dominate the scene.

How completely successful they have been in influencing public officials and even the general public is well illustrated in Highland Park, Ill. There, it seems, the American Legion has almost succeeded in its proposal to make the war memorial for that town an enlargement to the American Legion Post.

We of A. V. C. need the support and cooperation of all liberals. *The Nation* could do its part in an article setting forth the aims of all the groups and allowing public opinion to judge which was most entitled to support.

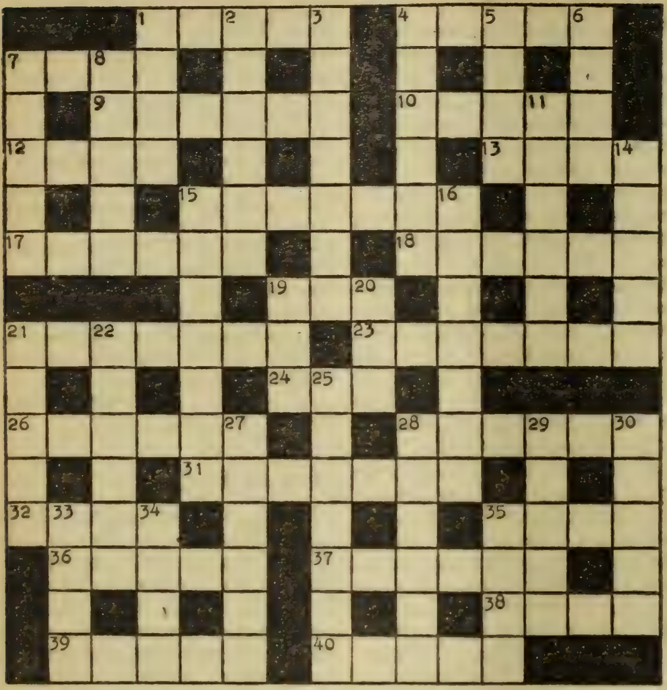
MURRAY SILBERSTEIN

Naval Armory,
Michigan City, Indiana, October 16

[We share the writer's enthusiasm for the A. V. C. His suggestion for a broad review of veterans' organizations is a good one. --EDITORS THE NATION.]

Crossword Puzzle No. 132

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Come to tea
4 Rowland Hill wondered why *he* should have all the good times?
7 Expectancy
9 An outside rise
10 A darn job it is to make this
12 "The Garden of England"
13 Putting your foot in it is one way of getting a hearing
15 Moves uneasily
17 "Many a mickle makes a ------" (Scots proverb)
18 Sovereign's due
19 Weapon
21 Null, am I? (anag.)
23 She only paints for the purpose of make-up
24 It's worth 100,000 rupees
26 Shakespeare and Schubert joined in asking who she was
28 The best wool
31 Little lumps
32 It's no longer called a hautboy
35 It was formerly Christiana
36 Evidently still for rent
37 The repetition of a song
38 Feminine name
39 The water is under this vessel
40 Stolen by the Knave of Hearts in "Alice"

DOWN

1 Sure thing
2 A No. 5 iron to the golfer
3 This bird has swallowed a nag! No wonder it's scarlet!
4 Hatred (anag.)
5 Contended
6 Famous Italian bathing beach
7 Theatrical nonsense (slang)
8 Sudden fright for which there's no visible cause
11 Damson (anag.)
14 An old magistrate
15 A French politician in Finland
16 Attacks on the besiegers by the besieged
19 Every one of us
20 It is put to the proof
21 Lariat
22 Ranks next to Shakespeare in English literature
25 I am bent, but still going 'round
27 The South wind
28 An old tradesman
29 Dramatist whose statue will be found at 35 Across
30 Egg-shaped
33 He wins the toss
34 Dash
35 Found in a forest but not in a wood

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 131

ACROSS:—1 BACKGAMMON; 6 OURS; 10 DULLARD; 11 DIARIST; 12 LIFEBUOY; 13 TRILL; 15 ORGAN; 17 MASEFIELD; 19 BRIC-A-BRAC; 21 ELBOW; 23 SONGS; 24 SPANGLES; 27 INTERNS; 28 ELYSIUM; 29 NOSE; 30 MORTGAGEES.

DOWN:—1 BODY; 2 CALLING; 3 GRAVE; 4 MIDSUMMER; 5 ODDLY; 7 UTILIZE; 8 SETTLE DOWN; 9 TARTUFFE; 14 COMBUSTION; 16 NOAH'S ARK; 18 SACRAMENT; 20 IGNITES; 22 BEEHIVE; 24 SISCO; 25 GAYDA; 26 EMUS.

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THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

PRESIDENT TRUMAN HAD A MAGNIFICENT chance on Navy Day to reassert this nation's leadership in world affairs. Less than a mile from where he stood a great battle fleet lay at anchor in the Hudson River. It was fitting that the Commander-in-Chief should pay tribute to the naval might and the courage and skill that so largely contributed to victory. And just because we are strong and because we have no immediate cause to fear an enemy it hardly seemed necessary to shake our armed might in the world's face. The President was in a position, in fact, to declare that the national security of any nation in the future can rest only in a strong international organization. Instead, he repeated with vehement protestations the anachronistic folklore of national security so beloved by the brass hats, who appear to have slept through the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Mr. Truman's restatement of American foreign policy was noble but strangely unconvincing. He presented the United States as a cross between Theodore Roosevelt and St. Francis of Assisi. Throughout the twelve-point declaration ran a tone of self-righteousness, a smug superiority to the "lesser breeds without the law." From this attitude it is but a short step back to isolationism—a short step forward to imperialism. Almost as an afterthought the program made obeisance to a United Nations organization. But in view of the whole tenor of the speech, it seems hardly likely that Englishmen, Russians, Greeks, Hungarians, Indonesians—or even Americans—will interpret Point 12 as a realistic commitment to a world organization that will place limits on the sovereign rights of aggression and guarantee the freedom and security of all peoples—including the American people.

*

THE ADEQUATE CONTROL OF ATOMIC ENERGY continues to hold the chief focus of national discussion. The Senate has sensibly passed the McMahon bill and has named its author, Senator Brien McMahon, chairman of an eleven-man committee to investigate the whole field of atomic-power control. The House Military Affairs Committee, it is to be hoped, is meanwhile extracting some of the most noxious venom from the May-Johnson bill. Outside Congress, Albert Einstein, in an interview with Raymond Swing that appeared in the November *Atlantic,* urged that the atomic bomb be intrusted to a world government with full military powers set up by the United States, Great Britain, and Russia. His hesitation to turn over the bomb now to the United Nations Security Council or share the "secret" with Russia clearly stemmed from a sharp appreciation of the sorry state of international confidence. But Dr. Einstein, alas, evaded the central issue. It is easy to say "world government"; it is hard to dispel the distrust between ourselves and Great Britain and Russia that has bedeviled all recent attempts to reach understanding. Let us assert it again: what is needed without delay is a new Big Three Conference to break the log-jam of international suspicion. It must take place well in advance of the first meeting of the United Nations Assembly, scheduled to be held January 2.

*

A SLY, ARISTOCRATIC, HYPOCHONDRIAC PRINCE, Fumimaro Konoye, has emerged as the joint nominee of Emperor Hirohito and General MacArthur for the very strategic task of revising the Japanese constitution. Sixty years ago another prince wrote the present one as a means of forestalling popular demands for liberty and produced a political strait-jacket which has bound Japan to this day. It is not surprising that Konoye should get the Emperor's nod, for he is the most skilful defender of the ruling oligarchy in present-day Japan. He is an intimate of the Emperor and closely linked with the *Zaibatsu* and was, when it was more fashionable, friendly to army extremists. He took Japan into the war against China, suppressed anti-fascists, and organized the totalitarian Imperial Rule Assistance Association. He helped to prepare a smoke screen for the attack on Pearl Harbor by persuading our gullible ambassador, Joseph Grew, that General Tojo was really rather a good sort. General MacArthur's indorsement of him at this late date is a warning that, despite some excellent directives from Washington, a strong hangover of our former Grewsome policy still persists.

*

PLAYING POLITICS WITH FUNDS FOR RELIEF is no game for this hour of the world's need. Yet this seems to be the purpose of several amendments proposed in connection with the $550,000,000 appropriation asked for UNRRA. The most moderate is Representative Herter's proposal that no part of the appropriation shall be used in any country unable to certify, among other things, that press representatives "will be granted full liberty to observe and report upon the distribution and utilization of relief and rehabilitation supplies and services." The most extreme—and absurd—is Representative Brown's proposal to forbid the use of American funds in any country that interferes with the freedom of the press or imposes any censorship upon information in time of peace. Either of these amendments would bar UNRRA aid to the Philippines because General MacArthur has imposed press limitations there. Undoubtedly the proposals will get ardent support on the House floor; vocal devotion to press freedom is an easy avenue to publicity. The resultant delay in voting funds may have disastrous effects. The sum requested represents simply the balance of the $1,350,000,000 pledged to the international organization by Congress. It is urgently needed now for the purchase of food and other supplies. With a desperate winter approaching, it would be tragic if a break develops in the pipeline of aid to the liberated peoples of the world.

*

ALTHOUGH "KING" RYAN WAS SUCCESSFUL IN forcing the striking members of his International Longshoremen's Association back to work, his grip on the union, which he has ruled autocratically for so long, has clearly weakened. By skilful use of the "red" issue, reinforced by more direct methods, he achieved a split in the insurgents' ranks, two of whose leaders recanted after being beaten up. But the spirit of revolt against his leadership has not been crushed, as the longshoremen showed when they rejected by a huge majority the new contract he had negotiated. Ryan and the New York Shipping Association then agreed to submit disputed issues to arbitration. This move, however, is likely to be blocked by a court order won by the insurgent group, which restrains Ryan from entering into any agreement with the employers pending formal trial of charges that his conduct of the union has violated its constitution. Consequently, there is renewed hope of a public airing of the murky internal affairs of the I. L. A. Believing that the issues involved in this case are of far more than local interest, *The Nation* has assigned an experienced investigator to study the situation on New York's waterfront. The first of his reports will be published shortly.

*

THE SETTLEMENT THAT ENDED THE STRIKE IN the motion-picture industry represents a complete victory for, and vindication of, the position taken by the Conference of Studio Unions. The contracts of these unions will be reinstated and all striking members returned to their jobs as of the date the dispute started. Recognition of the Set Decorators' Union follows as a matter of course from its recent certification by the National Labor Relations Board, and a procedure has now been established with the American Federation of Labor for the settlement of so-called jurisdictional disputes in the motion-picture industry. All this represents a decided setback for the International Alliance of Theatrical and Stage Employees (I. A. T. S. E.), whose dictatorial methods started the trouble. Thus *The Nation's* prediction of ultimate victory, made at the start of the strike, has been fulfilled. Under the honest and courageous leadership of Herbert Sorrell, the 7,000 members of the fourteen unions on strike waged a fight with few parallels in recent labor history. For thirty-three weeks they held out in the face of extreme violence by goons, thugs, and employer-minded police and of mass arrests. To continue a struggle of this kind, not for a matter of wages and hours, but for a principle—the right of men to belong to a union of their own choice—shows an understanding and integrity which the whole labor movement should salute.

*

THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES may be abolished as a result of a petition filed in the House by Representative Patterson of California. The committee's request for the scripts of eight liberal radio commentators has made it clear that the new Rankin-dominated body is no less a menace to American civil rights than was its predecessor, the Dies committee. As Raymond Swing has pointed out, the committee's action could have only one motive—a desire to restrict freedom of criticism on the American radio. While the committee may be powerless to censor radio scripts directly, the mere request to see them might intimidate commentators and their sponsors. Similarly, the current inquisition at Hollywood seems to be aimed at preventing producers and players from using the movies as a vehicle for political enlightenment. Nothing can justify its continued existence.

Are We Planning War?

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S message to Congress on universal military training is an elaborate argument for that curiously outdated guaranty of national security. The proposal, as he discussed it, must be examined on two counts: Does it contribute materially to national defense? What does it portend for the foreign policy of the United States?

1. Will universal military training contribute materially to national defense? Our answer is no. The President said he was concerned with "a long-range program of national military security for the United States." As "one essential part of this program" he offered a post-war military organization containing three elements—a "comparatively small" army, navy, and marine corps, a "greatly strengthened" reserve, and "a general reserve composed of all the male citizens of the United States who have received training." This is a plan designed to win the last war, not the next.

It is not necessary to stress the disingenuous parts of the President's message. He said that trainees "would be no closer to membership in the armed forces than if they had no training," and in the next breath points out that "the emphasis in the training . . . will be on the use of all the instruments and weapons of modern warfare." One wonders what "membership in the armed forces" consists in.

Mr. Truman said: "If attack should come again, there would be no time under conditions of modern war to develop that latent strength [of our untrained citizenry] into the necessary fighting force." He added: "Never again can we count on the luxury of time with which to arm ourselves. In any future war the heart of the United States would be the enemy's first target. Our geographical security is now gone—gone with the advent of the robot bomb, the rocket, aircraft carriers, and the modern air-borne armies."

We believe this to be a correct view of a future war. But if this is true, what security does a "general reserve" provide? What battlefield do "the robot bomb, the rocket, . . . and the modern air-borne armies" offer a "general reserve"? Where is this reserve to fight? What time will it have in which to be mustered, equipped, and transported overseas to cut off at the source the hail of rockets, the stream of air-borne armies?

The President offered a half-answer to these questions when he said: "Modern war is fought by experts—from the atomic scientist in his laboratory to the fighting man with his intricate modern weapons. The day of the Minute Man who sprang to the flintlock hanging on his wall is over. Now it takes many months for men to become skilled in electronics, aeronautics, ballistics, meteorology, and all the other sciences of modern war. If another national emergency should come, there would be no time for this complicated training. Men must be trained in advance."

This is a half-answer that begs the main question of military training. Can a year of such training give men this kind of knowledge? And even assuming this to be possible, can men trained in a year to handle the new tools of war come back in three years or six to prepare to use the weapons developed in the meantime by modern technology?

All these questions must be answered in the negative. And because they cannot be answered affirmatively, the President posed an irrelevant set of alternatives when he said, "We can maintain a large standing army, navy, and air force. Or we can rely upon a comparatively small regular army, navy, and air force, supported by well-trained citizens who in time of emergency could be quickly mobilized."

These are not the alternatives. The alternatives are: we can belatedly build up the sort of military establishment which was useful in the past, or we can plan a military establishment appropriate to the future—a highly trained professional force which is kept up to date through worldwide intelligence on atomic energy and its applications, and on all scientific developments in the fields of electronics, aeronautics, rocket propulsion, and the tactical handling of air-borne armies.

These are not toys which drafted boys can play with for a year and then forget in the hurly-burly of going to college or making a living. If it is true that "only might can assure peace," universal military training is no longer a policy capable of providing the kind of might needed in the atomic age. It is, in fact, the policy most likely to contribute to a decline of the might which is needed. The gravest danger we see in the universal-military-training proposal is that it will engender a sense of false security in this country, and in the Congress which must pass its laws.

2. Mr. Truman's proposal carries serious implications for America's foreign policy, which were not disposed of by his Navy Day address.

We cannot believe that the President's military and foreign-affairs advisers are ignorant of the implications of atomic energy and other developments in the field of technological warfare, even though the President himself has apparently been protected from hearing of these immediate scientific probabilities by the administrators who wish to control their application and keep the public in the dark. We can only assume that the Administration and the high command expect another war within five years and that they believe that war will be fought with Russia.

Only on the basis of this expectation can the insistence upon universal military training be explained. For if there is to be war in five years, it is probable that the Soviet Union will not have been able to produce atomic explosives in significant quantities; the war may not be fought on lines radically dissimilar from the last war, and universal military training may indeed help us win.

We realize that this sounds like sensationalism of the worst sort. We submit that it is simply another way of saying what the unsensational Walter Lippmann said in his column last Thursday:

> During the dangerous and difficult years which lie ahead of us—the years when the world must be pacified in order that there may eventually be peace—our own influence in the world will be directly related to our actual and immediate—not our potential and eventual power. In these dan-

gerous years the paramount question will be whether or not a new combination is to be formed for the purpose of making still another attempt to overthrow the civilized order to which we belong, of which we are a principal defender. It is the task of diplomacy, acting through the United Nations Organization and through our alliances, to deal with such a new combination at the first sign that it is being formed. If we are well armed, diplomacy can do this without resorting to arms. If we are disarmed, our verbal protests will be disregarded, and in the end we shall have to fight.

There could be no clearer exposition of the bankruptcy of twentieth-century nationalistic foreign policy, that two-faced policy which attempts simultaneously and hopelessly to achieve national security through the mutually contradictory methods of unilateral action and international cooperation. On the one hand, the sovereign states ratify the United Nations charter and declare that the reign of international law has at last arrived. On the other hand, the sovereign states act on the assumption that the charter embodies no law, that it is alliances and arms rather than organization that count. They move quickly to occupy the ground from which to defend their sovereignty and national self-interest. This two-faced policy will inevitably degenerate into the single policy of the armaments race, and we shall have war.

For the Congress to pass a universal military training act now would be to foreclose the issue. The issue need not be foreclosed so soon: nothing would be lost and much would be gained by delaying the decision for two years. Therefore we urge the postponing of the vote, while citizens and scientists and Congressmen alike most prayerfully consider the true alternatives: no more wars or one more war, world law or world ruin.

G. M. Wants a Strike

ON NOVEMBER 5 a Labor-Management Conference will begin discussions in Washington of a carefully prepared agenda, devoted solely to the problem of improving industrial relations and minimizing strife.

About the same time the General Motors Corporation is expected to issue its answer to the case put forward by the United Automobile Workers for a 30 per cent rise in hourly wage rates. There is every indication that it will be a flat rejection, and as a result the Washington conference to promote industrial peace may very well be disturbed by the din of a pitched battle between our largest union and our richest and most powerful corporation.

Walter P. Reuther, the union's spokesman, has declared, however, that every possibility of reaching a settlement will be exhausted before a strike is called. To this end negotiations are being continued despite the fact that management representatives are so indifferent that they read newspapers while Reuther and his colleagues present their arguments.

This is only one of many signs that General Motors is not merely ready for a battle but even anxious to provoke one. H. W. Anderson, vice-president of the company and its chief negotiator, has indeed asserted that charges to this effect are absolutely ridiculous. But Ralph Hendershot, financial editor of the New York *World-Telegram*, whom none will accuse of enmity toward business, wrote on October 24: "Motor management's unofficial position is that if there must be war with labor, now is the time to have it. The public is not only short of cars but is counting on the automobile industry to provide a large portion of the nation's post-war jobs. Consequently it will take a much keener interest in the issues at stake than ordinarily." Mr. Hendershot might have cited an even more potent argument for war now from the corporations' point of view. It is that any losses a strike this year may involve will be offset by a reduction of taxes on excess profits accumulated before V-J Day. In fact, with the excess-profits tax due to lapse, there is a lot to be said from the profits angle for delaying reconversion until 1946.

The belligerent attitude of the General Motors management is also illustrated by a letter sent to its employees, which, although negotiations were still in progress, assumed that a strike was inevitable and warned the struggle would probably be prolonged. Finally, we have to take into consideration a long statement issued to the press by Charles E. Wilson, president of the company, declaring that if prices of cars are not raised, automobile workers will have to swallow a 23 per cent cut in take-home pay. There was only one other alternative, he suggested, and that was an amendment to the Wage-and-Hour law making the legal work-week forty-five hours instead of forty.

This request to Congress to dilute labor standards seems to have impressed a lot of editorial writers by its sheer arrogance. At any rate they failed to see that as a solution for the present wage controversy it is 100 per cent phony *unless G. M. and other corporations are prepared to guarantee forty-eight hours' work weekly for the period of their union contracts.* If they are, this would leave take-home pay at its war-time level and make current negotiations much easier. If they aren't, the Wilson plan is simply one for getting more labor for less money.

No General Motors spokesmen have yet attempted to refute in detail the U. A. W.'s claim that its wage demands can be met without raising prices. Careful studies by the union's research staff indicate that on the basis of a 50 per cent increase in output over 1941 next year—G. M. is planning a 70 per cent increase—it would be possible to pay higher wages, cut prices, and still leave shareholders bigger profits than they have ever known. There may be something wrong with these calculations, but if so, it is up to the company to demonstrate it. Management can no longer be allowed to take G. M.'s attitude that profits are solely the concern of the management and stockholders, and cannot be discussed with the union.

Prices, wages, and profits are all bound together, and the public cannot judge what prices and wages are fair if denied information about profits. On October 30, before this issue appears, the President is expected to announce a new wage-price policy, and on the basis of recent studies by government economists to give his support to moderate wage increases coupled with the general maintenance of price ceilings. Business will undoubtedly howl, but it better be warned now that the public will not be impressed unless it proves its case with facts and figures. The kind of propaganda General Motors has been pouring forth to pin responsibility for a strike on the workers might have been good enough in the twenties; today the corporation has got to answer the union's case fully or lose out in the court of public opinion.

Poulos and Palestine

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

CONSTANTINE POULOS, author of the remarkable article on Greece in this issue of *The Nation,* was thrown out of Palestine last week. He was thrown out by Major General B. F. Giles, United States Middle East commander, on the demand of the British authorities. The incident is instructive. It reveals, in microcosm, almost everything that is wrong with British-American foreign policy.

As correspondent for the Overseas News Agency Poulos has written some of the best stories to come out of Eastern Europe. He got into Greece before the first British contingents landed and lived with the guerrillas. Since the liberation of the Balkans he has spent months in Bulgaria; indeed, he sent dispatches out of that country while the newspapers were reporting that it was still barred to American correspondents.* Poulos has made a name for himself in this war for courage, enterprise, and honesty. In addition to these qualities he has one which is rarer among correspondents: he is a man with political understanding. He knows—and explains—what events mean.

And that is why Poulos was thrown out of Palestine.

In an article published in *The Nation* last December Poulos told the story of Britain's maneuvers to smash the left-resistance movement in Greece. As the first full report to appear in America, it attracted much attention. The article which appears in this issue will, I believe, make an equally deep impression, for Poulos shows, almost a year later, how successful the British effort has been. Greek freedom is crushed; its champions are dispersed; the country is hungry and dangerously demoralized. Rex Leeper, the British ambassador, pursues the same tactics under the Labor government that he introduced under Churchill. America's representatives still obediently follow the Foreign Office line. This is known as continuity in foreign policy.

But one must not become cynical. As Poulos points out, Mr. Leeper and Mr. McVeagh and Mr. Bevin and Mr. Byrnes are firmly insisting on early elections in Greece; free elections; supervised elections; elections with the left forces effectively atomized, the people's movement crushed, and thousands of political prisoners (men who fought on our side) safely stored in jail. This is known as democracy in foreign policy.

Constantine Poulos went to Palestine, and in his first dispatch, published in the New York *Post* on October 24, he said, "Palestine in October, 1945, is reminiscent of Greece in October, 1944." He described the atmosphere of tension, daily recharged by wild rumors and made-up tales of terrorism in the local reactionary press. And he predicted that soon British intervention would be found necessary, both to "establish law and order" and to "prevent massacres"—as in Greece.

It was after this single dispatch that Poulos's permit to visit Palestine was revoked by the Middle East command.

Before this article is read, an agreement on a common policy for Palestine between Britain and the United States will probably have been announced. Whatever its terms may be, I have little doubt that the United States will offer to share responsibility with Britain for working out and enforcing them. Clearly the British have a right to demand that we do more than give advice on the administration of the Middle East.

But American participation will not automatically insure a more courageous, decent policy. Formally we are jointly responsible for Allied policy in Greece and in Italy; in practice, as Poulos has shown, the policy is British. In Palestine we may merely find ourselves used as a cover for a slightly modified policy of Arab appeasement. This is the role we have cheerfully played in Syria and Lebanon.

America is profoundly committed to support of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. Our policy was first announced by President Wilson in 1919 and has been repeated by every President since then; it was indorsed in a resolution unanimously adopted by Congress in 1922 and embodied in the United States-British convention on Palestine ratified by the Senate in 1925. Never have we receded from this position: Indeed, it was stated with explicit emphasis in both party platforms in 1944 and restated by President Roosevelt last October. America is committed. But today, when the surviving, homeless fragments of Europe's Jewish community are clamoring for admission to Palestine, a curious and new note has crept into official statements in Washington. We are sorry for Europe's Jews, certainly: but it is one thing to care decently for the survivors, to find places of refuge for them, in Palestine if possible, or indeed almost anywhere except in America; it is another to follow a policy which will create difficulties with the Arabs.

The exchange of letters between Ibn Saud and President Roosevelt sounded the new note too clearly to be misinterpreted; even if the President believed that his promise of consultations with the Arabs implied no retreat from his pledged policy, it carried that implication to the Arab leaders and stiffened their resistance. And the reiteration of his words by Secretary Byrnes has had the same effect. Since then they have redoubled their threats and stepped up their demands. They now not only warn us that war will follow any attempt to set up a Jewish state in Palestine, but worse —much worse because much more convincing—they threaten to refuse the oil and refinery agreements now under negotiation with American firms. And in this threat one can discern a reason both for the new willingness of the United States to share with Britain the control of policy in the Middle East and the new note of compromise which has crept into our pronouncements on Palestine.

Next week we shall know better whether these ugly suspicions are justified: but meanwhile it is significant that a correspondent of the caliber of Constantine Poulos has been expelled from Palestine by joint action of the British and American commands. Significant, and extremely stupid. For it offers convincing proof that the situation in that unhappy fragment of western Asia will not bear the scrutiny of a man who knows how to look behind the press releases.

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* His article, Bulgaria from the Inside, appeared in *The Nation* for June 23.

Greek Tragedy, 1945

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

Athens, October 13

IT IS very depressing to revisit Greece one year after its liberation. The tragedy is deep and overpowering.

Greece today is a country to which the fascist ministers and financial backers of Dictator John Metaxas can return in safety and resume their brutal exploitation of the Greek people; it is a country where the people are so hungry that last month when the liner Gripsholm brought these fascists back from the United States, where they had been living in luxury, men in little boats fought viciously over the garbage dumped by the ship in the harbor of Piraeus.

There is gaiety in Greece. Americans will probably see that gaiety soon in a March of Time film. They will see a luxurious night club with smartly dressed women and handsomely groomed men dining and dancing expensively.

Outside the night club, on the night early in October when the March of Time unit was photographing the palace, a taxi driver was waiting for a party. "Sure," he said bitterly, "I served two years in jail in the thirties. I stole. I am going to steal again. The four people I am driving around tonight will spend in one hour in there three times what I make in one month. I have a family."

Unskilled laborers, like the taxi driver, are making 75 cents a day. Skilled and white-collar workers get between $1.25 and $2 a day. Food prices went up 123 per cent from August 15 to October 10. A loaf of bread costs 50 cents, olive oil $1.40 a quart, meat 70 cents a pound, and sugar $2 a pound.

Today Greece is experiencing one of the most serious crime waves in its history; and the same small group of Greek financiers and industrialists which made huge profits under the Germans is making even bigger profits now. With no Stock Exchange to speak of, the economy of the country is tightly controlled by this handful of men, for most Greek businesses, large and small, have always operated on credit obtained from the National Bank of Greece. Although 51 per cent of the stock of the bank is held by the government and public institutions, the actual control of the bank's operations is in the hands of a few closely intermarried families and two large British banking houses, which hold the remainder.

Such highly concentrated control of business and finance in a country the size of Greece enables these circles to manipulate the country's economy to their own benefit. Recently, when price ceilings which were unsatisfactory to the industrialists and financiers were strictly enforced, this group of profiteers was able to sabotage them and finally force their revocation by skilfully organizing the withholding of commodities from the market.

Determined to profit regardless of what happens to the Greek people, this same group, with the connivance of the government, is using UNRRA supplies to fatten its pocketbooks. A plan for the strict control and audit of raw-wool and cotton stocks brought to Greece by UNRRA and turned over to the Greek government has been blocked by these people, and much of the finished product appears on the black market at exorbitant prices. The big mill-owners are claiming a 20 per cent shrinkage on UNRRA's raw stocks which they are given to process. Six experts who resigned from the Ministry of Supply this month, charging graft, favoritism, and misuse of UNRRA's supplies, say that only a 7 per cent shrinkage is possible, and that the remaining 13 per cent is diverted for sale on the black market.

A big killing is also being made on the heavy remittances from Americans in the United States to their relatives and friends in Greece. The Greeks on the receiving end are paid off by the banks at the official exchange rate of 500 drachmas to the dollar. But the dollar is actually worth 1,500 drachmas.

The corrupt, deliberately inefficient Greek authorities—the same ones who worked for the dictatorship, the Germans, and the quisling governments—are not only collaborating in thus mulcting the Greek people and driving them to crime and desperation, but are also maintaining a back-breaking budget which completely ignores the needs of a sick, homeless, hungry nation. One-third of the Greek budget goes toward meeting ancient and modern state loans held by British banking firms. Well over another third goes for military expenditures, including the purchase of Lend-Lease equipment from the British. (Raw wool from UNRRA's stocks was recently turned over to the Greek army by the government in direct violation of its agreement with UNRRA.) What is left goes to maintain the archaic, stifling Greek bureaucracy.

So, one year after the Germans withdrew from Greece, the Greek people are still hungry, still without clothes, and hundreds of thousands of them are still without shelter. And the thread of British responsibility runs through it all.

WHAT THE BRITISH HAVE DONE

The British have set up three governments in Greece since last January, and all three have fallen. Today, as this is being written, Greece has no government. But the pretense continues. The Archbishop is in the Regency, the British ambassador is in his embassy, and all's well with the Greeks.

Only it isn't. The British are still intent on destroying the leftist socialist movement in Greece. The revelation that the British had selected George Papandreou to be Greek Prime Minister for just that single reason, which was first made in the article called Rule Britannia in *The Nation* of December 2, 1944, has been confirmed by Papandreou himself in a published collection of his documents. Early in 1944, Papandreou reports, he sent to the British authorities in Cairo a long memorandum of which the burden was, Who will save the Greek people from the E. A. M.? Of course, Papandreou himself gave the answer—Papandreou backed by Allied force. Soon afterward he received the following cable:

"Cairo invites Papandreou leave immediately." He did.

British censorship in Cairo and Greece prevented the story of the hysterical British efforts to wipe out the E. A. M. from being published. Correspondents were not permitted to report on agreements signed between British intelligence agents in Greece and quisling groups.

The story of the guns which the British rushed to the royalist-fascist organization "X" three weeks before Athens was liberated—and of how the quisling government ordered its own troops to guard the transaction so that any attempt by the E. A. M. to hi-jack them would be frustrated—did not get out in time.

The story of the iniquitous "Mr." Shepherd, who under UNRRA's benevolent cover lavishly financed the anti-E. A. M. campaign of the royalist-rightist groups almost to the day that trouble broke out, was stopped on the ground of military security.

The fact that Colonel M. Woodhouse, British chief of Allied intelligence in Greece during the last years of occupation (under the pseudonym "Colonel Kris"), used to head a fascist student movement at Oxford was not made public.

There is still a censorship in Greece. It is the well-known "hidden censorship." Two copies of all dispatches must be submitted at the telegraph office. Efforts to trace the second copies have been fruitless. The trail leads only as far as the director of the telegraph office, who admits there is censorship but doesn't know who exercises it. Inasmuch as the "stringers" who do most of the reporting out of Greece now for American and British newspapers and agencies are Greeks, they cannot report as fearlessly as they would like.

No indictment of British policy in Greece can be severe enough. The Greeks have a favorite way of demonstrating how far the British attitude toward Greece has gone. They take visitors to Piraeus and point to a sign which says "Latrines: British, this way—Sikhs and Greeks, that way." All the sweetness-and-light stuff which the British Ministry of Information puts out through its propaganda agency in Greece, the Anglo-Greek Information Service, cannot alter the bitterness which the majority of the Greek people feel toward the British. Not long ago this organization, without the knowledge of UNRRA, asked the Greek government for 150 tons of newsprint from UNRRA's stocks. When it was turned over to them, still without UNRRA knowing anything about it, they passed it out to "friendly" anti-E. A. M. newspapers. Aside from the political implications of such chicanery, the move upset UNRRA's plan for the equitable distribution of newsprint to Greek papers regardless of their politics.

British policy remains unchanged, and the British ambassador, Rex Leeper, who could well write, if he had the time, a "My Day" column describing the continuous stream of Greek officials who call at the British embassy to get his approval on every move they make, doesn't give up. Every indication that the left movement is still alive and strong, like the fourth-anniversary demonstration of the E. A. M. on September 27, when 100,000 people jammed the Athens Stadium and the streets around it, makes him work all the harder to circumvent it.

All during his hectic efforts to force the elections through as quickly as possible, he ignored the left. He talked to men who head parties made up only of their close relatives, and he talked to men who collaborated with the Germans, but he didn't talk to a single member of the resistance movement, and he didn't see any Socialist or Communist leaders.

Failing in his attempts to form an anti-E. A. M. bloc, the British Ambassador gave the Prime Minister, Admiral Petros Voulgaris, permission to announce that elections would be held on January 20. Every party, from the Liberals to the Communists, denounced the move and declared its intention to abstain from the elections, since conditions throughout Greece precluded any possibility of an honest vote. Only the Monarchists and the quislings applauded the Prime Minister's announcement. With such an overwhelming majority of the people opposing it, the government had to resign.

But the merry-go-round still went on to the British ambassador's tune. The aged leader of the Liberals, Themistocles Sophoulis, was called on by the Regent to form a government—with the proviso that he include the Monarchists. Sophoulis was willing to include the Monarchists, but they, carefully coached by the British ambassador, were adamant in their refusal to join a representative government which might include any leftists, even Socialists, and whose first decision would be to postpone the elections until spring. The former Prime Minister, Emmanuel Tsouderos, was next asked by the Regent to try to form a government, with the same condition. He ran into the same impasse.

Of course the result was a deadlock, but now no one could say that the British hadn't tried to make these quarrelsome "primitive" Greeks get together. The next step, too, the British ambassador had foreseen—the falling back on Admiral Voulgaris or someone like him, who would set up a "service government" of royalist-militarists.

THE WHITE TERROR FLOURISHES

The Voulgaris government gave a good illustration of how a service government, officiating under special dispensation of the British, works. It ignored the suffering of the people and by its inefficiency and graft nullified the excellent intentions and efforts of UNRRA's Greek Mission to bring some succor to the country. It replaced the democratic-republican officers in the army and navy and officials in the government with royalist flunkeys. It encouraged fascist terror gangs and viciously persecuted the left.

On Wednesday, October 3, 1945, in an Athens criminal court, a member of the Greek resistance movement was placed on trial for his life, charged with having killed during the German occupation an officer of the Nazi-created Security Battalion. The indictment, as read in the court, charged that "on an unspecified day during the last fortnight of September, 1944, the accused, Athanasios Hadjiyiannis, deliberately and with premeditation, killed one Basilios Papamargaritis, an officer of the Security Battalion . . . guarding a munitions ship in the harbor of Piraeus. This criminal effort was not without losses to the attackers, as the Germans seized two of them and executed them on the spot. The accused, though shot through the left arm, escaped by jumping overboard." (He was arrested later when he went to the Greek police station to claim the bodies of his two fallen comrades.) The indictment further charged the accused with "carrying arms illegally and without permission from the authorities." The authorities at that time were the quislings acting under German orders.

Three weeks ago UNRRA stepped in and instructed the Greek government to issue free food from UNRRA's stocks to political prisoners. Up to that time the prisoners had lived on what little food was brought in by the families of some of the men, which was pooled and divided. E. A. M. claims there are more than thirty thousand men and women in the prisons. The American embassy says there are only a little more than five thousand. Other competent observers who have visited the prisons place the figure at sixteen to twenty thousand.

Leftist newspapers cannot circulate openly in the provinces; in Athens the royalist newspapers which appeared all through the German occupation and quietly faded out of existence when Greece was liberated are again publishing their anti-democratic, anti-Semitic venom. A pamphlet is being circulated in Athens describing the daring activities of the Greek actors, actresses, and playwrights in the resistance struggle. It does not mention any names. To do so would be to invite persecution.

On March 25 last, Greek Independence Day, the E. A. M. newspaper in Athens told the story of the two university students who gave the first signal of Greek resistance by tearing down the swastika flag from the Acropolis on May 21, 1941, less than a month after the Germans had entered Athens. The newspaper gave their names. It was a mistake. The "X-ites" searched them out and beat them up unmercifully. Every day, throughout Greece, Liberal Republicans, Socialists, and Communists are beaten, jailed, and murdered.

In a statement to the Minister of the Interior the prefect of Attica reported on October 1 that a steady flow of refugees from the rural areas into Athens was stepping up the population of the capital to one-fifth of the nation's total. The comparative safety of Athens to which these people are fleeing is ephemeral. There are tens of thousands of outstanding warrants for the arrest of members of the resistance movement, either on trumped-up charges or on the basis of some action taken during the resistance period, such as that of the young E. L. A. S. man who killed a collaborationist while trying to blow up a German munitions ship.

That is Greece today—one year after the Germans left it.

AMERICA BACKS BRITAIN

The Americans? Oh yes, in the face of these conditions they join the British in working for immediate elections. When they are not doing that, the staff of the United States embassy is busy explaining to everyone who will listen that the American correspondents, George Weller, Richard Mowrer, M. W. Fodor, Leland Stowe, *et al.*, who reported last December's tragic events, are all Communists. In addition, the American embassy in Athens distributes anti-E. A. M. literature to visiting Americans. ("This booklet just happened to come in today. Take it along with you if you want it. It's very interesting.")

The American ambassador is a nice man. He is no longer even mildly critical of British policy; he seems to be more concerned over whether or not the American soldiers on rest leave in Greece wear neckties.

Two days after the armistice between the British and the E. L. A. S. was signed last January, British headquarters in Greece issued to British officials a confidential review of the struggle. "E. A. M. and E. L. A. S.," it read, "have suffered a military defeat just when both their military strength and their political ascendancy were at their height." Exactly. What Mr. Churchill, Ambassador Leeper, and Marshal Sir Henry Maitland Wilson—significant in view of his recent statements to the Baltimore *Sun*—were unable to accomplish in three years of trickery and treachery General Scobie's tanks, rocket-firing airplanes, bombers, field pieces, and destroyers were able to accomplish in six weeks.

A year ago, after a ten-year struggle, the Greek people had cleansed their country of fascism. The British brought it back.

The resistance movement, which gave the Greek people, stunned by sudden occupation and weakened by deliberate starvation, a new spirit, is today defamed and ostracized. The men who helped the Greek people regain their self-respect and restrain the immorality, meanness, and servility into which their horrible sufferings were pushing them are now "criminals and outlaws."

The left movement in Greece is still large and well organized. The E. L. D. (Union for Popular Democracy) and the S. K. E. (Socialist Party of Greece) have withdrawn from the E. A. M. and will soon combine in one Socialist Party under the leadership of Professor Alexander Svolos. Though they no longer maintain organic unity with the Communist Party, there is an ideological understanding and solidarity. The Socialists have steadfastly reiterated their decision not to participate in any government in which the Communists are not represented. The Communists are now the only real party in the E. A. M. But the E. A. M., despite faulty Communist leadership, still represents a revolutionary promise to many Greeks and has a large following. To the Greeks, who like to deify, the E. A. M. has taken on an almost mystic form. Indeed, the E. A. M. was a power far greater than the Communists realized. That is one reason why they misled it with appeasement, compromise, and vacillation. The Communists never understood how much the E. A. M. meant to the Greek people. The revolt which the E. A. M.'s resistance struggle and attendant self-government in the liberated areas kindled in the hearts and minds of the Greek masses was too great, too overwhelming to be canalized down a narrow party line.

Now the left is divided. Its buoyancy, its militancy have been bludgeoned down. It may rise again, but it will not be the broad, powerful, popular mass movement that it was.

The workers and peasants, the class which made up the bulk of Greek emigration to the United States in the early part of this century, wanted to stay in Greece last year. "We will make Greece a good place to live in," they said.

This year it is different. The men and women who a year ago were turning coffee houses into schools and community centers are now holed up in their homes. The young men who a year ago were voluntarily repairing roads and rebuilding demolished bridges now stand sullenly on street corners. Today one hears peasants and workers saying, "We must get away. Anywhere. There is no hope in this accursed land. This is not life. It is a terrible thing to say, but we hate our country. They have made us hate it."

New Deal for France

BY ORESTE ROSENFELD

(Editor-in-chief of Le Populaire, *organ of the Socialist Party of France.)*

Paris, October 25 (by cable)

ON SUNDAY, October 21, a referendum and a general election were held in France. In the referendum, upon which the Radical Socialist Party had insisted, the French people, by an overwhelming vote of 18,000,000 to 700,000, indicated their desire for a new parliamentary structure to replace the old two-chamber system imposed by the constitution of 1875. And by more than 12,000,000 to 6,000,000 votes they adopted the Socialist Party's proposal for an executive-legislative setup, much like Britain's, which will prevent Cabinets from toppling every few months over some minor incident provoked by a few ambitious politicians. The Assembly will elect the Premier, and a government can be overthrown only by a record vote forty-eight hours after a motion of censure. The Assembly will sit for not more than seven months; at the end of that time it is to submit a new constitution to the French people for their approval.

The results of the referendum were a foregone conclusion, but the general election brought sharp surprises. Of course everyone expected the defeat of the Radical Socialist Party, which had shot its bolt even before the First World War. The chief party of the Third Republic and generally regarded as the party of the liberal French bourgeoisie, it had produced some remarkable leaders: Waldeck-Rousseau, Jules Ferry, Cambon, Clemenceau, Joseph Caillaux are names which the world recognizes. In the period between the two wars, however, under the leadership of such men as Edouard Herriot, Edouard Daladier, and Albert Sarraut, the party was increasingly unable to adapt itself to the new conditions created by monopoly capitalism. Pacifist, slightly chauvinist, mildly liberal, deeply divided on domestic and foreign policy, at times allied with the rightists, at times supporting the Socialists, the Radicals in 1936 had to yield first place to the Socialists. In the end the party was fatally compromised by Daladier's action at Munich and Chautemps's acceptance of the Pétain coup d'état. After the liberation it had no role to play in a France seeking a new economic structure. Nevertheless, local conditions and the personal prestige of some of its candidates enabled it to obtain a considerable number of seats in the municipal elections last May and in the cantonal elections in September. It was expected to show a loss of strength in the general election, but scarcely to experience total eclipse. Yet that is precisely what happened; with only 25 to 30 seats in a chamber of 585 deputies, the last remaining support of liberal capitalism disappears from the French political scene. M. Herriot himself was elected by only a scant plurality in Lyon, and all the other party leaders, including Daladier, were beaten.

Another surprise was the tremendous victory of the Mouvement Républicain Populaire, headed by Georges Bidault, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Maurice Schumann, known as a speaker for Radio France in London from 1940 to 1944. General de Gaulle has evinced sympathy for the M. R. P.; it is a Catholic party but has a liberal social outlook, a party standing for order but born of the resistance. Some success for it was expected, but no one thought it would emerge on an equal footing with the Socialists and Communists. On reflection, however, one finds its victory understandable. In the first place, its leaders won wide respect as members of the resistance during the German occupation. Secondly, as a new party it bears no blame for the shameful events of 1940. Thirdly, as a Catholic party it does not frighten practicing Catholics by indifference to religious questions. And finally, it has a very advanced social program, which satisfies the workers organized in the Confédération des Travailleurs Chrétiens. Thus it was bound to get the votes of a large section of the workers and of the lower middle classes. In addition, the complete collapse of the rightist parties threw to the M. R. P. the votes of those adversaries of socialism who saw in the new party a moderate force capable of checking the sweeping economic reforms demanded by the Socialists and Communists.

The Socialist Party did not do as well as it had hoped. True, it received 750,000 more votes than in the cantonal elections of September 22, but the Communist vote rose as well, and the two parties now find themselves on a par, each with about 150 or 155 seats. The Socialists registered sharp gains in the industrial regions—Paris, the north, and the Pas de Calais—but did not cut into the Communist vote there. The total Socialist vote was more than four and a half million, that of the Communists practically the same. At present, therefore, the workers are divided into two parties of equal strength. It had been expected that the consistent pro-Russian attitude of the Communists and their frequent volte-faces would prevent them from obtaining so great a success.

For the first time in the country's history Parliament will not be made up of a wide variety of party and non-party representatives, with personalities outweighing programs and principles. In the new Constituent Assembly 84 per cent of the deputies will be grouped in three equally matched parties. This insures greater stability to a Cabinet and greater continuity in government policies, but it also creates a new complication. The government of tomorrow must be a three-party coalition. A government composed of representatives of only two of the parties—say, Socialist-Communist, or Socialist-M. R. P., or M. R P.-Communist—could not survive. A two-party coalition would control a bare majority. But is a three-party agreement possible? The social and economic program of the M. R. P. accepts the minimum reforms advocated by the Socialists. The Communists accept them too, though in the campaign they avoided any discussion of social changes. But on the religious question the M. R. P. comes into conflict with the French Communists; it was attacked by them very violently, and often unjustly, during the campaign as the party of reaction. And it is distrusted by the Socialists because of its stand on private religious schools. The Socialist Party respects liberty of conscience and religion but insists on a state monopoly of education and on strictly secular education in the primary and secondary schools. As for a Communist-Socialist entente, the Communists conducted such a bitter campaign against the Socialist Party, and particularly against Léon Blum, that relations between the two parties are now very strained.

These obstacles, however, are not insurmountable. The three parties will be absolutely obliged to reach an understanding—otherwise, no government is possible. The country has already waited a year; any further delay in putting into effect the first measures of socialization and in organizing national life on a new basis will only increase France's difficulties. Fortunately, during the underground struggle against Vichy and the Germans the three parties, working together in the Comité National de la Résistance, agreed on a common program of reforms, formulated by the Socialists and adopted on their initiative. This program should be the program of the new three-party government. The Constituent Assembly will meet on November 6. The representatives of the three parties must reach agreement before that date. The election quarrels are in the past—only the future matters.

British Labor's Headache

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

(The Nation's *London correspondent*)

London, October 22

LABOR Ministers, one suspects, must now and then take a glance at the back benches and echo the Duke of Wellington's comment on his troops in Spain: "I don't know what they will do to the enemy, but, by God, they frighten me." Since Parliament reassembled, it has been evident that the Cabinet has less to fear from its opponents than from its supporters. With Mr. Churchill absent, sick, the Opposition has cut a poor figure. Debating the bill to give the government blanket powers to continue for five years such of the war-time controls as are necessary for orderly reconversion and price stability, the Tories did not dare to admit publicly that they wanted a profiteers' free-for-all scramble. So they had to argue, very ineffectively, that two years of controls—their counter-proposal—would be in the spirit of true British liberty, whereas five years spelled red tyranny. Again, when they proposed a motion of "grave apprehension" at the state of housing, their guns were silenced in advance by a devastating White Paper, issued on the eve of the debate, showing that Tory Ministers in the Coalition and Caretaker governments had made a sorry mess of the program for temporary, prefabricated houses. Instead of the 500,000 emergency dwellings whose production—with the speed of a "military operation"—Mr. Churchill talked of eighteen months ago, only 4,152 have so far been erected, with another 6,055 "begun"; and costs, miscalculated by the Tory architects of the program, have rocketed from the $2,400 originally estimated for a Portal house to over $4,000 for an average "pre-fab" dwelling. The Opposition's record and present performances are such as to give the government little concern: its headache comes from the back benches.

It is not yet a serious headache. There is no real rebellion—none at least which Ministers cannot out-maneuver by the familiar tactics of a few minor concessions and much masterly inactivity. But the party's rank and file in the House are displaying definite signs of uneasiness and impatience. These relate not only, or mainly, to the government's stiff, parochial foreign policy. True, most Labor M. P.'s are disquieted by the growing realization that Mr. Bevin's success in bawling out Mr. Molotov may prove to have been purchased at the price of partitioning the world into antagonistic spheres—with Britain sandwiched uncomfortably between two gigantic continental powers. Many, too, are alarmed by signs that the Foreign Secretary's brave stand for democracy and the rights of small nations has been interpreted by Catholics here and on the Continent as an all-clear signal for an anti-Communist crusade. But Socialists in Britain have traditionally been British, not international, Socialists; the British Communist Party is not loved; and on the issue of our relations with the U. S. S. R. the Labor Party is split from head to heel.

It is split, too, on the question of Palestine. The Cabinet cannot delay much longer in announcing its decision—which will be, unless there is a last-minute change of heart, that the White Paper substantially stands, with the minor modification that a monthly quota of 1,500 Jewish immigrants will be allowed in 1946. The majority of Labor M. P.'s will be inclined to protest that this is a breach of declared party policy, and that the government will be cynically sacrificing the Jews for the sake of angling for the unreliable help of the Arab League against domination of the Middle East by the U. S. S. R. or Standard Oil. On the other hand, the left in Britain by no means indorses the 100 per cent Zionist case; and though Mr. Attlee may have difficulty in justifying a refusal to admit forthwith to Palestine a much bigger proportion of the unhappy Jewish refugees now penned in occupation camps, he will plead with some force that Britain alone cannot reconcile the irreconcilable in Palestine, that American cooperation is essential. In short, there is enough nationalism in the parliamentary Labor Party to enable the government to get away with a foreign policy not noticeably less imperialist than Mr. Churchill's.

It is in relation to home affairs—and it is about these that M. P.'s get letters from their constituents—that the first, faint rumblings of back-bench rebellion can be heard. When the government announced last week its inability to improve this winter the hard lot of old-age pensioners now drawing a basic $2.50 a week, a hostile resolution calling for an immediate 75 per cent increase was offered, with the supporting signatures of 170 Labor M. P.'s. The signatories complained, not without good grounds, that the Cabinet had yielded weakly to obstruction by the Ministry of Pensions' permanent officials, whose argument was that the consequent revision of over two million supplementary, means-tested pensions would be too big a job for the department's war-depleted staff. It is all very well, say the rebels, to be "sensible"; but what is happening to the promised "boldness and decisiveness"?

They get a dusty answer. The Cabinet is unwieldy in size, and its agenda is congested. In the absence of expeditious Cabinet decisions—which might be more promptly forthcoming and better thought out if a small inner Cabinet were free to concentrate on a few major issues of over-all policy—departmental Ministers are doing their best, and it is in many cases a good best, but they are often getting in each other's way. While the Board of Trade, for instance, is out to maximize production and exports, the Ministry of Labor, pestered by the service departments for more man-power, is still calling up irreplaceable skilled workers in key sections of industry. Worse still, the Cabinet seems blind to the fact that in many cases the longer it takes to announce the general lines of future policy the more difficult it will be to impose a Socialist solution.

For example, is the Cabinet determined to have an all-in, salaried state medical service? It has not said so with any precision; hence as doctors are released by the services and perforce buy their way into practices, the vested medical interest against socialization is reinforced. Are the railways, reprieved from nationalization during this—and the next?—session, to be allowed, with the liquidation of the War Transport Department, to embark on their own individual post-war programs, including renewal of their old wasteful fight with road transport? They will do so, and make the transition to public control much more difficult, unless the government quickly decides and announces precisely what forms of transport are to be nationalized, and when, and declares its intention to continue, ad interim, the whole mechanism of war-time transport control.

Above all, there is the continued absence of any announcement by the Cabinet of an over-all wage policy. Is it desired to "freeze" for the time being all the existing basic rates? Or should war bonuses and overtime earnings, whose abrupt loss precipitated the current big unofficial dock strike, be consolidated to some extent in an upward adjustment of basic hourly wages? And is any attempt to be made to bring the low rates paid by some—now vital—export industries into line with those of trades which enjoyed war-time prosperity? Wages are an integral factor in national planning. But at present they are being left out of account. The dockers are being left to fight it out with the port employers, while the government, "holding the ring" but using troops to unload essential food cargoes, gives the dock workers the impression that it is in practice on the employers' side.

This is disconcerting to back benchers in the House. They are dismayed also at the inch-by-inch progress of parliamentary procedure; and when they look carefully at the one definitely Socialist measure so far introduced, the Bank of England bill, they find that its provisions contain a good deal of "appeasement" of the financial district. The bill, it is true, gives legal ratification to the sovereignty which the Treasury has long exercised informally over the bank's policy; but the bank's directorate, whose personnel is unlikely to undergo radical change, will enjoy a great deal of autonomy. Moreover, though effect is nominally given to Labor's election pledge that the operations of the commercial banks would be "harmonized with industrial needs," the nationalized bank's powers to give "directions" to the deposit banks, as defined in Section 4 of the bill, are to be wielded only if the governor and directors choose to wield them. And no sanctions are provided against refusal to obey.

After this cautious approach by Mr. Dalton to the problem of securing real public control over finance, Labor M. P.'s were eager to cheer Aneurin Bevan when he promised the House that no landlords would be allowed to obstruct a vigorous housing campaign, that profiteering in building would not be tolerated, and that owners of houses with many empty rooms might be compelled to let their vacant space to tenants. Bevan's speech was rousing Limehouse stuff. (Indeed, he is clearly in the running to play the part of the Lloyd George *de nos jours.*) But when they read in *Hansard,* next day, the Minister's exposition of definite housing proposals, they were disconcerted once more by the realization that except for a little "supplementary" production by reconverted ordnance factories he is leaving the provision of all materials and components to private firms, that the local authorities on whom he is relying exclusively to organize building are apparently to be given no special financial aid at low interest rates by the Treasury, and that he failed to give any convincing assurance that he would be able to redeploy enough labor to get his projects started soon in a big way.

All this, then, adds up to a sizable back-bench disenchantment and to the certainty of increasing pressure from behind to make party leaders demonstrate more convincingly that they are not just an administration of liberal reformers, that their ultimate target is a real 100 per cent Socialist state, and that they will move steadily toward that end. To this the leaders will reply: "We are not Marxists; we are first and foremost a government, and a government's business is to run the country. We did not seek a mandate to socialize more than a fraction of the national economy. We took over a concern which will remain 90 per cent capitalist until the electorate decides otherwise. We must work with existing institutions, whether they be banks or chiefs of staff or associations of employers or local authorities packed with Tory realtors. We cannot afford, nor is it our intention, to have a head-on clash with vested capitalist interests in general. Stop talking like revolutionaries—which you are not—and let us get on with the respectable business of government."

Is this a tenable attitude? You will get one answer in Transport House and another, very different, from the dockers now on strike; but it must serve as explanation for the many apparent contradictions in the government's policy. Diego Valdez, according to Kipling, set youth and spring aside in the vain hope they would await his pleasure while he toiled "in bondage to great deeds." The Labor government is setting a full Socialist policy aside. It is in bondage not so much to "great deeds" as to its own self-imposed limitations.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Britain's Taxes and Ours

SUPERFICIALLY there is some resemblance between the tax program put before Congress on October 1 by Secretary of the Treasury Vinson and that offered to the House of Commons on October 23 by Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the British Labor government. Both propose to remove from the tax rolls the lowest brackets of income-tax payers; both provide for relief to business as a stimulus to new investment.

The fact that the fiscal doctors agree is, however, no proof that they are both right. On the contrary, it seems to me evidence that one of them is very wrong, for the economic position of the United States is so different from that of Great Britain that similar prescriptions cannot possibly be good for both. In this country, once purely temporary shortages are overcome, the great problem will be to keep effective demand level with production, and a tax program should be designed, above all, to stimulate consumption. In Britain demand exceeds not only current production but potential production for years ahead, and Britain's budget should aim therefore at curbing consumption and encouraging the enlargement of productive facilities.

In proposing elimination of the 3 per cent normal tax and reduction of excise taxes, Mr. Vinson did recognize the importance of adding to mass purchasing power. But out of the $5 billion which he considered the maximum available for tax reductions in 1946, he was willing to allot only half for this purpose. The remainder, he thought, should be used to stimulate reconversion and expansion of industry by abolishing the excess-profits tax.

In arriving at this conclusion Mr. Vinson, I feel, accepted uncritically the view that profit is the sole progenitor of enterprise. Untaxed excess profits will not give birth to industrial expansion unless growth in demand promises to provide a market for the products of that expansion. The increased earnings resulting from the ending of the excess-profits tax might promote such a grant if they were used to lower prices and raises wages. But currently business is resisting wage increases while seeking higher prices, thus shortsightedly doing its best to curb the demand on which future expansion depends. Mr. Vinson's proposed present to the corporations, which Congress appears likely to ratify, is apt therefore to produce merely bigger dividends and bigger company reserves. That means a growth in investment funds but not, until demand justifies it, a growth in actual investment of the kind that creates jobs. And there is already an abundance of investment money available.

Some months ago Mr. Vinson wrote—I quote from memory—of "our pleasant problem of raising our standard of living 50 per cent in the next few years." No such delightful puzzle keeps a British Chancellor of the Exchequer awake at night. He knows that an improved standard of living for his country can be achieved only very slowly as national losses of real capital are made good. In designing a budget his unenviable task, therefore, is to maintain a tight curb on spending. Theoretically perhaps, he should offer no tax relief at all of the kind that encourages consumption. For goods are and will long continue to be in short supply in Britain, and any increase in purchasing power must tend to reinforce inflationary pressures. On the other hand, to overcome its difficulties Britain needs increased production and additions to real capital in the shape of houses, factories, new machinery, and so on. Hence budgetary policy must aim at stimulating both labor output and capital investment.

Facing this situation, Mr. Dalton gave relief both to the lower-bracket incomes and to business, but his bounty to the latter was accompanied by stern warnings that the proceeds were to be devoted to development and not frittered away in increased dividends. The excess-profits tax is to be reduced from 100 per cent—of which 20 per cent took the form of a post-war credit—to 60 per cent, and corporations will also benefit by a 10 per cent reduction in the standard rate of income tax, which will make the rate payable on retained profits 45 instead of 50 per cent. A further important stimulus to investment will be provided by speeding up refunds of excess-profits-tax credits, which will give British business as a whole a capital nest egg of $1 billion.

Relief to the workers will result from a restoration of pre-war exemptions to $440 a year for single persons and proportionately for married couples. The graduated tax scale is also to be eased, but even then it will amount to 15 per cent on the first $200 of taxable income and 30 per cent on the next $300. In the case of the higher incomes, those above $8,000, the relaxation of the burden offered by these revisions in normal tax is to be offset by additions to surtax which will leave the very wealthy with a slightly smaller net than during the war. Defending this provision, Mr. Dalton said that it was framed to "continue that steady advance toward economic and social equality which we have made during the war and which this government intends to continue in peace."

During the war low incomes in Britain were called upon to furnish an increased share of the revenue. Through the reduction in personal allowances the income-tax collector reached down into the pockets of all but the very lowest-paid workers. In addition, heavily increased excise taxes on tobacco, beer, tea, amusements, and so forth, and the purchase tax payable on many kinds of consumers' goods, riddled household budgets. As a result the tax load on British labor has reached a point where it is a deterrent to effort. When earnings from four days' work bring weekly income to a level above which any addition is subject to a 30 per cent deduction for tax, the temptation to take a long week-end sometimes becomes irresistible. While the fighting was still on, patriotism to a large extent counteracted the urge to take things easy. Now there is a need to provide fresh incentives to the greater production which Britain sorely needs. Easing the load on the lower brackets is designed to achieve this end.

Mr. Dalton's program, unlike that of Mr. Vinson, clearly relates taxation to the need of the economy as a whole. It is an encouraging first instalment of the fiscal planning which the British Labor government intends to employ as a major instrument of policy.

The People's Front

LATIN AMERICA is sitting on a pile of uranium. Those who have believed that after this war, just as after the last, the Latin American countries would tag along docilely at the skirts of their two rich aunts, the United States and Great Britain, are badly mistaken. The day is also past when a candidate in Latin America can make lavish campaign promises and then, once elected, limit the "benefits of democracy" to his relatives and friends. The people of the American republics have been profoundly shaken by the war; a revolution is taking place throughout the continent, and everything that happens in Europe echoes in the mountains of Latin America from Patagonia to Popocatépetl.

Take the French elections as an example. In the United States the vote was generally interpreted as an overwhelming victory for General de Gaulle. But the elections have a larger meaning; they confirm the trend of Europe toward the left. In England for the first time the Labor Party holds an absolute majority in the Parliament. In France for the first time the Communists and Socialists together are the majority in the new Constitutional Assembly. These two facts prove that the people of Europe want a change of society from top to bottom. If in the seven months that lie ahead De Gaulle shows that he understands the people's mandate, he may continue to rule France. If he ignores that mandate, the political revolution will go on without him.

In Latin America the revolutionary process unchained by the war takes various forms. On one side fascism is trying desperately to prevent a popular upheaval; on the other side the awakening masses push toward real political and economic democracy. Every Nazi who has managed to slip through the Allied cordon has taken refuge in Argentina or in Franco's Spain. One of the world's great aviation authorities, the Loyalist General Emilio Herrera, recently said that some of the key German engineers and technicians who had worked in Germany on the atomic bomb were continuing their experiments in Spain. Today in Argentina the Nazi agents sent over from Germany in 1939 to spread the message of the Greater Reich are patiently waiting for a crisis to develop among the United Nations; that will be their signal for a new political offensive.

The Argentine anti-fascists have suffered a temporary setback, but their fight is continuing. I have just received a first-hand report of present events from the leaders of the opposition movement. When the army ousted Perón a few weeks ago, it did so as a last resort in the hope of maintaining the control it has held since 1930. The gigantic anti-fascist demonstration of September 22 had mobilized all the forces opposed to the dictatorship. They asked for (1) transfer of power to the Supreme Court; (2) immediate lifting of the state of siege; (3) general elections to be held within ninety days. Then began a campaign of civil disobedience. Badly frightened, the military leaders, after many hours of discussion in the Campo de Mayo, decided to sacrifice Perón, but only on condition that "under no circumstances would they allow the reins of government to slip out of their grasp." They believed they could calm the Argentine people by offering them a new Cabinet, without Perón but still controlled by the army. Their maneuver failed. The stubborn insistence of the democratic leaders on "unconditional surrender" circumvented the farce of a "democratic-military" government. Perón returned to power, this time on the backs of the most Naziphile elements of the army. His new Cabinet is even more Nazi than the previous one; a victorious Hitler selecting his puppet government for Argentina could not have chosen differently. It is rumored that the notorious munitions manufacturer, Fritz Mandl, is now raising twenty million pesos among the Nazis of Argentina to finance Perón's presidential campaign. So Perón enters the race backed by Nazi money and by a gang of *pistoleros* headed by the Ruggero brothers—the Argentine equivalents of Al Capone—who, together with the police and the Argentine-Spanish Phalanx, furnished the shock brigades for a victory celebration on the day of Perón's return to the Casa Rosada.

The case of Venezuela is different. There is reason to question the motives of some of the men directing the new junta; but behind the coup, supplying mass support and social meaning, was a revolt against the century-old system of monopoly landholding and economic inequality. Several months ago leftist newspapers had already begun to publish a list of the great fortunes of the country. One of the most popular moves of the new government was the announcement that it would investigate the personal wealth of public officials as far back as 1907.

Young Venezuelan army officers, educated abroad, many of them inspired by democratic ideals, joined the Betancourt revolt. They resented the fact that a handful of generals dominated the army. And they knew that while an army lieutenant received the same pay as a bus driver, the generals were extremely rich. "It was high time," said one of the military leaders of the successful coup, "that our army ceased being a domestic police force." As a matter of fact, in the spring of 1944 an abortive uprising took place in three army barracks at Caracas and Maracay; it was quickly suppressed, and no reports of it reached the outside world.

On the economic front the war had introduced an explosive factor in the rising cost of living: rice and *caráotas negras,* the national dish of Venezuela, which cost 7 cents before the war, now costs 47 cents. The housing shortage is acute. It is true that a good many reforms had been put through by the Medina government, but not quickly enough to satisfy "Juan Bimba," the man in the street.

One thing is clear today: social changes that once took a quarter of a century to crystallize now occur in a year's time—in Europe, and in Latin America as well. DEL VAYO

Oil Beneath the Waters

BY ALAN BARTH

(Of the staff of the Washington Post*)*

Washington, October 25

THE most generous obeisance to the theory of states' rights in the legislative history of the United States was made by the House of Representatives on September 20. By a vote of 108 to 11 the House passed a resolution, now before the Senate, declaring that "the United States of America hereby renounces and disclaims any right, title, interest, or claim in and to all lands beneath tidewaters and navigable waters within the boundaries of each of the respective states." It happens that beneath the tidewaters off the coasts of California and Texas lie the richest stores of petroleum now known to exist within the jurisdiction of the United States government. The recoverable oil content of the submerged California coastal fields alone is estimated at about 200,000,000 barrels; with development of the process called "whipstocking," it may be possible to pump incalculable additional amounts from the underwater land as much as five or six miles from the shore.

A decade or so from now this oil may constitute the only available fuel for the United States navy. According to competent geologists, the known oil deposits under the land areas of this country will meet our national needs for no longer than fourteen years. Yet the House was in tumultuous haste last month to renounce any claim of the federal government to the undersea deposits. It was in such haste, indeed, that its Judiciary Committee could not find time to hear a single representative from the Department of the Interior or the Department of Justice or from the army or the navy. It was in such haste that it indorsed this stupendous renunciation after a single afternoon of debate, with less than a quorum of its membership in attendance. And it did it with such an absence of fanfare that its action rated no more than half an inch of space the next morning on page 23 of the New York *Times*, on page 17 of the Washington *Post*, and on page 4 of *PM*.

The haste of the House is a tribute to the lobbying talents of three men—Edwin W. Pauley, formerly treasurer of the Democratic National Committee and now United States Reparations Commissioner, who has a heavy financial stake in the tidelands through his Petrol Oil Corporation of California; the attorney general of California, Robert W. Kenny, who managed to marshal forty-five of his fellow attorneys general in support of the legislation; and William W. Clary, a special assistant attorney general of California, who helped Kenny draft the legislation and then came up to Washington to explain its virtues to House leaders, with the help of some introductory telephone calls from Ed Pauley. Edward A. Harris of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* has disclosed that Clary's fee, if the legislation is finally enacted, is to be paid in part by the oil companies which will be its principal beneficiaries.

Representative LaFollette of Indiana, one of the few House members who opposed the bill, offered an astute, if somewhat caustic, testimonial to Pauley's participation in it. "I find a rather unique coincidence," said Mr. LaFollette, "in the rise of Ed Pauley in the Democratic Party and the removal of Mr. Biddle and the naming of Mr. Clark. I am wondering if the Republican members have made appropriate arrangements for their share of any campaign funds that may arise out of the passage of this legislation."

The stake of the oil companies, and of the states of California and Texas, is a mammoth one. Private operators have leased the tidelands from the states and have paid royalties to state treasuries on the oil they extracted. The arrangement has, of course, been mutually profitable; but it has not resulted in any conservation of oil for national-defense purposes. This happy partnership might have continued without a care had it not been for a notion which formed in the back of Harold Ickes's curmudgeonish mind that perhaps California and Texas were leasing lands which really belonged to the nation. Mr. Ickes persuaded Mr. Biddle, as the final act of that gentleman's attorney generalship, to file a suit testing the validity of the state titles. Direct hearing of the suit by the United States Supreme Court has now been sought by Attorney General Clark.

The state attorneys general assert vociferously that the state titles are indisputable—that they are inviolate attributes of the sovereignty with which the states came into the Union. Mr. Kenny reiterates tediously that the question has been settled by the courts at least fifty times. But the fact is that a federal claim to the tidelands, or to their mineral resources, has never been asserted by Congress, and the specific issue of federal versus state ownership has never been clearly determined. The states undoubtedly have an extremely strong case. But their very reluctance to put it to judicial test should serve to whet popular interest in the views which the nine justices of the Supreme Court may hold on this matter.

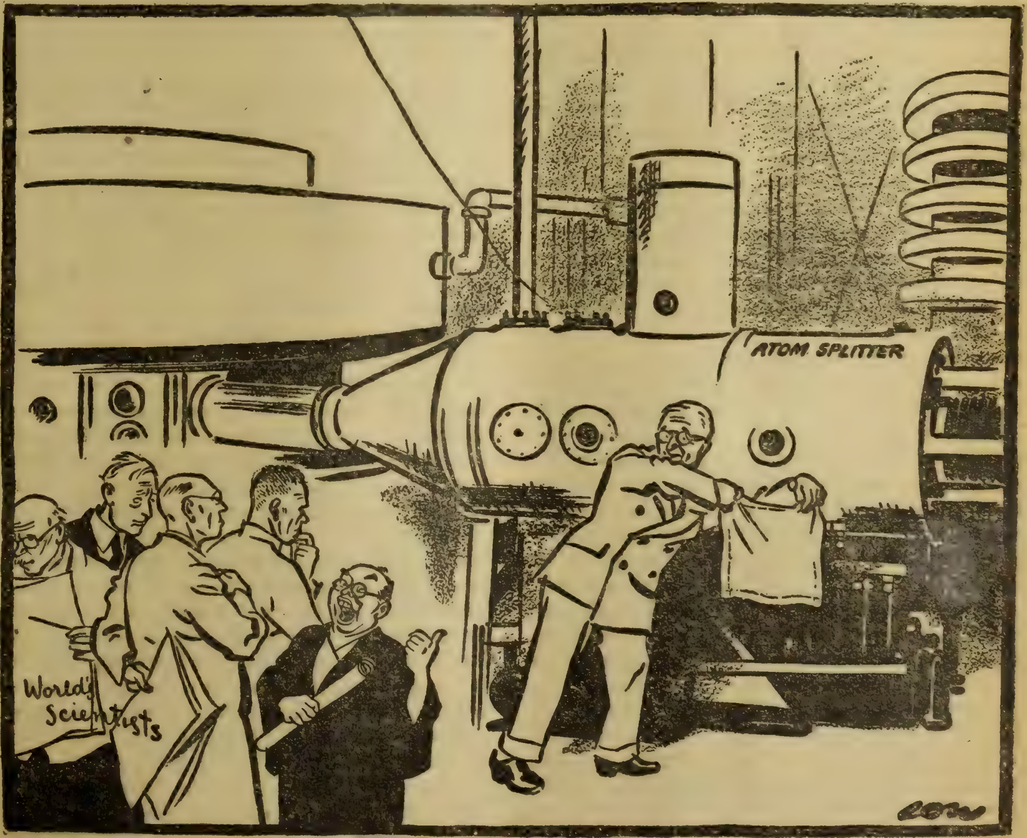
What the oil-company lobby has done in this situation is closely akin to what the fire-insurance lobby did when the Supreme Court had under consideration an anti-trust suit against insurance underwriters. It has sought to circumvent the judiciary by rendering the issue moot through legislative action. Congress has unquestionable authority, of course, to determine policy in this matter; it can change the law, if it desires, after a court decision has been rendered. But to legislate while litigation is in progress is to undermine judicial authority in a most reckless fashion.

As in so many cases of its kind, the tideland oil controversy has been piously and speciously presented in terms of states' rights. Most of the attorneys general of non-oil states went along with Mr. Kenny on the ground that the suit brought by Mr. Ickes threatened their municipal powers over harbor developments, shore installations, and other surface rights. The transparency of this fiction was revealed by Representative Sam Hobbs of Alabama, who proposed an amendment to the resolution adopted by the House which would have left the municipal powers of the states intact and would simply have asserted and recognized as among the paramount powers of the federal government "the right to conserve and appropriate for any constitutional purpose any mineral deposit, including petroleum, in any submerged land within the territorial waters of the United States of America." Opponents of the amendment said that it "would absolutely scuttle this bill." Obviously, it would have scuttled their real purposes. The Hobbs amendment was voted down, 105 to 17, although its author pleaded with his colleagues to "think twice before you wipe out so much of our national-defense potential."

Judge Hobbs advanced the view that although title in the submerged lands belongs to the states for municipal purposes, "it is subordinate to the paramount right, not title, of the United States for the four constitutional powers—including the power to build and maintain armies and navies—to utilize so much of the contents of those lands as may be necessary in the execution of those constitutional powers." He based his view in part upon an opinion of the Supreme Court in the case of Pollard's Lessee against Hagan, which declared: "This right of eminent domain over the shores and the soils under the navigable waters, for all municipal purposes, belongs to the states within their respective territorial jurisdictions, and they, and they only, have the constitutional power to exercise it. . . . But in the hands of the states this power can never be used so as to affect the exercise of any national right of eminent domain or jurisdiction with which the United States have been invested by the Constitution."

There is nothing novel about a federal claim to the tidelands. In 1937 the Senate passed a joint resolution—which died in the House—declaring the submerged lands along our coast "to be the property of the United States," and directing the Attorney General "to assert, maintain, and establish the title and possession of the United States to the submerged lands." Such an assertion of the federal right is essential if these rich resources are to be saved for the use and protection of the American people. Until it is made, the federal power will lie dormant. Congress, as the representative of the people, ought to make the assertion and then let the Supreme Court rule upon it.

President Truman the other day asserted American jurisdiction over the resources of the entire continental shelf of the United States—as against any claim which might be advanced by a foreign government, not against the claim of California or Texas. But it is the United States navy, not the California or Texas navy, which will make the President's claim respected—provided the navy has enough oil to patrol and protect our national shores.



SSH! IT'S SECRET!

America's Homesick Army

BY JOSEPH FREEMAN

(Joseph Freeman, author of the novel "Never Call Retreat," traveled with a USO show for nine weeks this summer in France, Germany, and Austria.)

II

THOSE who fear the effects of fraternization on the political opinions of our soldiers in Germany are misled by clichés. They think the G. I. does not know the score because he does not mouth the familiar phrases of the democratic creed, the big words which are seldom defined and often made meaningless by repetition. But the G. I. is through and through the creature of our democratic tradition. As a rule he is young enough to remember his school days, with their idealized presentation of the American way of life, and young enough for his memories not to go back beyond the Roosevelt era, in which the democratic idea was transmuted into action more forcefully than at any other time since Lincoln. The G. I. never mentions the four freedoms which he defended on the battlefields of Africa, Europe, and Asia, but he is a man of freedom, as Raymond Chandler's hero was a man of honor, "by instinct, by inevitability, without thought of it, and certainly without saying it."

That is what has so far protected our soldiers from the political dangers of fraternization. From dozens of G. I.'s I heard the same ideas expressed about the Germans and Germany, and in almost the same words. Riding along the Autobahn toward Heilbronn, Bayreuth, or Munich, one may have a driver from Boston, Los Angeles, Atlanta, or St. Paul. Until a few months ago he may have been an infantryman, artilleryman, machine-gunner, or tank driver. But he always starts the conversation like this: "Ever been in Germany before? Beautiful, ain't it?" Yes, you say, it's certainly a beautiful country. "What a place!" the G. I. says. "If they had a beautiful country like that, why did they want to conquer other countries? They say they didn't have enough space. That's a lot of malarky. Look at all that space. You can drive for miles without seeing a house. They've got space, all right, but they haven't any sense. They're nuts about fighting, that's what's the matter with them." After a while he briefs you some more about the Germans. "Ever meet any Nazis in Germany? Damned right you haven't, and what's more, you won't. There aren't any Nazis in Germany. Anyway, that's what the Krauts want you to think. They're all innocent. They never did anything, never heard anything."

After the fraternization ban was lifted, many Germans seized every opportunity to propagate their views among our soldiers. One heard the same line of talk all through the United States occupation zone. Much of it came from the German women who waited at army tables and cleaned army billets. "What do you think of Germany?" they ask. "Have you seen Kassel and Frankfurt?" Yes, you say, you have seen them, and Marburg, Darmstadt, Stuttgart. *"Kaput,* no?" Yes, totally *kaput.* The houses are piles of brick in the street. "I was in Kassel," says the waitress; "60,000 persons were killed in one air raid." The chambermaid says, "I was in Heilbronn the night your fliers killed 28,000 in one raid." Another says, "You should see Cologne, where my father was killed"; or, "Ach, Berlin—*ganz kaput.* My mother was killed there." They sound as if we were the war criminals, they the innocent victims. "It's too bad about your father and mother," you say, "but Germany started this war. Have you any idea what your armies did in Lidice, Warsaw, Stalingrad?" Then comes the excuse to which the G. I. is exposed every day: "We didn't know. Why should the innocent suffer for the guilty?" What about the concentration camps? There's one a few miles from here. Did you know about that? "We didn't know a thing," the German woman answers.

Occasionally one meets a German who admits some connection with the Nazis, but it was always through *Zwang,* coercion. In Bamberg a woman told me that her brother was forced into the S. S. because he was tall and strong. "Now," she said, "the Allies will shoot him." In Regensburg a dapper young man who claimed to be a writer said that he had been compelled to join the Nazi Party to avoid persecution for marrying a Jewish girl. Oh, what he suffered from the Nazis for love of that woman! He had to divorce her because she could not bear to think that she was not as free to marry him as an "Aryan" woman. I could not find out what finally happened to her, but there was no doubt that the young man had survived the Nazi regime in excellent health. We also ran across ardent German democrats who said they had fought the Nazi regime secretly. How is it, we asked, that millions were arrested and you escaped? The ardent democrat replied, "I was too clever for them."

Unless a soldier is in some special branch, army life restricts his contacts with Germans. He is likely to meet few people who show any awareness of what the world has suffered from Germany or any interest in conditions in other countries. Of course such people exist, and a free political life will eventually bring them to the fore. In Germany's last free election nearly 16,000,000 Germans voted against Hitler. And the newspapers have reported that the Nazis killed 1,000,000 German "Aryans" in the concentration camps. It will take years to separate the sheep from the goats in Germany, and at this moment some of our army commanders are not even trying. But the G. I. makes his own distinctions. He tells about treacherous fighting at the front, when German soldiers killed American doctors trying to dress their wounds. He laughs about the prisoners of war who recite the Geneva Convention to get privileges which the Germans denied to Allied prisoners. "I wouldn't give those dirty Jerries a thing," he says. And though he fought the war without much political emotion, one thing hit him hard.

"Did you ever see a concentration camp?" a captain asked me. "Well, you know how generous our Joes are. During combat they'd kill the Krauts and the Krauts would kill us. Then we'd win and take prisoners. And in five minutes we were dressing their wounds and giving them cigarettes and chocolate. Then our boys saw their first concentration camp. They went wild. They shot their military prisoners. They grabbed S. S. men by the neck, ducked their heads in the river, drowned them like rats. They got rough. But you have to see a concentration camp to know how they felt."

Nazis, P. W.'s, S. S. men, Germans who tell you Germany is innocent—for these G. I. Joe has no use. They do not fool him, and he cannot see why we compromise with them. A sergeant and a pfc. in Bad Nauheim were the first to call my attention to evils which General Eisenhower has since started to clean up—the deliberate appointment of known Nazis to local posts under MG, and the failure to discriminate between persons who had suffered in concentration camps for resisting the Nazi regime or for being Jews, and those who got on pleasantly and profitably with the Hitler gang. But the G. I. is fair to Germans who with evident sincerity condemn the monstrous acts of the Third Reich. When he is moved to believe a person who says, "We did not know," he is likely to answer, "Well, there are a lot of things in our own country we do not know."

The G. I.'s reactions to the Germans were sound while the war was still fresh in his mind. The present danger derives from the failure of the army authorities to educate him politically, the persistent efforts of Nazis to make a good impression on him, and the absence of democratic German groups in public life which could counteract that impression.

In their opinion of Russia soldiers differ as widely as civilians. Some are deeply sympathetic and others violently hostile to the U. S. S. R., but there is general agreement that the Russians are great fighters and made the defeat of Germany possible. Officers and enlisted men who met the Russians at Torgau and other junction points described them as swell eggs. But often the G. I. criticizes the Russians from the viewpoint of high American living standards. He thinks of them with good-natured amusement as men whose uniforms are untidy, whose manners are rough, who loot everything in sight, and who are crazy about watches, which the G. I. is happy to sell them at extravagant prices. When you ask a G. I. who has been in Berlin about the Russians, he grins and says, "They're okay but dirty; and, boy, can they drink!"

Normally Russians are very friendly, but the feeling among American soldiers is that Red Army men are not encouraged to associate with them. Unfortunately the G. I.'s hear a good deal of criticism of Russia from other sources. Russian displaced persons who do not want to go home insist that if sent back to Russia they will be arrested because they "have been abroad." It is rather confusing to an American to learn that someone who has spent three years in Dachau will be detained in a Russian camp until the authorities are certain he has not been infected with Nazi ideas. Most of the Germans with whom the G. I. fraternizes voice fear and hatred of the Russians. In any army mess hall at Berchtesgaden I saw a sixteen-year-old German waiter turn green with terror when an American told him jokingly that he was a Russian. More often, anti-Russian talk takes the form of flattery: "You Americans are wonderful; you must stay here. If you leave, those terrible Russians will move in."

The G. I. is now simply marking time in Europe, waiting to be shipped home. He wanders through the streets of Paris, does his occupation job in Germany, makes love to mademoiselles and Fraüleins, plays with kids, drinks a little and gambles a little. He visits museums and cathedrals, climbs to the Eagle's Nest above Berchtesgaden, which he considers a piece of magnificent megalomania. He goes to army movies, plays tennis, swims, listens to the radio. He drives jeeps or European cars along strange highways, through picturesque villages and cities, learning some geography on the way. He learns a little French or German from the girls he picks up. He talks of his combat experience with an impressive grasp of machinery and tactics. He hates war and will sometimes argue with officers against peace-time conscription. He is a thoroughly disciplined soldier, but he makes fun of post-war reveille and formation and the extreme meticulousness about uniforms that General Patton insists on. About unnecessary social distinctions between officers and men he gripes freely in private conversation and in the B-Bag of *Stars and Stripes*. Free speech was never mentioned in ETO, but it was practiced all the time.

The G. I. doesn't talk about the American way of life. He represents it because he has so keen a sense of fair play, so deep a respect for the human personality. He shows humility and thoughtfulness in victory. I heard the news of the atomic bomb over the radio at an airstrip outside Paris with scores of G. I.'s. As the story came across the field through the loudspeaker, it brought them not only the good news of victory but assurance that they would not have to fight in the Pacific. I expected them to cheer. Instead there was a long silence. Then a soldier said quietly, "I guess people better not have any more wars or they'll destroy the whole world."

Everyone who talked with our soldiers in ETO this summer felt that a great moment in the history of the democratic idea had been reached and wondered how long it would last. That will depend a good deal on what happens to the soldier when he returns to civilian life. He is anxious about his future. Technical and master sergeants, company and field-grade officers with rank, authority, and good incomes are afraid of not getting a job at all or of getting a petty job with poor pay and little authority. Many officers were school or college boys before the war and have never had any experience in getting or holding a job; I know a twenty-four-year-old captain who kept asking the more experienced enlisted men under him, "How do you go about getting a job?" Some G. I.'s are afraid of leaving a setup where all the thinking is done for them. They want to get out of the army but do not know how they will manage without this vast machine which feeds, clothes, houses, and pays them, and gives them free transportation, medical care, and recreational facilities. "I'm not used to worrying about these things," one man said. "When I get out, will I be able to think for myself?" Army training is necessarily based on the leadership principle. The G. I.'s are used to it, and that will have to be reckoned with.

In reply to a War Department questionnaire asking, "How much have you thought about exactly what you will want to do after the war?" 75 per cent of the men canvassed said they had thought a good deal, 20 per cent had thought some, and only 5 per cent had thought hardly at all about it. The replies showed little difference between officers and men, whites and Negroes, men stationed in the States and overseas. Nearly two-thirds planned to work as employees in industry, agriculture, or government. About 12 per cent planned to work for themselves in business or on a farm, and about 8 per cent wanted to attend full-time schools. Eighteen per cent were undecided about what they were going to do.

The War Department reports further that in their plans for the future most of the soldiers did not take into account the G. I. Bill of Rights, and that "few of them could claim a thorough knowledge of that bill." In a recently completed survey of laws and organizations, government and private, affecting veterans of World War II, Edward L. Bernays showed that much has been done but that much more needs to be done in the direction of simplification and coordination. Legislation for veterans fills a 750-page book which only a trained lawyer can read. Federal, state, and private agencies apply these laws in segments.

When five million G. I.'s have been brought home, the veterans, the government, and the country as a whole will face some stiff problems. Joe has gone through hell and back again. Yet he returns to the country he has saved with very modest demands. He does not want to run the show. All he wants is work and security. If the government, the community, and the veterans cooperate with intelligence and good-will to apply and extend the G. I. Bill of Rights, the problems before us can be solved within the democratic framework. Then we may perhaps have a carry-over into the post-war era of that remarkable feeling for free and decent human relations which marks the G. I. today.

[This is the second of two articles on the G. I. in Europe.]

It Happened in Portland

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

(Author of "Prejudice: Japanese Americans" and "Ill Fares the Land")

Los Angeles, October 22

IN response to the appeals to patriotism of the Kaiser shipyards and the War Manpower Commission, Ervin Jones, a middle-aged Negro, left his home in Shreveport, Louisiana, in the early days of the war to work in Portland, Oregon. With Jones came other members of his family—his wife, Elva; his five children, Ardoria, Marie, Derret, Ervin, Jr., and Revordia; and two sisters of Mrs. Jones, Susie and Zandaree Rembo. Portland was crowded, but the Jones family found a small apartment in Guilds Lake, a predominantly Negro district. Jones and Zandaree found employment in the shipyards as chippers—hard, dirty, and dangerous work. The family got along all right in Portland but hoped to return to their home in Shreveport after the war. One of the slogans in the campaign to enlist shipyard workers for the West Coast had been, "You will like our mountains." They liked the mountains around Portland, Elva said, but they missed the lake, the pine mills, the zinnias, the acacia tree, and their friends in the First Baptist Church "back home."

On August 21 last, at two in the morning, four policemen in plain clothes and a deputy district attorney went to the Jones apartment on a tip from a Negro informer that they might find Scott Thomas, a Negro wanted for the murder of Beatrice Terry, a Negro woman. The officers had no definite information that Thomas was, or had been, in the Jones apartment; they were acting on mere suspicion, based on the word of an informer. The evidence of what actually happened when they sought to enter the Jones apartment is sharply contradictory: the police officers contend that Jones attempted to resist a search of the premises; the Jones family say that they thought robbers were breaking into the apartment, that they did not know the intruders were police. In any case Officer Bard Purcell shot and killed Ervin Jones in the apartment. The officers did not find Scott Thomas, nor did they discover any evidence that he had been using the apartment as a hideout.

The police maintained that no inquest was necessary, but under the leadership of Mrs. Ruth Haefner a Citizens' Committee was formed on September 16 for the purpose of demanding a formal inquiry by a coroner's jury. Yielding to the demands of this group, the coroner convened a rather remarkable jury of six citizens to investigate the circumstances under which Jones had met his death. Though the case involved Negroes and occurred in a Negro district, no Negroes were put on this jury. Under the Oregon law the coroner need not consult anyone in selecting a jury, and the jury chosen consisted largely of officers of the Republican Party machine in Portland. These were: Helen La Monde, who acted as campaign manager for the Republican Party during the recent Portland mayoralty election; Harriet Monroe, state secretary and treasurer of the Council of Republican Women; Mrs. C. E. Runyan, ex-national committeewoman, former member of the Republican State Central Committee, active leader in Pro-America; John Dickson, retired railroad executive, Rotarian, and a Republican member of the state legislature; H. L. Idleman, a state office-holder and a member of the Republican State Central Committee; and Richard Tusant, described merely as a "Republican." After hearing testimony for two days, the jury retired and within an hour returned a verdict of justifiable homicide. At the inquest the presiding officer refused to permit the jurors to be questioned about any possible prejudice and denied a request that the police officers should place on the record their original report on the shooting.

The same Citizens' Committee that had demanded the inquest promptly denounced the verdict as "an invitation to lawlessness, a serious threat to the security of all persons in their own homes, and a grave miscarriage of justice." This statement was signed by representatives of the National

Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mrs. Nancy Honeyman Robinson, Democratic national committeewoman from Oregon and an outstanding citizen of the Northwest, numerous churchmen, and other citizens of Portland. The Portland *Oregonian*, in an editorial of October 12, called for a thorough investigation, pointing out that four of the six jurors were active in Republican machine politics and that no Negro had been selected, "although racial feelings could not be excluded from a case of this kind." On the night after the release of the coroner's verdict a near-riot, in which Negro soldiers took part, occurred in the Vanport area. Acting on the demands made by the Citizens' Committee, the district attorney announced that the case would be submitted to the grand jury and that the evidence would be presented by a representative of the Attorney General's office, since a deputy district attorney was one of the eyewitnesses to the shooting. Early in the morning of October 15 an attempt was made against the life of Thomas B. Handley, the district attorney, but was thwarted by police officers detailed to guard his home after he had received threatening messages.

The behavior of the Portland police since the shooting of Jones has been truly amazing. Despite the excitement aroused by the case in a community that has been described as a major area of racial tension for the last two years, the police issued a statement charging that the Citizens' Committee's demand for a grand-jury investigation was merely an attempt to foster racial strife! Some time after Jones was killed the police arrested Scott Thomas, the man they were seeking on the night of August 21. Shortly before the coroner's inquiry, however, Scott Thomas, together with sixteen other prisoners, escaped from the county jail. Although the police managed to catch the other escaped prisoners, Scott Thomas, an important witness for the Jones family, is still at large. A few days ago the police announced that they had received information that Thomas was actually in the Jones apartment when the shooting occurred, but they have refused to provide any details.

For two years now informed observers have warned the authorities that race feeling was running dangerously high in Portland. Nevertheless, Mayor Earl Riley has stubbornly refused to take the most obvious precautions to avert conflict. A report by the Portland City Club, commented upon in the editorial columns of *The Nation* on August 25, provided documentary proof that immediate action was needed. This report stressed the unsatisfactory conduct of the police and made specific recommendations to Mayor Riley and Governor Snell. As might have been expected, the recommendations were ignored. The present widespread demand for an exhaustive investigation of the Jones case will probably assure an honest and thorough inquiry by the grand jury, but that will not of itself clear the charged atmosphere in Portland today. In fact, the existing tensions are likely to increase as unemployment mounts in the area. If trouble is to be avoided, the minimum program recommended by the Portland City Club should be put into effect at once.

The family took the body of Ervin Jones back to Shreveport, because, as Mrs. Jones said, they wanted him buried in "friendlier earth." But they have returned to Portland to assist in the pending investigation.

No Guns for Christmas

THERE will be no guns this Christmas. We had them last Christmas, and the Christmas before, and the one before that. This year it will be a peaceful Christmas.

We have set our feet on the road of peace. But the road is not easy. We have known it would be hard. We have talked about the difficulty of keeping the nations together after the war, of building an organization to prevent another war. We had talked of full employment, of peace in industry, of the end of prejudice and intolerance. Now these problems are on us, and some others we did not dream of a year ago—the atom bomb, the vast, all-embracing problem of controlling a new and awful power, of using it so that it enriches civilization and does not destroy us all.

Men of good-will, of courage, of intelligence see that it is their task to solve these problems. It is for such persons that *The Nation* has been published for eighty years—to give them the information and guidance they need for understanding the great questions of the day.

As a regular *Nation* reader you do not need to be convinced of *The Nation's* worth. Thus we do not hesitate to suggest that for the coming holiday season you again make a gift of a *Nation* subscription to those friends of yours whose intelligence you respect, whose point of view you share. It will be a gift not for a day, or a week, but for fifty-two weeks of 1946. It will be a gift that will be especially valued this Christmas, when there are no guns, but a deep awareness of the battle for peace that must be won.

★

The cost for a yearly gift subscription is only $3. For order form and full particulars kindly turn to

Page 473

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

THE style of a censor is almost bound to be self-conscious, long-winded, and fussy. Protecting other people's morals is an anxious business, and anxiety makes for long sentences cluttered with apologetic clauses, timid participles, and mealy-mouthed verbs. The non-censor, on the other hand, is free to follow the good old rule that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points—which cuts down the reading as well as the writing time.

I've just been reading extracts from the decision of the Massachusetts Supreme Court ruling that "Strange Fruit" is obscene, indecent, and impure. These extracts, which were distributed by the National Council on Freedom from Censorship, run to almost four single-spaced typewritten pages. The first three, which are filled to the brim, are devoted to the views of the censors. The dissenting opinion of Judge Charles Lumus is printed on the last page, and there is white space to spare.

Here is a passage from the censors' opinion:

> The fundamental right of the public to read is not to be trimmed down to the point where a few prurient persons can find nothing upon which their hypersensitive imaginations may dwell. The thing to be considered is whether the book will be appreciably injurious to society in the respects previously stated because of its effect upon those who read it, without segregation either of the more susceptible or the less susceptible, remembering that many persons who form part of the reading public and who cannot be called abnormal are highly susceptible to influence of the kind in question and that most persons are susceptible to some degree, and without forgetting youth as an important part of the mass, if the book is likely to be read by youth.

And here is Judge Lumus:

> The [majority] opinion rests its support of the conviction upon the statutory words "manifestly tends to corrupt the morals of youth" as well as upon the other prohibitions of the statute. . . .
>
> Such knowledge as I have leads me to believe that without such artificial stimulation [as actual or threatened prosecution] novels of the class into which the book in question falls are read by few girls and practically no boys. The great mass of readers are mature women. Plainly the book was not written for juveniles. They would find it dull reading under normal conditions.

It may well be that Boston is the only city in the country where juveniles will be caught reading "Strange Fruit." Such is the strange fruit of censorship.

THE ERN MALLEY AFFAIR will not down. Last spring the American editor of *Angry Penguins*, the Australian magazine on which the hoax was perpetrated, wrote me a letter saying, among other things, that Dorothy Green, whose adverse remarks about the poems of "Ern Malley" I had quoted approvingly, was a fellow-traveler. This observation, as I said at the time, seemed to me highly irrelevant. Miss Green found it worse than that. I have a letter from her which reads in part as follows:

> I am sorry to take up your time, especially over a matter that may seem somewhat out of date to you now, but the remarks made about me by the American editor of *Angry Penguins* (Mr. Roskolenko), which you quoted in *The Nation* of June 23, have just come to my notice. He seems to have left you with the impression that I am a member of the Communist Party, and I should be extremely grateful if you could allow me space to deny emphatically membership in that or in any other political party. . . . If he deduces from my article on the Malley affair that I am a Communist, or any other sort of 'ist for that matter, then he would be well advised to study a little elementary logic. The article was based entirely on my judgment that the Malley poems were bad poems. . . . I am not concerned with avant-gardism, penguinism, surrealism, but only with the poem which confronts me at a particular moment. And this, I think, is the only thing with which a critic has any right to be concerned.

I READ "The Russian Story" by Nicholas Mikhailov (Sheridan House, $2.75), and I still feel as if I had been out in a big east wind. As history it is more curious than convincing, but the spirit of the book is extremely informative. Mikhailov is described as a great Soviet geographer and historian, and he has written a hymn to Soviet geography and history which is enough to sweep Russians off their feet and make Henry Luce tremble in his boots. It reminds one, in a way, of the self-glorifying American oratory of the last century when the eagle was kept so continuously in flight from the peaks of the Alleghenies to the top of Mount Hood that its shadow was said to have worn a trail across the basin of the Mississippi. With the great difference that, according to Constance Rourke, who ought to know, the American encomiums were as often as not regarded as "buncombe" by both orators and auditors. "The Russian Story," needless to say, is preternaturally solemn; it fairly hums with the energy and power of a giant country feeling its strength and flexing its muscles. And when the Soviet geographer says that "all of Western Europe could be easily tucked away in the expanse between the Ob and the Lena River," the reader involuntarily looks around for Western Europe.

As I have indicated, the historical content of the book is less authentic than the spirit which animates it. But by compressing 1,000 years of Russian history into 200 pages, Mr. Mikhailov has made any demand for detail or documentation seem irrelevant, not to say ungracious. Obviously he didn't have space to mention the Soviet-Nazi pact or the Finnish war or the trials. Or is this another case of brevity being the soul of wit?

Let me illustrate his method. On page 24 he writes: "In

November (old style—October), 1917, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the Revolution triumphed." But by the time any old-style Octobrist has got his breath, Tovarisch Mikhailov has finished with the civil war, the type changes, and we read: "Now Hitler was at the gates of Tula. . . ."

He returns to the civil war when you least expect it—just after Napoleon has been driven out on page 68. "Stalin," he tells us, "was in direct charge of the uprising in Petrograd in October, 1917." A few lines farther on he has this to say:

> [Stalin] finds the southern front in a state of collapse. At headquarters great laxity prevails; traitors and incompetents are in commanding positions: the army is on the retreat. This is the handiwork of Trotsky, commander-in-chief at that time.

And so on. But again, before you know it, Russia is saved, the type changes, it is the late autumn of 1941, and no questions asked.

Pravda recently scoffed at the freedom of the press in Western capitalist countries and acclaimed the Soviet variety. It said that "the freedom of the Soviet press is in service to the people. The Soviet journalist is free because no exterior opinions can influence him." Mr. Mikhailov might be said to be "free" in this sense, for certainly, so far as I can judge, he is not influenced by exterior, that is, non-Soviet, opinions in his survey of Russian history.

Mr. Mikhailov writes well, and some of his passages about the Russian countryside have a lyric quality which provides relief from the exalted and, in the end, exhausting tone of dedication. Dedication has its points. As a way of life, it can get to be pretty wearing. The Russians have had a quarter of a century of it.

Mr. Mikhailov says that "the aim of the Revolution was the happiness of the people." I look forward to the day when the Kremlin, replete with Major Triumphs, will announce a Five-Year Plan of Minor Joys, including the joy of writing history which doesn't have to double as a press release.

MOST DISMAL THOUGHT OF THE WEEK:

Their weekly chore:
To make you roar!
(Adv. for a radio program)

The Atom

ATOMIC ENERGY FOR MILITARY PURPOSES. By Henry De Wolf Smyth. Princeton University Press. $1.25, paper; $2, cloth.

ALMIGHTY ATOM. By J. J. O'Neill. Ives Washburn. $1.

ATOMIC ENERGY IN THE COMING ERA. By David Dietz. Dodd, Mead and Company. $2.

IF WE divorce the discovery of the "atomic bomb" from its social implications, it remains an exciting romance. For never before have so many of the beautiful discoveries of science been pooled to reach one overpowering climax. And yet, as in other scientific discoveries, we are here dealing, at one and the same time, with a "soaring angel and a creeping snake"; given a catalytic push in one direction, it should bring happiness to mankind, but pushed in the wrong direction, it may well mean the end of this planet.

I cannot see how any attempt at secrecy in regard to the preparation of the atomic bomb can succeed beyond a very short time. The foundations of the process, and even some of its details, are common knowledge to physicists and chemists everywhere. The feeling of insecurity of which we in this country are conscious with this treasure in our hands cannot be lessened by further attempts at secrecy. No nation has the power, no nation should *want* the power, to keep the secret of the bomb to itself. Inevitably we are led, it seems to me, to advocacy of an international organization to supervise this death-dealing instrument.

Of the three books before us, the one by Smyth has deservedly become a classic overnight. It gives us a fascinating picture of the series of experiments which have led to our present knowledge of atomic structure—a necessary prelude to the atomic bomb. What an array of master-minds in this field since 1896—Becquerel, the Curies, Thomson, Rutherford, Einstein, Chadwick, Fermi, Urey, and others.

The key to the work lies in a few fundamental discoveries: that the atom is a "planetary system," with a nucleus of neutrons and protons surrounded by outer orbits of electrons; that chemical reactions—such as the burning of coal or of gasoline—involve the outer electrons only, with the liberation of a comparatively small amount of energy; that the great storehouse of energy is in the nucleus; and that what we call "matter" and "energy" are quantitatively related—they are, in fact, different forms of the same eternal "stuff."

When we speak of the energy of the atomic bomb we mean the energy stored *within* the atom—in the nucleus. With this in mind, we get some startling figures. Smyth points out that about two pounds of matter converted into energy give twenty-five billion kilowatt-hours of energy—equivalent to the total power of the electric industry in the United States running for about two months (the figures are for 1939). When two pounds of coal are burned, we get about eight and a half kilowatt-hours of energy. In the former case we liberate the energy within the nuclei of the atoms; in the burning of coal the nuclei of the carbon and other atoms are not disturbed.

The practical achievement of the atomic bomb depends, among other things, on the selection of a suitable element for "atomic fission"—uranium; and on methods for controlling the reaction, which are secrets. It is no small satisfaction that the very Hitler who longed for an atomic bomb drove from his country some of the scientists who made the atomic bomb possible in this country.

Smyth's report, beautifully presented, unfortunately requires some knowledge of the physical sciences for a full appreciation of the story. The books by O'Neill and Dietz are written in a more popular manner. They are worthy attempts, particularly the volume by Dietz, but from my point of view they are somewhat deceptive, because the "man in the street," after having read them, thinks he knows a good deal about the subject, when in reality he knows it but vaguely. There is, unfortunately, no other remedy but to take a refresher course in college physics and chemistry.

BENJAMIN HARROW

Wandering, Waiting, Working

LETTERS OF RAINER MARIA RILKE, 1892-1910. Translated by Jane Bannard Greene and M. D. Herter Norton. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.50.

TO THE devotion of M. D. Herter Norton, this time in collaboration with Jane Bannard Greene, we owe gratitude, again, for a substantial addition to our store of information about Rainer Maria Rilke. These letters, addressed to some fifty correspondents, begin in substance with the year 1897, when Rilke was twenty-two years old; before that, from the years 1892 to 1897, we have only half a dozen items, most of them rather brief notes, one an extensive rhapsody to an early love. They end with the year 1910, a logical terminus, for it was that year which saw the final editing and sending to print of the Notebooks of Malte Laurids Brigge. These years, then, present Rilke, as it were, between two periods of coming of age—a nominal date, when he was eighteen, or twenty-one, and a more actual date, when the "other self," he could feel, was summed up, and exorcised.

During these years Rilke traveled and lived in many lands—in Germany, Austria, Russia, and France, where he served for a while as secretary to Rodin; in Italy, Sweden, Denmark, and Belgium. And during these years he wrote many books, a book a year, almost, if one can count as far back as the "Life and Songs," of '94, and "Wild Chicory" and "Offerings to the Lares," in '96. There were prose books as well as verse: the "Stories of God," first issued in 1900, were republished in 1904: the more substantial books of poems—the "Book of Pictures," the "Book of Hours," the "New Poems"—come in the years after the turn of the century.

To the average writer, no doubt, these would seem like reasonably active and fruitful years; to Rilke they did not appear so. Convinced or, anyway, trying to reassure himself of his own uniqueness, dedicated and devoted to his vocation as artist, he would not work at anything else. As for eating, let the ravens provide. They did so, ravens in the forms of in-laws, or a long-suffering but generous father, or patrons from the nobility. Determined as he was—"Whoever does not consecrate himself wholly to art with all his wishes and values can never reach the highest goal. He is not an artist at all"—Rilke could not always accept this manna with composure and an easy conscience. "This winter ['02] poverty stood before me for months like a specter, and I lost myself and all my beloved aims and all the light out of my heart and came near taking some official post, and that would have meant: dying and setting out on a spiritual transmigration full of homelessness and madness." "When, Lou, when will this miserable life begin to be effective, when will it grow out over inability, inertia, and opacity to the simple reverent joyousness for which it longs? Is it growing at all? I scarcely dare ask about my advancing steps, because I am afraid . . . to find that their tracks run in a circle, keep coming back to that notorious disconsolate spot from which I have already so often started out."

And it is true, one feels of Rilke's spiritual struggles, that he did make a good many false starts, that he sometimes seems, quite unnecessarily, to be imposing on himself the pattern of hazing he endured in military school, that he dramatizes himself, more subtly, but with the same mawkish priggishness he praises himself for in a very early letter to Valery David-Rhonfeld—"I suffer it because Christ suffered it, silently and without complaint, and while you were hitting me, I prayed my good God to forgive you."

That Rilke could be silly is on the whole good news rather than otherwise. We need to be reminded, occasionally, that artists are not high priests, to the manor born; that they are human beings, can get themselves in jams and messes, make damn fools of themselves. We could perhaps stand a good deal more revelation of Rilke's foolishness, errors, and, for that matter, hard-boiled practicalities. But what is important is to learn how to outgrow silliness; and in that study the letters of these years of Rilke's life are valuable testimony. If one tires of precepts, or suspects that they are set down more to reassure the instructor than to convey instruction, one can find in Rilke's progress much beyond the precept, much in the way of example: what he preached, he learned to practice.

Above all, patience; patience, endurance of solitude and suffering; patience, and work. "Where I create, I am true." . . . "Deep composure for the sake of the fashioning." . . . "Time passed in the difficult is never lost." . . . "The using up of strength is in a certain sense still an increase of strength . . . what is required of us is that we *love the difficult* and learn to deal with it." . . . "Everything depends only on how much and how completely he will be able to transpose himself into artistic matter." . . ."The hostile thing is not life but myself." . . . "Works of art are indeed always products of having-been-in-danger, of having-gone-to-the-very-end in an experience, to where no man can go further. The further one goes, the more one's own, the more personal, the more unique an experience becomes, and the work of art, finally, is the necessary, irrepressible, most valid expression of this uniqueness." . . . "How old one must become in order really sufficiently to marvel, to remain nowhere behind the world; how much one still undervalues, overlooks, misconstrues."

For all his steadfast, rigorous, sometimes almost morbid examination of the self, and his study of the conversion of that self into artist, Rilke was not led up the blind alleys of self-concern into any bogus, dubious mysticism. Sometimes preaching anticipated, sometimes dawdled behind, practice; but the general direction was forward, as if the capacity to look inward improved the ability to turn the gaze outward. What poet, ever, has seen more clearly and joyously the visible world? Over and over, reading these letters, one marks passages that testify to Rilke's ability to *see*, "with eyes that really contemplated and found repose in everything." "A green rectangular field, flat against the curving, deep-blue sea beside which it was set. . . . On this field a woman sitting, in rhubarb red and orange, another in a faded green going back and forth among the white sheets and table cloths hung out to dry on lines and moved in most varied fashion by the wind, now hollow and drawn in, full of translucent shadow, now dazzlingly billowed out, ever and again interrupted by the distinct blue of the sea and overflowed by the sky continually coming down over everything." . . . "One goes through the Luxembourg and in the

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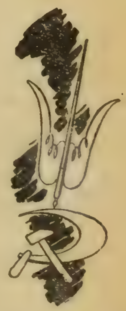
The American Mercury

The American Mercury and Russia

John Foster Dulles recently broadcast the following statement: "For over four years, every meeting of representatives of the great powers was followed by a pronouncement which gave the impression that complete harmony had been achieved. That was the war diet of soothing syrup. The reality was that there was unity in so far as it related to joint effort against common enemies. But behind that there have always been the differences which are now coming to light." THE AMERICAN MERCURY has never given its readers any soothing syrup. It has insisted on realistically recognizing the fundamental differences between totalitarianism and democracy. It has insisted on telling the truth, no matter how unpopular that truth was at a given moment. Our attitude has evoked criticism because it has been mistaken for hostility toward Russia. We firmly believe that it is essential that Russia and the United States cooperate in peace as well as in war. But not at the sacrifice of our basic principles. We will continue to guide our readers in their thinking by presenting facts rather than soothing syrup.



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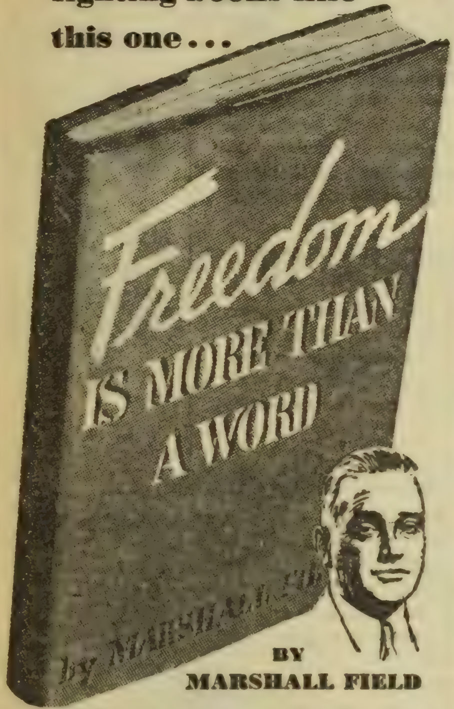

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dense, close air sees the rise of the fountains (like a woman in a Japanese print), and a dahlia that melts like a dark berry as one looks at it, and geranium-red and yellow in begonias and colors and colors (the light ones as if they had turned fluid, the dark ones on a black background), all fraternizing with each other on gray." Rose petals that "lie in the grass like torn-up letters," or pictures of bread, Westphalian ham; tea, lemons, red mandarins, "in which a summer is folded up very small like an Italian silk handkerchief in a nutshell."

Nor was it only landscape; it could be people, Rodin, or Tolstoy, with a little too much enthusiasm; Ellen Key, with no remorse over disillusionment. Bernard Shaw—"There is a man who has a very good way of getting along with life—of putting himself into harmony with it. . . . Proud of his works, like Wilde or Whistler, but without their pretentiousness, proud as a dog is proud of his master." Mrs. Shaw—"a solicitous, quietly attentive good woman, full of zeal and enthusiasm for beautiful things, hovering about her husband with all this as the spring wind plays about a billy goat." Rilke's own mother—"this lost, unreal woman who is connected with nothing, who cannot grow old." Baudelaire—"he had a long road to go to get there, Baudelaire, and he went on his knees and crawling." A poetry reading—"again the awful old ladies, whom as a child I used to marvel at, still the same and no more amusing now that the marveling was on their side. A few littérateurs, also the same, dustier, shabbier, and more worn-out with every year, inquisitive and too kindhearted and too easygoing to be envious." Gorky—"you know my opinion, that the revolutionary is the direct antithesis of the Russian: that is, the Russian is admirably suited to be one, rather as a cambric handkerchief is very nice for wiping up ink, provided you completely misuse and ruthlessly misjudge its real attributes." Dante: Ibsen: Van Gogh: Cézanne. Above all, Cézanne.

And all this, which another man could be proud of as his maturity, was in Rilke's case the insight only of his emergence from callowness. In 1910 he was thirty-five, and only beginning, really, with Malte Laurids Brigge out of his system. Not too long, please, Mrs. Norton, for the letters from 1910-1926; and if it is not asking too much could we, next time, have also an index? ROLFE HUMPHRIES

BRIEFER COMMENT

A Middle Western Anthology

JOHN T. FLANAGAN names his selection of the literature of the Middle West "America Is West" (University of Minnesota Press, $3.75), a title dubious in idiom, vague as geography, and false as a literary category. What Mr. Flanagan means is that America is Middle West, but obviously the shorter title is more poetic and more impressive. Abraham Lincoln, Frederick Lewis Turner, and Henry A. Wallace are among Mr. Flanagan's authors, but also included are Ring Lardner, James T. Farrell, Sinclair Lewis, and John Dos Passos, who in a variety of ways help to demonstrate the exact opposite of the editor's intention. For Mr. Flana-

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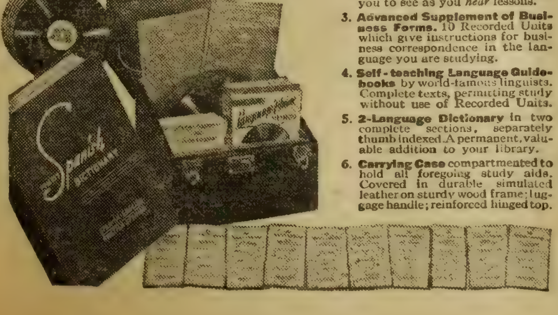

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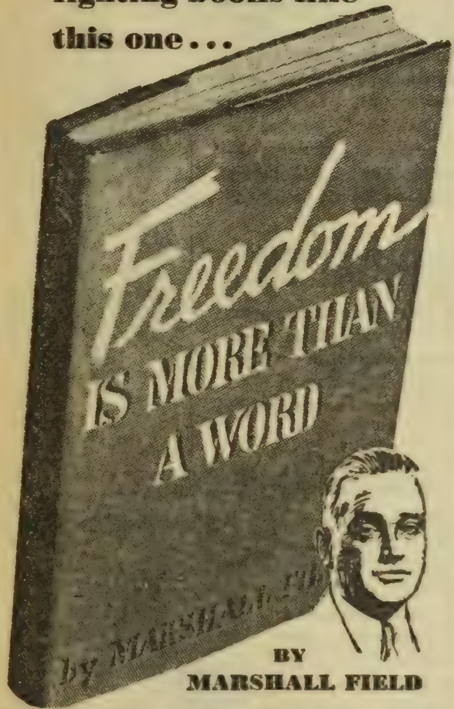

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dense, close air sees the rise of the fountains (like a woman in a Japanese print), and a dahlia that melts like a dark berry as one looks at it, and geranium-red and yellow in begonias and colors and colors (the light ones as if they had turned fluid, the dark ones on a black background), all fraternizing with each other on gray." Rose petals that "lie in the grass like torn-up letters," or pictures of bread, Westphalian ham, tea, lemons, red mandarins, "in which a summer is folded up very small like an Italian silk handkerchief in a nutshell."

Nor was it only landscape; it could be people, Rodin, or Tolstoy, with a little too much enthusiasm; Ellen Key, with no remorse over disillusionment. Bernard Shaw—"There is a man who has a very good way of getting along with life —of putting himself into harmony with it. . . . Proud of his works, like Wilde or Whistler, but without their pretentiousness, proud as a dog is proud of his master." Mrs. Shaw—"a solicitous, quietly attentive good woman, full of zeal and enthusiasm for beautiful things, hovering about her husband with all this as the spring wind plays about a billy goat." Rilke's own mother—"this lost, unreal woman who is connected with nothing, who cannot grow old." Baudelaire—"he had a long road to go to get there, Baudelaire, and he went on his knees and crawling." A poetry reading— "again the awful old ladies, whom as a child I used to marvel at, still the same and no more amusing now that the marveling was on their side. A few littérateurs, also the same, dustier, shabbier, and more worn-out with every year, inquisitive and too kindhearted and too easygoing to be envious." Gorky—"you know my opinion, that the revolutionary is the direct antithesis of the Russian: that is, the Russian is admirably suited to be one, rather as a cambric handkerchief is very nice for wiping up ink, provided you completely misuse and ruthlessly misjudge its real attributes." Dante: Ibsen: Van Gogh: Cézanne. Above all, Cézanne.

And all this, which another man could be proud of as his maturity, was in Rilke's case the insight only of his emergence from callowness. In 1910 he was thirty-five, and only beginning, really, with Malte Laurids Brigge out of his system. Not too long, please, Mrs. Norton, for the letters from 1910-1926; and if it is not asking too much could we, next time, have also an index? ROLFE HUMPHRIES

BRIEFER COMMENT

A Middle Western Anthology

JOHN T. FLANAGAN names his selection of the literature of the Middle West "America Is West" (University of Minnesota Press, $3.75), a title dubious in idiom, vague as geography, and false as a literary category. What Mr. Flanagan means is that America is Middle West, but obviously the shorter title is more poetic and more impressive. Abraham Lincoln, Frederick Lewis Turner, and Henry A. Wallace are among Mr. Flanagan's authors, but also included are Ring Lardner, James T. Farrell, Sinclair Lewis, and John Dos Passos, who in a variety of ways help to demonstrate the exact opposite of the editor's intention. For Mr. Flana-

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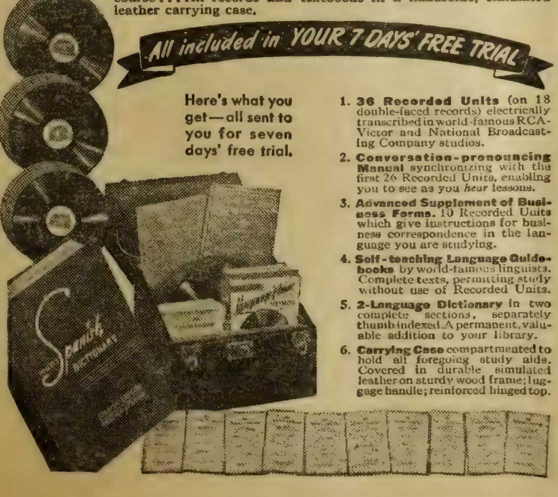

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gan believes that the Middle West, which he entitles "the heartland," has provided a real center for the arts. "For the last three decades," he says in his introduction, "American literature has been primarily the story of those (Middle Western) men and their successors." The truth is that American literature has not been limited in the least to the Middle West, and Middle Western authors have responded to their region chiefly in terms of dislike, satire, and departure. Even Mr. Flanagan's piety as a Middle Westerner does not prevent him from including a good many samples of the rejection which the Middle West has inspired. At the same time it is clear that he delights in colorful characters, quaint dialects, and all the other fixings which make most forms of regionalism resemble nothing so much as a morbid passion for home cooking. DELMORE SCHWARTZ

In Business for Our Health

NOT COUNTING THE AMERICAN RED CROSS, more than 20,000 voluntary health agencies in the United States spend upward of $50,000,000 annually, have perhaps 20,000 paid employees, count more than 300,000 persons on their governing boards, and command the loyal support and part-time assistance of more than 700,000 other volunteers. This is big business; and since these agencies deal with most of the important causes of sickness and death, it is clearly important business too.

"Voluntary Health Agencies," by Selskar M. Gunn and Philip S. Platt, with a Foreword by Dr. Louis I. Dublin (Ronald Press, $3), is "an interpretative study" of this business. It is an admirable study, long overdue. For fifty years voluntary health agencies have been growing in size and number. Much has been known about some of them, but little about the movement as a whole—little about its coverage, its effectiveness, the efficient relation of its parts, whether it is economically or wastefully administered, whether it is carefully planned or has grown like Topsy. The present volume throws a flood of light on these and many other aspects of the movement. After describing and appraising local agencies and state and national organizations, after examining the role of boards, executives, and volunteer workers, after considering problems of finance, the authors come to the following general conclusions:

The most striking fact is the marked unevenness of the movement. Excellent agencies abound, but far too many are inadequate. Voluntary health agencies should subject themselves to searching self-analysis, with the help of expert counsel where needed. They should concentrate on the strengthening of executive and board leadership. They should more effectively coordinate their work. They should simplify and unify their appeals for public support. They should cheerfully and cleanly transfer appropriate activities to the official agency. Recognizing the essential leadership of the official agency, they should strengthen and support that leadership.

It is a first-class prescription. The test will come in the degree to which 20,000 independent bodies can be prevailed upon to take it. The divine right of private initiative, with its accumulation of vested interests, yields slowly to rationalization.

Stop the Spanish Atomic Bomb!

By **JOHN M. COFFEE**

Member of Congress

"EVEN as the first of the atomic bombs crashed down on Japan, the world was hit with the terrible knowledge that Nazi scientists in Germany were within a few months of being the first to successfully harness the terrible destructive powers of uranium. But the bombs which fell in Hiroshima and Nagasaki did not destroy the Nazi scientists who had spent a decade or more in working on the development of atomic power.

The German cartels, who hired and supervised the researches of the Nazi atomic scientists, today control more than forty per cent of the industrial resources of fascist Spain. Many of the German Nazis who worked on atomic bombs in Nazi Germany are now safe and working in laboratories in Nazi-Falange Spain.

On July 3, 1945, I introduced a resolution (H.R. 312) in the House of Representatives which called for a complete diplomatic and commercial break with the Franco regime. I said then, and I repeat it now, that such a move on our part would severely curtail the life of the Nazi-Falange regime in Spain.

Franco Spain is, today, the last outpost in Europe of Axis fascism. It is the last refuge where Axis cartels and Axis scientists can function without interference. It is the one spot left in Europe from which the Axis fascists can launch still another attempt to seize world domination.

I must remind those who think my warning is far fetched that **it was in Spain that the Nazis in this war did much of their experimental work on the rocket bombs which hit London and Antwerp**, killing British civilians and American soldiers alike. I need only point to the map of Europe to show how dangerous Spain can be as a launching point for rocket bombs carrying atomic explosive warheads.

The atomic bomb makes the continuance of Nazi fascism in Spain the personal problem of every peace-loving American. Once deprived of diplomatic and commercial relations with the United States, the Franco regime will fall. I therefore, call upon all Americans who love their country to immediately wire or write to the President of the United States, asking him to follow up the gains of San Francisco and Potsdam by immediately breaking all diplomatic and commercial relations with the Franco regime in Spain. I also ask all Americans to write to their own Representatives in Congress urging their support of H.R. 312, the resolution calling for a diplomatic and commercial break with Franco Spain.

Franco mortally fears the Coffee Resolution. When the American Committee for Spanish Freedom, headed by Bishop Lewis O. Hartman, launched a drive to get one million signatures to a petition favoring the passage of H.R. 312, the Madrid radio savagely attacked the American people. Franco's radio spokesman said that it would be impossible to find one million Americans to sign this petition. There is only one way to answer this slur: clip the coupon below, and send it to the Committee for as many copies of this petition as you can distribute. It is up to the American people to determine our national policy towards Nazi-Falange Spain. The Coffee Resolution is the people's mandate on Spain. When it passes in Congress, Franco falls. Your future is in your hands."

John M. Coffee M. C.

American Committee for Spanish Freedom

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The CHRISTMAS BOOK NUMBER of The Nation will be dated Dec. 1. Advertisers are already placing space reservations for this annual feature, which will be printed in 48 pages or more. Deadlines: Nov. 16 for space reservations and copy to set; Nov. 21 for final OK's and complete plates.

THE *Nation*
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"The voluntary health agencies of the country," says Dr. Louis I. Dublin in his Foreword, "are at the crossroads." He "firmly believes that a great future awaits the voluntary health movement in our country." May his hope be justified by the event.

ROBERT P. LANE

FICTION IN REVIEW

THE scholarship and historical avidity of Robert Graves are awesome things indeed. After having deserted the Rome of Claudius for the England of John Milton, Mr. Graves has now gone back again in time, to Minoan Greece, and reconstructed the voyage of the Argonauts. How much of "Hercules, My Shipmate" (Creative Age Press, $3) is sound historical and geographical conjecture I am not in the least competent to judge; such questions as occurred to an untrained reader like myself were satisfactorily answered in the book's fascinating jumble of a historical appendix. As story, however, Mr. Graves's new novel is excellent entertainment, and this despite the moments when it is overburdened with detail. Inasmuch as it is the assumption of "Hercules, My Shipmate" that Jason's voyage for the Golden Fleece actually took place, it is its further quite proper assumption that the voyage was impelled, vexed, and colored by the political-religious realities of the day; and these Mr. Graves re-creates with a nice balance between what we can suppose to be the attitude toward their own past of the Greeks of Hellenistic times (he explains that he is writing from the vantage point of the second century B. C.) and our own modern attitude toward the pre-Periclean civilization. He suggests, that is, a certain historical distance from his subject, but without at all patronizing it. And although there is a hint of exploitation of the material for its present-day social interest—a touch of strictly twentieth-century chic in the picture of woman-dominated Lemnos, as an instance—one must admire the strength with which Mr. Graves resisted the obvious temptation to play psychoanalytical anthropologist and, in general, his refusal to impose modern "scientific" interpretations upon a historical narrative.

When one returns to the flyleaf after finishing Elizabeth Janeway's "Daisy Kenyon" (Doubleday, Doran, $2.50) and reads once again that "this novel has not been serialized in any form prior to book publication," one can only wonder why not. Except for some adultery and a bit of rape, both decently atoned for before the story ends, this second novel by the author of "The Walsh Girls" is surely the stuff of women's-magazine fiction. There is the heroine of Mrs. Janeway's title, a magazine illustrator, beautiful with red hair piled on top of her head; there is her married lover, Dan O'Mara, a selfish go-getting lawyer but with alluring moments of Irish charm and hard-headed idealism; there is the tender Pete whom Daisy marries to save him from memories of a dead wife and to save herself from Dan. Attach to this familiar triangle a pair of staunch, no-nonsense friends straight out of Philip Barry; add to the familiar emotional situation a war situation which sends Pete to camp, Dan to Washington, and Daisy to brave pieces; and smarten up the whole story with a running patter of wise talk about politics

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Professor of Psychiatry, College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University

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—and what can possibly be lacking for a successful serial of life among the sophisticated sufferers? It becomes the final suitable pretentiousness that Mrs. Janeway subtitles her book "An Historical Novel, 1940-1942."

Mrs. Janeway's first novel, "The Walsh Girls," had very grave faults. It was tedious, over-internal, and achieved its effect of scale by the usual female trick of scaling what are presumed to be the heights of female emotion. "Daisy Kenyon" can be accused of none of these things. It is paced, externalized into action, and, quite the opposite of boasting its female sensibility, it boasts that there are *some* women who are just as much in the worldly know as some men. It is nevertheless so far inferior to Mrs. Janeway's earlier novel that at first glance one can scarcely connect the two performances. For, at least, whatever its moral-literary inadequacies, "The Walsh Girls" sounded a note of earnestness which we are accustomed to listen for as the distinction between a serious writing effort and commercialism; whereas "Daisy Kenyon" rings with all the hollowness of pure slickness. Only when one recalls that moral earnestness is itself becoming more and more the commercial taste, that sensibility is more and more a form of present-day slickness, does one begin to realize that perhaps the distance between Mrs. Janeway's first and second novels is not so great as appears on the surface.

Albert J. Guerard's "Maquisard" (Knopf, $2) is also a second novel which is inferior to its predecessor; but here the circumstances of the composition of the new book must be taken into account. Despite its unevenness and a certain imbalance between its two major themes, Mr. Guerard's "The Hunted" was one of the noteworthy novels of 1944, a book distinguished among current fiction for the quality both of its author's relation to his characters and of his social and moral insights; for instance, what Mr. Guerard had to say about college fraternities remains one of the fresh and significant statements about American life. "Maquisard," a very small novel about the *maquis* in the period following the liberation of France, has no such quality. It has no boldness or penetration; indeed, it is linear, oversimplified, even trite. But the fact that it is the product of Mr. Guerard's own period of service in France seems to me to make usual critical opinion irrelevant. I do not know whether "Maquisard" was actually written on the scene, but certainly it was written with no time or space for reflection, and I take it to be either a literary exercise—that is, an effort on Mr. Guerard's part to keep his hand in, to remember that he was a writer—or else a tribute exacted by association so personally felt that it denies one proper literary distance; or perhaps it was both. At any rate, the context and obviously modest intent of the performance demand that we suspend conventional judgment on it.

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Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THERE having been a dearth of art along Fifty-seventh Street this past month, I trust Mr. Haggin will forgive me for poaching on his preserve. I want to protest against the omission of Anthony Tudor's realistic ballet "Dim Luster" from the last and present runs of the Ballet Theater at the Metropolitan. I know little about ballet, but "Dim Luster" seems to me one of the most original and successful works of art produced in the last five years—regardless of whether or not ballet is the very minor art form some assert it to be.

Like opera, ballet in this country is a rite, but not so much a social and financial as a cultural and sexual one. Like all latter-day rites, ballet has a remote point of departure, and there is little relation between life as lived in the audience and the notion of it conveyed from the stage. With opera, ballet belongs under the heading of what is called escapist art. But for a number of reasons which cannot be gone into here, ballet is not quite so uncompromisingly escapist. For one thing, it is less archaeological and more folkloristic.

The remarkable thing about Anthony Tudor's ballets is that at times they actually try to deal, in cogent terms, with some of the issues that right here and now agitate the private lives of a good section of the ballet audience.

True, in most of his works Tudor is either too pretentious—in a Weimar Republic, depth-psychological sort of way—or too cute, although even I can discern the brilliance of the choreography in almost everything he does. But in "Dim Luster" he delivers himself for the first time purely and inevitably; here his art bites off exactly as much as it can chew, not too much and not too little. The choreography is a sublimation of the ballroom, the kind of dancing most natural to the audience itself and the kind, after jitterbugging, most popularly alive. The story is not injected into the dancing, nor is the dancing superimposed upon the story. Every element, including the décor and Richard Strauss's slightly dissonant music—which alludes to and parodies ballroom music—flows into and out of every other element.

The scene is a ball: a couple in white among other couples, striding and whirling. During a slight pause someone puts his hand on the male partner's arm, which suddenly brings some memory out of his past. His body freezes in its momentary pose, while his partner stands wondering. Then the floor empties, the lights go down, and he is left to dance alone in front of the skilfully contrived illusion of a mirror, on the other side of which another dancer, dressed exactly as he is, dances back the illusion of his reflection. Then, as the lights go dimly up, a girl dressed in pale green appears, and she and the man dance together: his first sweetheart—innocence, enthusiasm, illusion, etc. The dance finishes, the lights go off and on again, returning the man to the ballroom and his partner. A moment later the latter too receives a flash of memory, from a dropped handkerchief, and she goes through the same pantomime, likewise dances with the wraith of her first sweetheart, and is then returned to the ballroom and her partner. This happens to both dancers two or three times, each time with a different lover out of their respective pasts, as in memory they advance from innocence to what I take to be sin and responsibility. In the intervals, when they are together in the ballroom, they grow more and more bored with each other, and by the time the curtain falls are dancing with the perfunctoriness of indifference and alienation. *Punkt.*

"Dim Luster" contains a rather dark view of contemporary sexual relations. The narcissistic passages offer a clue to a meaning underneath the obvious one, which is merely that the past is perfect while the present is incomplete. No, the partners are each in love with their respective selves, and because they are in love with their selves, they are in love with their own sex. Thus they may really be in love with each other's past, with the men or women the other has had. (Marlene Dietrich sings a song that goes "My past that makes you hate me makes you love me too.") The final impression is that the triumph of homosexual over heterosexual love is being celebrated; a homosexual pattern is shown imposing itself on a heterosexual situation.

This seems to me to be something much more realistic than anything ballet has ever dared to do before. It has behind it the courage of the truth, for the tendency toward the homosexualization of all sex in our society is becoming more and more apparent. What is involved is not simply homosexuality as such but the devaluation of love and sexual relations in general. Perhaps this is why the audience has rejected "Dim Luster"—it would not have been withdrawn for any other reason than lack of public approval. The audience does not want to be told anything about its own life, it does not want realism; it wants its art high-flown and fancy.

That one of the most original works of art of our small moment should have proved unpalatable to a presumably literate audience is—to use the first cliché that comes to hand—one of the saddest commentaries upon the present state of art-consumption.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THOUGH I could not attend Victor's demonstration of its unbreakable plastic record to the press, I was able to obtain one of the records that had been played on that occasion—part of the new Koussevitzky-Boston Symphony recording of Strauss's "Till Eulenspiegel"; and later I received my review copy of the complete set of two records (DV-1; $4.50).

The review copy enabled me to hear what the plastic record sounds like when new. For one thing it has almost no surface noise; and this by itself would probably cause the recorded sound to stand out more clearly and cleanly than on the shellac record. But in addition the plastic record seems to take the extremely fine impression of high vibration—frequencies that the shellac record does not take (I judge by the difference between the sound from a plastic pressing of a Toscanini recording that Victor issued to record-critics a couple of years ago, and the less brilliant sound from the shellac pressing that it issued to the public); and I think it is these additional high frequencies that give the sound of the Boston Symphony performance its amazing beauty, brilliance, and sharpness of definition.

But I was interested also in what the plastic record sounds like after it is played—whether, in particular, those fine impressions of the high-frequencies remain or are destroyed. The noise-producing abrasive mineral filler of the shellac record had the purpose of keeping the impression of the recording from being destroyed by the abrasive effect of the needle in the heavy pickups that were used in phonographs until quite recently; and one of the things that prevented the substitution of plastics—for example, of vinylite, on which that Toscanini recording was pressed for record-critics—was their inability to resist this destructive effect of the heavy pickups in hundreds of thousands of existing machines. When, therefore, Victor announced its plastic record I inquired whether the plastic was vinylite, and if so whether it had been made resistant to the effect of heavy pickups. My questions were referred to the engineering division; and no answers have arrived thus far. But the Victor representative from whom I obtained the demonstration record thought it was made of the same plastic as the Army V-discs, which were made of vinylite; and the demonstration record itself provided one of the answers—for there are more than one—to my question about the effect of heavy pickups.

The record was one of a number that had been played at the demonstration to show, among other things, that the plastic records work with automatic record-changers. The pickup on the changer of the machine on which they had been played had, I discovered, a permanent sapphire point; and it weighed, I also discovered, about two ounces—which was twice what I had always been told was safe with a sapphire point even on shellac records (that is, the excessive weight would cause excessive wear on the sapphire, which eventually would begin to produce excessive wear on records). The machine had presumably been used to play shellac records, and my demonstration record may have been played with the sapphire worn down by this previous use; on the other hand it may have been played with a new sapphire; in either case the sapphire point, worn or new—in a pickup which weighed two ounces and exerted the side-pressures of a record-changer—had erased enough of the high frequencies on the first part of one side of my demonstration record, to rob it of the richness and brilliance of the corresponding passage on the new record. Only that first part of one side had been damaged; the rest was like new, and I would guess had not been played: the record-changer had been set working and had substituted another record.

Possibly a changer with an unworn sapphire point in a one-ounce pickup would be safe; but possibly the changer's side-pressures would still be destructive. Certainties about this type of changer, or about the older type with a heavy pickup and chromium needle, would require tests which I am not able to make.

I was, however, able to test the effect of a heavy pickup that is not part of a record-changer. Picking a brilliant phrase of the high violins on the demonstration record, I played it thirty times with a two-ounce Astatic Tru-Tan and a new Victor chromium needle; and I then found—by a comparison with the same phrase on the new record—that this had not produced the slightest loss in brilliance. But I am fairly certain that there would have been a loss if the chromium needle had been worn down by many previous playings of shellac records, or if the needle had been a misnamed "permanent" sapphire or alloy that had been used on a couple of hundred thousand shellac records. (Victor and Columbia chromium needles, incidentally, are worn down much more quickly than they used to be, and must be watched very carefully and removed at the first trace of fuzziness in the sound.)

The engineer to whom I talk about these matters raised a question that had not occurred to me. "People may be willing to pay $2 instead of $1 for a record that gives them the music without surface noise and with greater clarity and brilliance of sound. But I can't figure out how that doubled price is necesary on the basis of cost. When you consider the costs that enter into the $.60 the retail dealer pays for the one-dollar shellac record—the artist's fee; the cost of recording studio, equipment, and engineers; the cost of manufacturing plant, machinery, and labor; the cost of promotion and sales; other overhead costs—all of which remain the same whether the recording is pressed on shellac or on vinylite; and then when you come to materials, you can see that vinylite might cost twice as much as shellac, or three times as much"—or ten times as much, an industrial chemist interjected—"and it would not push the price up to $1.20 to the dealer and $2 to the public." And the chemist doubted that vinylite actually was at all more expensive than shellac today.

A last fact about the new record: one usually has to clean the dust out of the grooves of a shellac record before the first playing; but the plastic record has to be cleaned before each playing. (The method I use is to press one edge of a soft-bristled handbrush lightly on the rotating record.)

And finally a word about the Koussevitzky-Boston Symphony performance of "Till Eulenspiegel": the playing of the orchestra is a pleasure to the ear; but Koussevitzky heavily underlines every point with tempos that knock the work out of shape and destroy the continuity of its flow.

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Letters to the Editors

A Foolish Thing

Dear Sirs: The army openly invited a race riot in New York last week when it ordered Negro troops to load the big British liner Queen Elizabeth, on which rank-and-file strikers of the International Longshoremen's Association had refused to work. Employment of the troops was an attempt at strike-breaking by the army, with colored soldiers forced to assume the role of scabs.

Violent race conflicts have often originated in the replacement of white strikers by Negro workers. The army, which has fostered racial antagonism in its own ranks by Jim Crow policies, did a foolish thing in a highly explosive labor situation. ALBON P. MAN, JR.

Hollis, N. Y., October 19

$625 a Year

Dear Sirs: The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, with headquarters in Memphis, Tennessee, has asked for support for its campaign to win a guaranteed $625 minimum annual wage for share-croppers, tenant farmers, and wage hands in the cotton country. The union reports that 60 per cent of the farm families in Arkansas earned less than $400 in cash during the war-boom year of 1944. The planters are seeing to it that earnings go even lower this year. They have been instrumental in having ceilings imposed on cotton pickers' wages in parts of Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas (under the Economic Stabilization Act) which fix the upper limit of pay for a ten-hour day at $2 to $2.50. A laborer on a cotton plantation averages only 125 days' work a year in normal times.

The people in the cotton country are determined that they shall not be driven back to the misery of the 1930's. Their campaign for $625 a year, guaranteed by contract with the employers, should demonstrate to the nation that there must be improvement in the grave economic problems of the South. The men and women of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union have shown that they have the courage to challenge the system which has enslaved them. We cannot do that job for our share-cropper friends but we can help.

The National Share-Croppers' Fund gives aid to democratically controlled and locally directed organizations in the South which constructively tackle the evils from which the farmers of the South suffer. We need $25,000 immediately to support the new struggle of the share-croppers for a $625 annual wage. If you want to back them up, send us your gift.

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN, Chairman

New York, October 3

In the Track of Trade

Dear Sirs: Would some *Nation* reader please send in again for publication that famous poem about America's conquest of the Philippines in 1898 which begins:

> If you see an island shore
> Which has not been grabbed before,
> Lying in the track of trade
> As islands should, etc., etc.

Not only is this poem applicable to the campaign of our present-day imperialists for American annexation of Pacific islands, but I myself have need of it for a new book I am writing. It should be kept before the public.

AGNES SMEDLEY

Saratoga Springs, N. Y., August 25

Winter in Saint-Dié

Dear Sirs: May I call the attention of your readers to the agonizing condition of one French city, Saint-Dié in the Vosges Mountains? Saint-Dié, which was formerly represented in Parliament by my uncle, M. Jules Ferry, was utterly and wantonly destroyed by the Germans last November, a week before its liberation by the Americans.

Saint-Dié has close ties with your country. It was here that in 1507 a local printer was the first to use the word "America" to designate the new continent, discovered, as he thought, by Amerigo Vespucci. More recently our contacts with America have been frequent and cordial. In 1939, on the occasion of the New York World's Fair, our mayor and city council were invited to the United States and were received by President Roosevelt.

On November 8 and 9, 1944, most of the inhabitants of Saint-Dié were evacuated by the Germans, 970 men being sent to Mannheim. The city was then methodically pillaged. Night and day trucks bearing the inscription *Don de la ville de Saint-Dié aux sinistrés de l'Allemagne* carried off our belongings. From November 13 to November 17 Saint-Dié was burned to the ground; where fire did not work, dynamite was used. Fifteen men found in hiding were shot. When American soldiers entered Saint-Dié on November 23 they found smoking ruins where formerly a historic and prosperous city of 17,000 souls had stood. The inhabitants, returning to their homes, found in most cases that they had lost everything they owned: 10,585 persons in Saint-Dié face the coming severe winter of the Vosges without proper shelter, without clothing, without food (the fields are mined and the cattle gone), without heat (the woodlands are also mined).

Is there anything America can do to help the people of Saint-Dié?

MME ABEL FERRY

Paris, France, October 1

Negroes on Buses

Dear Sirs: As a North Carolinian who has traveled much by bus in the South I share every emotion that Edgar Brooke described in his piece in *The Nation* of October 6. I am also aware that all the things he observed are exactly as he related them. None the less, I should like to offer a minority report.

Item. "The passengers reacted to this episode with apathy; no one said a word." How does Mr. Brooke know that all the passengers were apathetic? Silence does not necessarily denote apathy —or agreement. I have a hunch that some of the white passengers were decidedly uncomfortable. Some people keep quiet in such circumstances because they feel that any words they may say would only hurt the Negro worse. I have often heard even the most "superiority-conscious" Southerners express their distaste for such scenes. The one thing, it seems to me, that should not be overlooked is that most white Southerners—like most Negro Southerners—want above all to avoid conflict.

Item. Most drivers do *not*, so far as I have observed, make Negroes stand when there are white people standing, provided there are seats in the rear for Negro occupancy. Furthermore, in all my years of bus riding I have never seen a single white passenger ask a Negro to rise. (I know, of course, that it has happened.) Similarly I have never seen a bus driver—and I am familiar with the type Mr. Brooke mentions—ask a Negro to give his seat to a specific white man or woman. I have seen them request Negroes, with varying degrees of politeness, to move farther back when in the course of the trip white people entered who would have had to sit to the rear of the Negroes. (Incidentally, it is not uncommon to see white men and women sitting on the back seat with Negroes while Negroes occupy a couple of seats ahead. It seems that for their own convenience they can put up with the Negroes' presence.) In North Carolina and Virginia I have often seen Negroes sitting farther front than the state laws permitted—and without any kind of comment from other passengers or drivers.

Item. It was unpardonable for the bus driver to shout: "You, nigger, get off that bus!" In fairness, however, to the Greyhound lines, many of whose practices I can see no sense in, I have seen, at least ten times, a bus driver refuse to permit men who had been drinking to enter. Of these all but one were white. I have seen bus drivers in their petty-dictator role refuse without apparent reason to let passengers with tickets enter, even when there were still seats available, but I have as often seen white people rejected as Negroes.

I feel that Mr. Brooke is too pessimistic about the future of relationships between Negroes and whites. Without being an idealist one can still report many incidents on the credit side of the ledger.

A story told by Lillian Smith, author of "Strange Fruit," in, I think, *South Today* is one that almost any liberal Southerner could duplicate. I tell the story from memory. In a crowded bus from Atlanta to Columbia, South Carolina, one seat is vacant—beside a Negro woman in the center of the bus. A blustering man enters, sees the seat, orders the woman to move to the rear. She explains that she is not well and that the vibration over the rear wheels would make her condition worse. The state laws of Georgia and South Carolina are of course on the white man's side. A gentle lady—a Georgian—gets up, addresses the man, saying, "Sir, won't you have my seat?" She sits down beside the Negro woman. The significant thing to me is that at the destination everyone on the bus—except the blusterer—took the trouble to thank the Georgia woman for what she had done.

C. P.

Harrisburg, Pa., October 10

Deadly Parallels

Dear Sirs: Our Military Government men in Germany must have studied the lessons of World War I, including the memoirs of General Henry T. Allen, who was in charge of American troops in the Rhineland, 1919-23. For in no way do their ideas differ from those of Allied generals then. General Allen and other Allied occupation authorities took the position that the ablest pro-democratic German was hopelessly "inefficient" and that Junkers, industrialists, and Wilhelm-appointed bureaucrats were the boys to work with in saving the world for democracy.

General Allen wrote: "The German bureaucracy was a carefully selected body of officials with reasonable prospects of life tenure, and in consequence supervision of their work was a far simpler matter than actual government by Allied officials would have been. . . . The counsel of moderation won the day, and most of the old officials remained at their posts." Allen was happy because "trained and responsible officials could transmit and carry out orders better than agents of workmen's councils." This fraternization at the top was "welcomed by officials, who regarded our presence as of great assistance to them in enforcing their authority."

Certain naive pro-democratic Germans protested that this was nullifying the purpose for which the war had been fought and proposed that elections be held to select new officials. But Allied generals continued to support their favorites, and, said General Allen, "the local authorities were . . . notified that these elections would not be held."

Still less were the Allied generals willing to give the German people an opportunity to deal with their militarist exploiters with bullets. After the Armistice democratic forces in Germany were disarmed, and loyal supporters of the Kaiser's old order were armed. Lloyd George, Pershing, and Clemenceau testify—without apology—that the General Staff was left with machine-guns to be used in putting down possible democratic demonstrations. As General Allen observed, the "Allied armies, enemies as they were, were far preferable to the anarchy of the Spartacists and Bolsheviks."

Naturally some joy gatherers will dispute the validity of the parallels I've indicated. They'll say that today we have General Ike and then we only had Black Jack. Nevertheless Robert Murphy, the man who first used the "efficiency" fascist-protecting formula in North Africa, is still General Eisenhower's guide in such matters. True, the General recently spanked two-gun Patton. But not until alert newspapermen and the American public had done it first.

Is there still another parallel to come? Allied occupation methods in 1919-23 helped to keep militarists in power and to bring on World War II.

WALTER WILSON

East Chatham, N. Y., September 28

A Shoe for a Shoe

Dear Sirs: I've been stationed in Italy and Germany for almost two years. During this time I've visited several refugee centers. The sharp contrast between the living conditions of refugees and those of German civilians makes me wonder whether we realize the true meaning of "justice" and "humanity."

If the Nazis have robbed the rest of the civilized world of all material goods, why in the name of justice and humanity doesn't the AMG requisition clothing from German civilians for the thousands of displaced persons? The clothing could be requisitioned on a proportional basis from each community through the Bürgermeisters and distributed by UNRRA. Clothing from all

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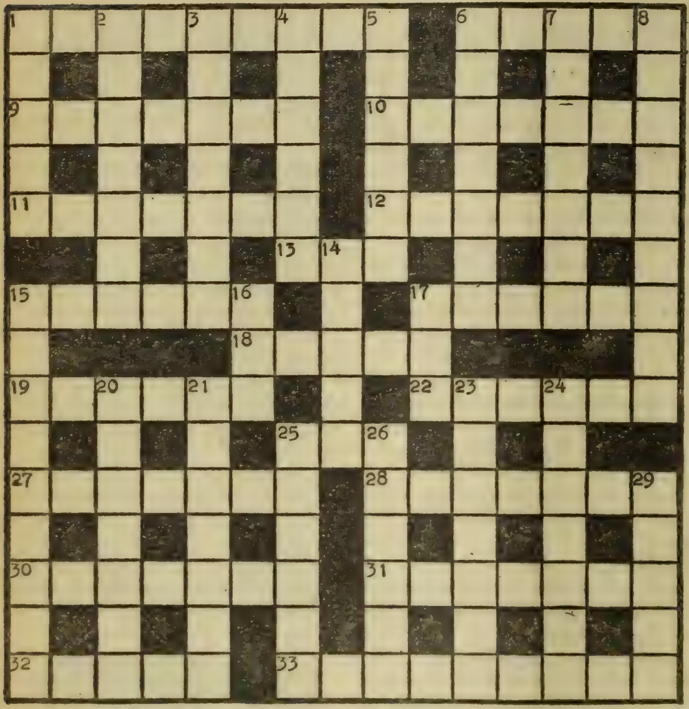
Crossword Puzzle No. 133

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Invention which literally blew the baron of old out of his castle
6 Reputedly the greatest of all operatic prima donnas
9 Like the glamorous movie star after a ducking (4 & 3)
10 Though the speakers illustrate their meaning at these lectures, audiences are left very much in the dark
11 Side of the coin containing the head
12 Foolish fellows who may find themselves in the soup
13 No end of a fellow
15 Hands off!
17 German gun
18 You, I and the cat go to town
19 Making some progress in the boat, despite quarrelling
22 It cannot make a man, save on some worn-out plan
25 Swallowed
27 Don't tell married men these can't lie; they know the naked truth
28 What we call trucks the British call this
30 The widest but not the highest falls
31 Examined closely
32 "When Adam -----d, and Eve span, Who was then the gentleman?"
33 A brain specialist, of sorts, in Rabelais' *Gargantua*

DOWN

1 Clown in *The Merchant of Venice*
2 The Lost City of Assyria
3 The junk man might collect this from the golfer (3 & 4)
4 English poet and essayist (1631-1700)
5 Exchanged for an Oliver
6 First mortal female that ever lived
7 Multiplies by three
8 Where it would not seem to matter how poor the traveler was
14 Live—but only just
15 "On with the dance, Let joy be ---------" (*not* from Childe Harold)
16 Studied hard (slang)
17 A very inconstant creature, Plato decided
20 Bird: first name Walter until L was knocked out of it
21 Give an account of
23 Run fast
24 One who joins up
25 Sideways: ask an insect
26 Official residence of French presidents in Paris
29 Taken in an argument

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 132

ACROSS:—1 COMET; 4 DEVIL; 7 HOPE; 9 ARISEN; 10 AMEND; 12 KENT; 13 DOOR; 15 FIDGETS; 17 MUCKLE; 18 HOMAGE; 19 ARM; 21 LUMINAL; 23 ARTISTE; 24 LAC; 26 SYLVIA; 28 MERINO; 31 NUBBLES; 32 OBOE; 35 OSLO; 36 UNLET; 37 ENCORE; 38 ENID; 39 LINER; 40 TARTS.

DOWN:—1 CERT; 2 MASHIE; 3 TANAGER; 4 DEARTH; 5 VIED; 6 LIDO; 7 HOKUM; 8 PANIC; 11 NOMADS; 14 REEVE; 15 FLANDIN; 16 SORTIES; 19 ALL; 20 MAC; 21 LASSO; 22 MILTON; 25 AMBIENT; 27 AUSTER; 28 MERCER; 29 IBSEN; 30 OVOID; 33 BULL; 34 ELAN; 35 ORES.

organized relief agencies will apparently be too little and too late for the rigors of this winter. Are we going to let the wretched D. P.'s freeze to death while the closets of German civilians bulge with clothing? Why can't we at least take a shirt for a shirt; a shoe for a shoe? CPL. SIDNEY STENZLER

September 5

Rimmer Material

Dear Sirs: I am engaged upon a life of the painter, sculptor, and anatomist Dr. William Rimmer of Boston. I would be very grateful if anyone knowing of the existence of paintings, drawings, letters, or other material relative to Dr. Rimmer would communicate with me. He was active in Providence, New York, and Boston between 1860 and 1878.

LINCOLN KIRSTEIN

New York, October 11

Where to Get It

Dear Sirs: Those of your readers who are interested in combating anti-Semitism may be interested to know that the famous and effective "Memorandum on Anti-Semitism" by Philip Wylie has been reprinted from the *American Mercury* and is now available on receipt of a stamped addressed envelope sent to the Community Church of Boston, 3 Joy Street, Boston 8, Massachusetts.

JAMES H. LEWIS
President of the Community Church

Boston, October 19

CONTRIBUTORS

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ROLFE HUMPHRIES is author of "The Summer Landscape," "Europa and Other Poems," and "Out of the Jewel." He translated García Lorca's posthumous collection of poems, "The Poet in New York," and edited with M. J. Benardete the Loyalist anthology "And Spain Sings."

DELMORE SCHWARTZ is the author of "Shenandoah," "In Dreams Begin Responsibilities," and "The Imitation of Life and Other Problems of Literary Criticism."

ROBERT P. LANE is executive director of the Welfare Council of New York City.

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The Shape of Things

SINCE FREEDOM FROM WANT IS FUNDAMENTAL to the enjoyment of other freedoms, and since the pressure of hunger is a standing menace to peace, it is fitting that the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) should be the first of the United Nations satellite groups to start operations. Meeting at Quebec at the end of October, the organization adopted a charter which has already been signed by more than thirty nations, elected officers, and began discussions of its monumental task. FAO will collect and distribute information regarding nutrition, food, and agriculture, provide on request technical assistance to member governments, and prepare and recommend to "the appropriate authorities" positive measures to improve the production and distribution of food and other farm products. Naturally there was some controversy at the conference about where to begin. Countries with the most advanced farming practices—the United States, Canada, Australia, and Denmark, among others—were particularly concerned about prospective surpluses and urged the promotion by FAO of international controls which would stabilize prices. On the other hand, China and India, whose great problem is to increase productive efficiency and so raise the deplorably low living standards of their people, proposed that for the time being attention should be concentrated on supplying technical assistance. Countries which must import much of their food, such as Britain, also appeared uneasy about measures which might restrict supplies or raise prices against them.

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THE SOLUTION FOR THIS DIVISION OF INTERESTS lies in recognition of the fact that the problem of overproduction is simply the reverse face of underconsumption. And in choosing Sir John Boyd Orr as director general of FAO for the next two years, the conference picked a man who can be depended upon never to lose sight of this neglected truism. Orr is one of the brilliant group of nutritionists who contributed so much to the success of Britain's war-time food program. Outstanding as a scientist and organizer, he also has a broad social vision. In his first statement as director general he hit hard at "the nineteenth-century economics of scarcity" and declared that FAO's primary objective must be to feed a hungry world able to consume all the food that can be produced. "Finances," he said, "won't stop us. Everything that is physically possible and is desirable is also financially possible." Under such leadership we may hope for international measures which will insure that food is never again deliberately destroyed in one country while people elsewhere die of famine.

TWO NEW STEPS IN ITS SOCIALIZATION PROGRAM have been announced by Britain's Labor government. All air-transport services and airports used for regularly scheduled traffic are to be state owned and operated, and the huge communications company, Cables and Wireless Limited, is to be nationalized. Neither of these proposals can be called an attack on free enterprise, for both services have been in the hands of monopolies in which the government held a financial interest and over which it exercised at least partial control. In the field of air transport a number of experiments have been made, since commercial flying began, to achieve a satisfactory set-up in Britain for air transport. Both free competition and controlled private monopoly failed to produce really effective services. Shortly before its end the National Government put forward plans for a mixed system, with a publicly owned corporation operating empire and transatlantic services, and the railroads and shipping companies given a participation in companies flying European and South American routes. This scheme was widely criticized and now, in accordance with its election pledge to socialize all forms of public transport, the Labor government has decided that post-war reorganization of air routes must be based on full public ownership.

*

SOCIALIZATION OF COMMUNICATIONS HAD NOT been so clearly indicated by the Labor Party program, but it is certainly a logical step. The Cables and Wireless merger was consummated during the inter-war period under the auspices of a Conservative government. Perhaps the primary motive was to save the cable services, with their imperial and strategic significance, from being put out of business by radio transmission. But a secondary result was the continued payment of interest and dividends on assets which had become obsolete. The acquisition by the government of a minority interest with the right to appoint a director made little apparent difference to the operations and financial workings of the combine. Now that outright acquisition is proposed, the company's board is protesting vociferously that the plan is "impracticable and unworkable," and also "dangerous to the foreign concessions." This is a point of interest to the United States, which has, in fact, been pressing Britain to abandon such concessions as that which gives Cables and Wireless a monopoly of the external communications of Saudi Arabia. On November 19 a conference between America, Britain, and the Dominions on international communications is to be held in Bermuda. Since the British delegation will now be able to approach the problems involved purely from the point of view of national interest, and without regard to the vested interests of private capital, the chances of a satisfactory agreement should be enhanced.

*

THE QUESTION OF MULTI-POWER CONTROL of Japan should hinge on two considerations. First, will it help to kill the roots of aggression in Japan? Second, will it narrow the American-Soviet rift which threatens the rickety structure of international peace? On both scores a five-power council with supervisory authority sitting in Tokyo would be a marked improvement over an advisory council sitting in impotent isolation in Washington. Such a shift would seem to be indicated by Secretary Byrnes's statement of October 31: "We cannot have the kind of cooperation necessary for peace in a world divided into spheres of exclusive influence and special privilege." This is as applicable to Japan as it is to the Balkans. We certainly cannot argue that Australia, China, and Russia have a less lively interest than we in preventing the resurgence of Japanese strength. Their participation should help speed up the process of purging and reorganizing Japan. Further, the presence of these powers in Tokyo would tend to stiffen the American attitude toward the Emperor. The Russians, in particular, might modify our inclination to favor the genteel members of the *Zaibatsu,* the bureaucracy, and the aristocracy and to ignore the democratic possibilities among the more rough-hewn tenant farmers and industrial laborers. It is true that multi-power supervision is more cumbersome than single-power control, but the whole process of international cooperation is complicated and requires patience. The most promising arrangement would be a joint supervisory council with an American chairman, to whom wide discretion should be given.

*

AMERICAN TEACHERS MIGHT BE BETTER OFF in many cases if they went to Japan. For the directive on education issued to the Japanese government by Supreme Allied Headquarters says:

> Teachers and educational officials who have been dismissed, suspended, or forced to resign for liberal or antimilitaristic opinions or activities will be declared immediately eligible for, and if properly qualified will be given preference in, reappointment.
>
> Discrimination against any student, teacher, or educational official on grounds of race, nationality, creed, political opinion, or social position, will be prohibited, and immediate steps will be taken to correct inequities which have resulted from such discriminations.
>
> Students, teachers, and educational officials will be encouraged to evaluate critically and intelligently the content of instruction and will be permitted to engage in free and unrestricted discussion of issues involving political, civil, and religious liberties.

It is enough to make a Texas or New York teacher wonder why Supreme Allied Headquarters can't liberate him too.

*

THE SATISFACTION OF KNOWING THAT VARGAS has at last been put out of office is tempered by news of the prominent role which General Goes Monteiro, Minister of National Defense, played in the Brazilian coup. Of the pro-Nazi Brazilians, whose activities during the war were a cause of constant apprehension to the Allies, Goes Monteiro was perhaps the most conspicuous. It is true that Senhor José Linhares, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, who will serve as interim President until elections are held on December 2, has a clean record. It is also reassuring that the chairman of the National Democratic Action, former Foreign Minister Octavio Mangabeira, has flatly denied any parallel with events in Argentina and has described the overthrow of Vargas as a "genuine civic accomplishment." But we are perennially skeptical about Latin America's army-promoted "democratic revolutions." *The Nation* had scarcely appeared on the newsstands with a warning against a premature celebration of Perón's downfall, when word came that Perón was already back in office, more powerfully entrenched than before. In the case of Brazil such a quick set-back for the democratic forces is less likely. The elections will probably be held. A democratic reorganization is possible. But we would feel happier—and the Brazilian people would too—if Getulio Vargas had taken along with him his bosom companion of the Hitler hey-day, the ambitious and unscrupulous Goes Monteiro.

Get Our Troops Out of China

THE Navy Day speech of President Truman was inadequate in many respects, but the fundamental principles he enunciated would serve admirably as a basis for making over this country's policy toward China. Take, for example, Point 4: "We believe that all peoples who are prepared for self-government should be permitted to choose their own government by their own freely expressed choice, without interference from any foreign source." The question of democratic rights is one of the main issues in dispute today in China. By and large it is the parties of the left—the coalition of groups making up the Democratic League and the Communists—which have been urging free elections and an extension of civil rights. The Chungking government, while making some concessions, has resisted these basic demands. Yet as Maxwell S. Stewart shows in his article on Hurley's record on another page, the United States has not only failed to back the Democratic League but is using American armed forces to support Chungking in its attempt to establish its authority over the only sections of China where elections of any kind have been held.

It is obvious that the President did not have China in mind when he made his pronouncement; otherwise, he might have expressed some of the points quite differently. But a change in phraseology would not alter the fact that our recent policy in China is incompatible with our protestations of democratic faith. In using the armed forces of the United States to support one side of a domestic quarrel, we are committing the very act we denounce with moral fervor when it occurs in Hungary, Rumania, or Bulgaria. Nor can this conduct be excused on the ground that our intervention is on a minor scale. In addition to the American troops stationed in China at the end of the war, we have dispatched some 50,000 marines to take over control in the partisan-dominated areas of North China and have assembled transport planes from the entire Pacific area to ferry Kuomintang troops into the districts seized by the marines. The United States Seventh Fleet, supported by carrier aircraft, has landed an American-equipped veteran Kuomintang army at Chingwantao, a vital port previously held by the partisans. It is reported that the United States has equipped thirty Chungking divisions for the North China campaign, and American air-force personnel is being recruited for Chiang's army.

While it would be difficult to prove that civil strife would have been avoided if the United States had maintained strict neutrality in China, the assurance of American backing must inevitably have encouraged the Kuomintang militarists to seek a showdown at this time. Without American assistance Chiang had no means of getting his forces north of the Yellow River. His troops are weary of war and, deprived of the prospect of help, he would probably have been willing to accept Communist control of North China rather than risk hostilities. But when it became apparent that, under the guise of disarming the Japanese, American forces could be used to dispute the Eighth Route Army's position in the north, the Kuomintang generals naturally jumped at the opportunity.

The longer our troops remain the more difficult it will be to take them out. An impossible situation has been created by the planting of a number of Kuomintang islands in areas that have long been dominated by the partisans. If the United States insists on maintaining these areas for Chungking, it must be prepared to shoulder the responsibilities of permanent occupation. Each day our soldiers remain increases the danger that American blood will be shed in a war against the Chinese on their own soil, and that the United States will be involved in a situation such as the British faced in Greece a year ago.

This country cannot pull out of China's affairs, but it can use its immense influence to promote unity and encourage democratic tendencies. Two immediate steps should be taken. First and most important is the immediate withdrawal of American troops. Even now this move might check the further spread of civil war in China since Chiang Kai-shek has not formally declared his hand by denouncing the Eighth Route Army leaders as "traitors." The second necessary step is the prompt replacement of Ambassador Hurley by a man of liberal tendencies who will restore the policies pursued by General Stilwell and Ambassador Gauss. Only by prompt action, both diplomatic and military, can we undo the harm our recent course in China has brought about.

Wage-Price Equation

PRESIDENT TRUMAN in his radio speech on wages and prices was obviously attempting to maintain his chosen position in the middle of the road. But it was equally obvious that political and economic pressures were slowly pushing him toward the left. Realization of this fact caused the sharpest outburst of criticism from conservative elements in the press and Congress that he has yet encountered. Accusations that the President was yielding to labor pressure, that he was being taken into camp by the apostles of the "new economy," were freely expressed. The honeymoon period is over, and the hopes that stirred so many reactionary breasts after the death of Roosevelt are fading again. The New Deal, it appears, in spite of setbacks is still vigorous; so much so, indeed, that even diehards are awakening to the horrid truth that it was not just a one-man show but a broad, deep trend in national history.

The last group, perhaps, to accept this fact will be the Congressional reactionaries of both parties. To them the President spoke sharply during his broadcast, putting on them responsibility for delaying legislation needed to ease reconversion and provide means to forestall a postwar depression. Two important measures are now stalled in the House of Representatives—the bill increasing the amount and scope of unemployment compensation, which has been put in cold storage by the Ways and Means Committee, and the Murray Full Employment bill, to which the House Expenditures Committee is giving such desultory consideration that Secretary of the Treasury Vinson's suggestion of "filibustering" appears fully justified. Another Congressional move protested by the President was the current attempt to kill the United States Employment Service and leave its functions to the state, although many of them have no machinery for the purpose. As Mr. Truman said, the service will be indispensable in the months ahead, when under the most favorable circumstances unemployment is bound to be heavy.

On the subject of wages the President afforded some disappointment to both sides, but on balance he supported the claims now being put forward by many unions. True, he discouraged proposals for increases in hourly wage rates that would compensate fully for reductions in war-time take-home pay. Nevertheless he emphasized strongly the importance for the whole economy of checking the current shrinkage in the national wage envelope. He pointed out that tax and other concessions to business had provided it with an ample cushion against temporary losses and declared that a great many industries could well afford to give moderate increases in wages without passing the cost on to their customers.

In his arguments for holding the price line while allowing elasticity to wages, Mr. Truman stressed the importance of maintaining volume. Elsewhere in this issue Keith Hutchison discusses the tendency of industry to seek a wage-price equation that positively discourages high production. We are glad to see that the influence of the Administration is being thrown against this practice. The President's generalized statement of the case has been well amplified by Chester Bowles, who pointed out that "in industry after industry we have seen wages and other costs absorbed as volume soared and profits moved to levels several times higher than prewar. We should not underestimate the tremendous extent of the cost savings which will result from the huge volume which lies ahead in peace-time production."

There is, we think, no doubt at all that if industry will go ahead and produce, without damaging its future markets by price increases and pay cuts, before next year is very old it will find present prices quite profitable. In any event the President has offered a safety-net to provide for accidents by giving industries an opportunity to come back to the Office of Price Administration in six months and state their case for increased prices.

Disappointment has been expressed in some quarters because the President failed to produce a "formula" for relating wages and prices. But he can hardly be blamed for this omission since no conceivable recipe would meet the infinite variety of conditions involved. What he did was to define loosely the area within which collective bargaining can now proceed. In general he placed on industry the onus for preventing wage disputes where the union is willing to settle for a moderate advance. On the other hand, his ruling on the price line should serve to restrain labor from pressing demands which employers can prove will involve losses.

In any case, we cannot hope to avoid a considerable number of strikes in the next few months. A trial of strength will probably be necessary in numerous instances before either side is willing to settle. Some employers, as the president of the National Association of Manufacturers has admitted, are in a belligerent mood and consider the times propitious for a showdown which "will teach the unions their place." There are others, fortunately, who seem to appreciate the value of coming to an agreement with their workers and pushing ahead for full production. If in each industry one or two have the sense to follow this line, their competitors may think twice before getting into a prolonged dispute.

There is no need, therefore, to give way to fear of a dark winter of industrial warfare. Judging by the headlines, a wave of strikes swept the country in the past two months, bringing business almost to a standstill. Actually, the Department of Labor's cold statistics tell us, the loss of working time in September occasioned by strikes was 6/10 of 1 per cent. Bearing this in mind, let us keep calm and beware of press campaigns designed to excite panic and pressure Congress into passing hasty and unwise legislation.

Coming in THE NATION

—o—

SAUL K. PADOVER
Solution for Germany

MAURICE ROSENBLATT
Behind the Dock Strike

CAREY McWILLIAMS
The Education of Colonel Evans Carlson

A NATION Forum on Atomic Power

ONLY a few Americans are ever going to understand the process of releasing the power of the atom; but if civilization is to survive, a lot of Americans will have to understand what its release means and decide how the process can be controlled and eventually used for building a new world instead of annihilating an old one. In 1914, when he first wrote about war waged with atomic bombs, H. G. Wells concluded that only by passing through a period of hideous devastation—the earth's great cities destroyed, millions of people starving and homeless in every country, food supplies and transportation wiped out, and political chaos over all—could mankind learn to live in peace and apply the released energy of the universe to producing wealth and social progress. Perhaps Wells was right. But in this fateful moment of 1945 the peoples of the world are staring with fixed and anxious eyes at the challenge science has flung at their feet. They want to meet and surmount it without subjecting the nations to the teaching of catastrophe. They know that this will be possible only if they learn fast and make up their minds soon, and then force their decisions on their leaders.

Americans in particular are called upon to master the problem with the least possible delay, for it is the policy of the United States which in the immediate future will chiefly determine the use of atomic power, its control, and the relations between nations which depend on both. The bills now before Congress have been framed by legislators almost totally illiterate in the field of nuclear science. Their constituents know less than they do. Had it not been for the quick action of the scientists, particularly those associated with the bomb project—action unprecedented in American politics—the May bill would certainly have passed the House almost without discussion, establishing controls which would have throttled scientific progress and set up a dictatorial central authority. It may still go through, amended though not improved; but as the result of mounting public interest and criticism, action in the Senate may be more deliberate and better planned. Hearings will be held before the McMahon Committee on Atomic Control, and opinion will have a chance to make itself felt. It is possible, too, that the visit of Prime Minister Attlee will modify the prevailing, and terrifying, mood of superiority which now dominates our atomic policy —the mood so unctuously expressed in the President's Navy Day speech. A dispatch in this issue from our London correspondent reports the general sentiment in England for international control of atomic processes.

But none of these possibly delaying factors lessens the need of earnest, rapid self-education on the part of the American people. We must study, think, and act. As a contribution to that effort, the Nation Associates is sponsoring a three-day forum to be held at the Hotel Astor in New York on December 1-3 to discuss the questions so urgently pressing upon us: the possibility—and value—of continued secrecy; the effect of American control of the bomb on British-American relations and on British-American relations with Russia; possible methods of international control; the role of business in the production of atomic energy; the impact of atomic energy on the social-economic structure. These are a few of the areas which the forum will explore.

We realize, with regret, that only a fraction of *The Nation's* readers will be able to attend a New York meeting. (It is interesting, however, that already delegations from as far away as Wisconsin and Michigan have notified us of their intention to come.) But after the sessions the speeches and as much as possible of the discussion will be published and distributed to our subscribers and other interested persons, either as a supplement to *The Nation* or as a pamphlet.

On another page of this issue appears an announcement of the dinner which will conclude the forum. It speaks for itself —eloquently, we believe. The earlier sessions, on December 1 and 2, will be described in succeeding issues as the program for each is completed. We can say now, however, that the conference will hear from such other experts in political and physical science as Dr. Henry De Wolf Smyth, author of the official War Department report on the bomb, "Atomic Energy for Military Purposes"; Thomas K. Finletter, lawyer and author of "Can Representative Government Do the Job?"; two distinguished newspaper men, Walter Millis and Edgar Ansel Mowrer, known to everyone for their writing in the field of international affairs; M. J. Coldwell, chairman of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, Canada's socialist party. Some of these men will address the sessions; others will lead the discussion from the floor. And we intend to leave plenty of time for free intervention and questions by the delegates, since this forum will be what the word implies —not a mere series of lectures.

The forum is intended to add to the knowledge and crystallize the opinions of American progressives and so to increase their ability to influence policy in Washington. For this reason we urge all readers within reach of New York to attend every session.

Portents in Egypt

Cairo, November 5 (by cable)

COLONIAL SECRETARY HALL'S grave warning to the Jews after last week's attacks on railway lines and business establishments did not pass unnoticed by the Jews or Arabs. And it is indisputably true that the recent terrorist activity in Palestine, if understandable in view of the extreme irritation over the delay in a decision on Palestine, has damaged the Zionist position in the world. But independent Egypt, where troubles with the most serious implications occurred on Friday and Saturday, does not come within Hall's sphere, and his solemn words were not addressed to Egypt.

On Thursday, the eve of Balfour Day, all the stores in Cairo and Alexandria received a warning signed by the united front of Arab and Moslem organizations threatening destruction if they were not closed by Friday at 10 a. m. A "spontaneous" general strike began on Friday with an orderly student demonstration. But shortly after ten the riff-raff, especially bands of hooligans in their early teens, swarmed from the populous sections toward the center of the city. The reinforced police, seemingly unwilling to disperse the ebullient crowd by force, were finally unable to control the situation. The demonstrations quickly degenerated into anti-Jewish rather than nationalist affairs, ending in indiscriminately anti-foreign, anti-minority disturbances. The latent xenophobia that is always a danger in the Middle East is now flaring up, intensified by the lust for pillage. Dispatches will have carried the details about the synagogues which were sacked, the Jewish and Christian shops which were looted, and the churches which were damaged in the Cairo and Alexandria riots.

If it is thought that the seriousness of these outbreaks is understood and deplored by all responsible Moslems here, the comments in the Arab press are disillusioning. While some papers condemned, others extolled "the glorious day." The Wafdist daily, *Al Misri*, commented: "The feeling of the Arabs was expressed in the most magnificent manner. Yesterday Egypt showed herself brimming with zeal and enthusiasm for the cause of Palestine." Meanwhile the foreign-language press is not hiding its uneasiness. The French *Bourse Egyptienne* said on Saturday evening: "It is impossible to hide the truth: yesterday's events have provoked among the non-Egyptian sections of the population a feeling of profound distress. Youths going from store to store used coarse language to intimidate proprietors and employees. There is an intolerable intervention of private associations in public affairs which no government can allow. Investigation and sanctions are imperative in the public interest. For these irresponsible elements, if unchecked, will feel free to proceed from audacity to audacity." The *Egyptian Gazette* said: "There is much talk these days of treaty revision and evacuation of British troops, and it is said that foreign residents have nothing to fear for the future. But when people are forced to close their shops and then have them pillaged, it does not make it easier for those who wish to negotiate." This, of course, is the natural foreign reaction earnestly shared by Christian and Jewish Egyptians. Yet the Wafdist daily *Balagh* did not hesitate to assert: "It is the first gesture of solidarity for the Arab cause in Palestine. Of course the Arab League has already presented many protests, but the Arab League is only an association of states, while the strike the other day was inspired by the feelings of the people. It will serve as a lesson to the Anglo-Americans. They know now that Arab unity is not a vain word."

Recent events in Egypt will disappoint people everywhere who hoped for and believed in the maturity of the Arab world. They are a frightening echo of the events in Syria last May when Frenchmen were massacred by Syrians feeling sure of British protection. It will not pass unnoticed either that in Palestine itself the Jews were not molested.

MICHAEL CLARK

No Homes for Veterans

BY FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, JR.

(During the war Lieutenant Commander Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., served with distinction in the Atlantic, Mediterranean, and Pacific theaters. He has recently been honorably discharged and is now chairman of the Veterans' Housing Committee for New York of the American Veterans Committee.)

LAST year men slept on the frozen ground in Belgium or stood watch on deck in the freezing winds of the North Atlantic. This year they don't want to sleep on a park bench in the cold of an American winter. Yet we may see them there, and possibly much worse sights, unless immediate action is taken to remedy the housing shortage.

The scarcity of housing has been an acute national problem all during the war years. Now, with service men and women being discharged daily in increasing numbers, the problem has become more critical than ever before. If the situation in New York City can be taken as an index, it has already, even in these early stages of demobilization and reconversion, reached the proportions of a major crisis and even scandal.

For a long time many New York City officials have recognized that some provision would have to be made to bridge the gap between the very little new building and the demand for housing. But while there have been many conferences and a great deal of talk, talk is all the city has done. The men and women who have been discharged or are about to be discharged, who have had all they want of foxholes and now seek homes, are becoming disillusioned, bewildered, and bitter. Today in New York City 20,000 veterans and their families are searching for places to live. With every week that passes their number increases by 3,500. By next summer more than 100,000 veterans and their families will be in need of housing in New York City alone. But nothing has been done to provide homes even for the 20,000 veterans now demobilized and badly in need of a place to live.

Home is probably the most precious thing in the world to a man who endured war. There is hardly a man who didn't spend hours remembering his home, how it used to look, or how it was going to look when he and his wife got a place and bought their furniture. Most soldiers dreamed of a clean little place, all-American, with good plumbing, plenty of heat, a bathtub, and unlimited hot water. But the only places now available in New York City for the veterans are substandard tenement dwellings—cold-water flats where you are lucky to find one toilet for a whole floor instead of one for the whole building out in the backyard, and where the tenant has to heat his water, heat his own apartment, and wage continual war against roaches and rats. Medium-priced and even the highest-priced buildings are fully rented and have waiting lists that don't give the veteran a chance. And even if the veterans were willing to move into the tenements—and they are not willing, I can tell you—there still would not be enough apartments to take care of all of them.

Are returned service men and their families actually going to have to set up housekeeping in pup tents in the parks before the city provides immediate temporary housing as a stop-gap?

Unless something is done quickly, the veterans will become more and more cynical—just what we do not want to happen this time. A man has to have a home before he can look for a job and become again a productive part of community and national life. In even larger aspects, we have learned through grim experience in a global war the dangers inherent in a dissatisfied group which considers itself cheated of its rights.

Recognizing these dangers and the immediate necessity of providing homes for returning veterans, the American Veterans Committee, an organization of World War II service men and women, has taken the lead in action to solve the housing problem in New York and throughout the nation. At a veterans' housing rally sponsored by the A. V. C. on October 24, 1,500 veterans and their families, representing every section of Greater New York, took part in what housing authorities have described as "the biggest, noisiest, and most effective housing meeting to be held in New York City in the last five years." In an open and heated discussion period the veterans and their wives, outspoken, indignant, and passionate, served notice that they want and expect places to live. They also elected a Veterans' Housing Committee for New York City, and unanimously passed this resolution:

> WHEREAS: Veterans are returning to this city at the rate of 500 a day and confronting the worst housing shortage in the city's history; and,
>
> WHEREAS: prompt, energetic emergency action is necessary to alleviate a situation which is daily growing more scandalous;
>
> *Be It Resolved:* That the city, in cooperation with Washington housing authorities, undertake immediately to obtain vacated and unused temporary war housing to be made available to veterans within sixty days: We regard this as the one practical and immediate solution to the city's housing crisis;
>
> That the veterans be given priority in the Hunter housing development which is about to be vacated by the navy;
>
> That the director of reconversion, Mr. John Snyder, be urged to reestablish priority controls over construction materials, so that they may be allocated speedily to meet the housing shortage;
>
> That one effective central vacancy-listing bureau be established that would receive notice of all vacancies in the city;
>
> That when such vacancies occur, they be made available to all our citizens regardless of race, creed, or color;
>
> That thanks be expressed to the citizens of New York for their readiness to take into their homes veterans and their families who have not been able to find apartments.
>
> WHEREAS: Temporary housing is a stop-gap solution until permanent housing becomes available; and,
>
> WHEREAS: The present housing shortage is an intensification of a pre-war crisis in which several hundred thousand New York families lived in substandard dwellings;
>
> *Be It Resolved:* That Congress be urged to pass the Wagner-Ellender bill, which would make possible a maximum of 50,000 new dwelling units in the city;
>
> That we recommend to the citizens of New York that they vote "yes" on Election Day on Proposition 1, which would authorize more state aid in financing public housing projects;
>
> That the state legislature be urged to authorize the appropriation of $80,000,000 of loan funds for public housing;
>
> That continued encouragement be given to insurance companies and banks to enter the field of housing construction; and,
>
> That the Senate Finance Committee be urged to extend rent control beyond June 30, 1946.

The Veterans' Housing Committee for New York City consists of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., chairman; Sgt. Rudolpho Murreigho, A. U. S.; Charles G. Bolté, chairman of the American Veterans Committee; Lt. John Finley, U. S. N. R., and Lt. Comdr. G. W. Hodges, U. S. N. R., both on terminal leave and trying to find homes; George Abo, president of the Manhattan Chapter of the A. V. C.; and Sol Shapiro of the American Legion.

The committee is currently engaged in carrying out the mandate of the 1,500 veterans at the housing rally to consult with officials on the means by which action on the recommendations of the resolution can be expedited. We have attempted repeatedly to see Mayor LaGuardia. As this is being written a letter has just been received from the Mayor saying that he will discuss the veterans' housing problem with us. In Washington the committee consulted with John B. Blandford, Jr., administrator of the National Housing Agency, Philip M. Klutznick, the federal Public Housing Commissioner, and others, who understand the gravity of the situation.

However, the federal government will not and cannot interfere in local community problems unless the community itself initiates a request for federal assistance. Temporary housing in the form of prefabricated units which were formerly used for war workers' housing is available, and several cities and forty-six universities have already used it to solve their housing problems, but New York City has asked for none. Meanwhile, across the river, Newark's slogan, "Homes for Service Men by Christmas," may be realized, as temporary homes with a capacity of from 7,000 to 8,000 people go up. To receive temporary housing units a city must provide the land and the facilities for the units and, under the existing law, transport the units from their present location to the new location. However, the cost per unit is not large. Further, the Wagner-Ellender bill, now pending in Congress, will permit the government to provide greater financial assistance to states.

The Mayor's objection to temporary housing, voiced on a radio broadcast a few weeks ago, was that such housing was unsuited to New York and that it would take six months at least to set it up. He added that veterans wouldn't live in the dwellings. It is a matter of record that not in six months but in six weeks after the late President Roosevelt was informed that a city for 75,000 persons was needed for work on the atomic bomb, Atom City in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, was ready and open. The veterans themselves, who have built bridges, laid airstrips, and erected buildings, know just how fast buildings can be put up if there is energetic cooperation behind the projects. As one veteran said the other day, "If we could do it in war, there's no reason why it can't be done for us in peace. The housing problem for veterans is an emergency situation." As for priorities on necessary materials, reliable housing authorities maintain that temporary housing could be made ready for service men in thirty to sixty days. Mayor LaGuardia's skill in cutting red tape is well known. If he wished, he could go to Washington tomorrow morning and come back in the afternoon with a go-ahead on all the material that would be needed.

The A. V. C.'s Veterans' Housing Committee recommends that a trial project of 1,000 temporary housing units be undertaken to determine their full value in solving the present crisis. The committee is not asking that temporary housing accommodations be made permanent parts of the city, to become eventual slum areas. It proposes a time limit of two to three years so that permanent housing can be given a chance to catch up with demand.

The stage is set. Only one man has to act. The federal government stands ready to help. The Board of Estimate is empowered to appropriate funds to provide dwelling accommodations at once. The City Council has gone on record as willing to pass any remedial legislation offered by the administration and has even urged that the administration give it the legislation. All New York has to do to get housing is for the Mayor to call Washington. That is something he is known to be capable of doing.

This is a critical period for veterans. It is imperative that we secure the minimum essential of life—a home—for the men and women who fought for the life of this nation. It is also imperative that the veterans be made to feel that their government recognizes their problem and is at least doing something to solve it. The public officials of our government have a great responsibility to act in a way that will preserve the faith and confidence of the veteran in the American way of life.

Britain and the Bomb

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

(The Nation's *London correspondent)*

London, November 2 (by cable)

THE announcement of Prime Minister Attlee's intention to visit Washington to discuss control of the atomic bomb, coupled with news of a projected large-scale research and development center in this country, evokes mixed feelings in British Labor circles. The idea of personal Truman-Attlee conversations is welcome, but it is regretted, first, that there is no hint of comparable Attlee-Stalin talks later—which are regarded as essential to dispel the suspicion that the British and Americans are in cahoots against the Soviet Union—and, secondly, that the Cabinet seems to have no definite British atomic policy. Serious anxiety is felt here lest the anti-Communist sentiments of the majority of the Cabinet lead to hitching Britain to the American power-politics wagon. Queried in Parliament Tuesday, Morrison did not deny an allegation by Captain Blackburn that the Quebec agreement between Churchill and Roosevelt stipulated that the peace-time developments of atomic energy should be left "very much to the discretion of the United States President." This agreement, it is felt here, is no longer realistic, since, considering the scientists' endeavors, all industrialized states can be expected within a few years to be capable of manufacturing atomic bombs.

Truman's recognition that America's monopoly will be short-lived is thought to explain the puzzling dualism of his Navy Day speech, in which high-minded principles of foreign policy contrasted with an insistence that the United States must maintain huge land and sea forces to support the atomic bomb's power. This part of Truman's speech made a painful impression here. It is pointed out that the Axis powers will be helpless for at least a generation to come, that Russia has been bled white by casualties, that Britain is financially bankrupt. The defensive needs of the United States, therefore, cannot justify the proposed large-scale armaments, and the uncomfortable inference is that Truman was demanding overwhelming United States forces to back up the United States foreign policy, which, it is feared here, is orientated principally against Russia. Inevitably the Russian reaction will be a straining to overtake the American lead in atomic power, and there is no doubt here that the Russian scientists will soon possess the complete know-how. As a result, the world situation resembles a perilous armed truce, with the United Nations Organization an impotent spectator of the rivalry between two continental powers, each unable physically to conquer the other but wielding weapons capable of destroying civilization. This is a miserable prospect for the small nations, whose leadership falls naturally to Britain.

Earnest hopes are therefore entertained that Attlee, anticipating the Washington talk, will take the opportunity offered by the parliamentary debate scheduled for next Wednesday to declare unequivocally that the British government favors placing the development and control of atomic energy exclusively in the hands of the World Security Council. The Council would wield executive power through the agency of a genuinely international military staff, including an office of inspection charged with insuring that no national plants illicitly manufacture the bomb. It is recognized that this would require a real revolution in human thinking—the abandonment of the whole conception that a nation must control its military potential. Acceptance of such a proposal is of course easier for Britain, whose future man-power and economic resources reduce it to a minor power in comparison with Russia and the United States. Russia, inveterately suspicious of the Western democracies, is likely to raise objections to international inspection. And America, rather than make the biggest immediate sacrifice of national power, may ask pointedly, "Would nineteenth-century Britain have consented to surrender its mastery of sea power in favor of an untried international authority?" Nevertheless, opinion here extending far beyond the Labor Party is virtually unanimous that the atomic bomb confronts humanity with a completely new situation which must be handled in a completely new way.

For the first time in modern history a weapon exists the exclusive control of which would make a World Organization, in contradistinction to the old League of Nations, really irresistible. The inescapable choice is between taking a revolutionary forward step to establish the supremacy of a decisively armed international authority and drifting to final catastrophe through the power politics of sovereign states.

The Myth of Patrick J. Hurley

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

THE outbreak of widespread fighting in China, approximating civil-war conditions, has weakened but not destroyed the remarkable myth that has grown up around Ambassador Patrick J. Hurley. Only a few weeks ago the newspapers were hailing General Hurley—back-slapping oil man turned diplomat—for having at last achieved a settlement between the Chungking government and the Communist regime at Yenan. Some papers even hinted that he had arranged the recent pact between China and Russia. He was credited with having achieved these remarkable feats by means of the typically American qualities of common sense, perseverance, and fair play, with an added dash of high-pressure salesmanship. It was implied that he had succeeded where Stilwell and Gauss had failed because he refused to play politics and was respected by all parties and groups for his straight shooting.

Myths die hard. Although it is now apparent that Hurley's diplomacy failed to bring unity, few Americans realize the extent of his responsibility for the present civil strife. Few recognize the degree to which American prestige in China has been undermined by his activities; few are aware of the menacing international implications of his policies. If people are to understand what has happened in China these past few weeks, the Hurley myth must be exploded. This requires blunt speaking and the disclosure of some facts hitherto hidden by the fog of censorship.

General Hurley was sent to China in August, 1944, with Director of the War Production Board Donald Nelson. Nelson's duties in China were clearly defined. He was to see what could be done to revive China's war industries, which speculation, profiteering, and lack of raw materials had virtually brought to a standstill. Just why Hurley—a Republican who was Secretary of War when President Hoover called out the army against the bonus marchers—should have tagged along with Nelson was not apparent. Representative Judd of Minnesota pointed out at the time that Hurley knew little or nothing about China. When interviewed at Chungking, Mr. Nelson was purposely vague about Hurley's role; he said the General would discuss military problems with Stilwell while he, Nelson, dealt with economic problems.

We now know that President Roosevelt was deeply alarmed lest Chungking collapse completely and hoped that Hurley, as his personal representative, could persuade Chiang Kai-shek to agree to a specific plan for rejuvenating China's military effort. The President authorized Hurley to make three specific proposals: (1) that General Stilwell be made commander-in-chief of all Allied forces in China in order to insure the most effective possible distribution of arms and supplies for the entire theater; (2) that the Chinese army be reorganized and the dead wood in the Chinese high command eliminated; (3) that the war effort of the Kuomintang and Communist armies be unified under Stilwell's command.

Chiang Kai-shek, badly frightened by the rapid Japanese advance in the South, agreed to these proposals. It looked as if the Hurley mission would succeed; at that moment China was nearer unity than at any other period. But then, suddenly, everything fell to pieces. Stilwell laid down the law to Chiang about storing up American arms for domestic purposes instead of using them against the Japanese. Chiang angrily demanded Stilwell's recall, and Hurley, hoping to save his mission and ignoring both the merits of the issue and Stilwell's unique competence, backed the Generalissimo. *Newsweek* quotes Hurley as saying: "Joe, I have only two stars to your four, but I'm going to tell Washington one of us has to leave here."

Convinced from long experience in China that Hurley's ready acquiescence in Chiang Kai-shek's demand had hopelessly weakened America's position in China, Ambassador Gauss submitted his resignation. Thus without achieving the purposes for which he was sent to China, Hurley had managed in a few short weeks to deprive the United States of the services of two exceptional men. Stilwell's military genius and understanding of the Orient have earned him a secure place among the great leaders of the war. Ambassador Gauss is much less widely known, but in retrospect the fact that he could quietly win and hold the respect of all Chinese groups during the difficult years after Pearl Harbor marks him as a man of outstanding ability.

At this point a more sensitive man than Hurley would have resigned and returned to private life. But Hurley is no shrinking violet. Pride rather than sensitiveness is his chief characteristic. He could not admit failure, even to himself. In consequence one of the most bizarre chapters in the history of American diplomacy now opened. Essentially, it was concerned with the efforts of one man—a clever, energetic, domineering man—to salvage his personal pride.

One hears many stories about the General's vanity. When he was named ambassador to China, Hurley was placed on inactive status in the army, and though he retained his rank, was not entitled to wear his uniform in performing civilian duties. But he could not lay aside those two stars. He continued to wear his uniform until specifically ordered not to do so, an order that had to be backed up by President Roosevelt before it stuck. Another incident is as characteristic. Shortly after he was installed in Chungking, Hurley arranged for a specially designed Cadillac, a super-deluxe model, to be flown in from India for his personal use. Just how he arranged it is not clear. He told the State Department that it was a gift from the army, and for purposes of face told Yenan that it had been presented to him by the President. For a time he retained an army sergeant as chauffeur, but the sergeant was later withdrawn and his successor, a Chinese chauffeur, rapidly rendered the car unfit for use. Interestingly enough, the *World-Telegram,* an ardent Hurley supporter, admitted this love of display in the General when it predicted, long before the incident of the Cadillac, that he would soon be riding down the streets of Chungking in a rickshaw "with a fringe on the top . . . and a dashboard of gen-u-ine leather."

One of Hurley's most serious diplomatic weaknesses is a direct outgrowth of his amazing vanity. Although Gauss and his predecessor were fully as anxious as Hurley to further unity in China, their code of diplomatic behavior impelled them to work quietly in the background. Long experience had convinced them that active intervention in negotiations would not only be resented but would probably, in view of the subtlety of Oriental bargaining, impede a real settlement. Hurley possessed no such inhibitions. Undismayed by his initial setback, he took upon himself the task of acting not merely as an intermediary but as a principal in an effort to obtain a Kuomintang-Communist agreement. It is reported that some of the final negotiations took place at the embassy and that Hurley insisted on drafting sections of the pact.

A certain amount of intervention in Chinese internal affairs could be justified by war-time necessity. If the war had followed a different course, unification of Chinese armed forces might have saved many American lives. But successful intervention requires great skill and delicacy. These traits, unfortunately, are lacking in the Oklahoma oil man's make-up. At the very outset he discarded his one real ace—the bargaining power inherent in America's vast economic and military potential—and tried to win the jackpot by sheer bluff. Instead of following the Stilwell—and Roosevelt—policy of distributing American supplies where they would be used most effectively against Japan, Hurley gratuitously announced that American support would be given exclusively to the Kuomintang—on the ground that Chungking was the one "legal" government in China. Fortified by this assurance, Chiang Kai-shek saw no need for further concessions to Yenan. The negotiations that had been under way for some months were soon terminated. Hurley's second effort to obtain an agreement failed as completely as the first.

Hurley has tried to give the impression that despite the favoritism he showed toward Chiang Kai-shek he has been on excellent terms with the Communist leaders. This has been asserted repeatedly in the American press. Did he not make a special journey to Yenan to escort Mao Tse-tung to the final Chungking negotiations? The Communists' opinion of Hurley, however, has been clearly stated by the Yenan radio on several occasions. One broadcast declared that in aiding Chungking exclusively Hurley had sacrificed the "honor of democratic America" and encouraged civil war. Off the record the Communists charge Hurley with duplicity and unconcealed partisanship. They accuse him of making promises which he had no intention of keeping and of turning over to Chiang Kai-shek vital military information which they had furnished him in confidence. Although Mao Tse-tung chose Hurley as an escort to Chungking rather than risk kidnaping by the Kuomintang, he pointedly refused to accept Hurley's hospitality in Chungking. Nor is Hurley trusted by the center parties that make up the Democratic League. Obsessed by the notion that the Kuomintang is the only bulwark against communism, he has ignored the attempts of various moderate groups to democratize China's governmental machinery.

Vanity may also explain Hurley's high-handed methods with his staff and compatriots. Among his Foreign Service assistants were several unusually intelligent young men who spoke Chinese fluently and had had years of experience grappling with Chinese political problems. These men protested against his abandonment of America's bargaining position and his partiality for Chiang's reactionary regime, and Hurley was too thin-skinned to suffer their criticism. He struck back by purging his staff of all men with long experience in China. He ordered also that all policy reports to the State Department be routed through his office, and by this action deprived the department of its normal sources of unbiased information. To prevent criticism of his policies from reaching the American public, Hurley extended his control to American correspondents, screening them for political reliability and restricting their movements. After years of effort the correspondents had gained permission from the Chungking government to visit Yenan. Hurley quickly saw to it that this permission was revoked and that most of the diplomatic and military observers stationed in Communist territory were withdrawn. The result has been a virtual blackout on reliable information from that area during the past year. General Wedemeyer, who replaced Stilwell, has generally supported Hurley's policies, but the two are reported to have had a first-class row over the favorable reports sent to Washington by some of the army officers stationed in Yenan. Only Roosevelt tact prevented a major crisis. As the story was told by Hurley to a group of Congressmen, the President greeted him on one of his visits to Washington with the remark: "Well, Pat, they tell me that you are busy writing a book out there entitled 'Alone in China.' " Strangely enough, Hurley felt complimented.

Before the end of the war the worst that could be said of Hurley's policies was that they hindered Chinese unity and thus prevented China from pulling its full weight in the struggle against Japan. After Japan's surrender, Hurley's desire to strengthen Chungking was translated into active military intervention, which encouraged the irreconcilable elements within the Kuomintang to press for an immediate showdown. Although during the war Hurley had opposed sending American military aid to North China on political grounds, he had no compunction about sending American marines to aid American-convoyed Kuomintang troops in occupying the chief cities of North China before they could be seized by the Communists. Earlier, Kuomintang troops had been flown to Nanking and Shanghai to keep those cities from falling into Communist hands. And today the United States navy is being used to transport Kuomintang troops to Manchuria so that the reds will not control that immensely rich area. As *Time,* an ardent supporter of the Hurley policies, bluntly stated it: "The U. S. was underpinning its energetic diplomacy with the sword . . . time and the full might of the U. S. in China were working . . . for . . . Chiang."

By thus intervening in behalf of the Kuomintang Hurley has lost his third, and what seemed a few weeks ago his best, opportunity to settle the Kuomintang-Communist dispute. A short time after Russia and China signed their treaty of friendship and alliance a Moscow newspaper carried a discreet article urging that a unified democratic government be set up in China. This was generally interpreted, as was no doubt intended, as a gentle reminder that Russia expected Chiang Kai-shek to widen the base of his government and institute democratic reforms in exchange for the return of Manchuria and Soviet economic assistance. The Chiang-Mao negotiations followed this prompting, and a basic settlement might have resulted if the Kuomintang leaders had not received a windfall in the form of American military assistance. With the assurance of American backing, explicitly promised on several occasions by both Wedemeyer and Hurley, the Kuomintang militarists have not hesitated to plunge the country into civil war.

Although the decision to back Chiang Kai-shek against the Communists was arrived at by Hurley against the judgment of experienced foreign-service officials in China and of the Far Eastern Division of the State Department, it can hardly be attributed solely to ambassadorial vanity. Political as well as personal factors undoubtedly played a decisive role. The same kind of power politics is being played in China as in Poland, Rumania, Greece, and the South Pacific. Apparently Hurley, like many conservative Americans, is under the illusion that Chiang Kai-shek's forces, with American aid, can be made to serve as a buffer against Russia. Yenan, of course, cannot be used in that way. In any event, Russia-haters have aligned themselves firmly behind Hurley's policies in the belief that they offer the only method of curbing Soviet influence in Asia. This judgment, however, is not justified by the facts. Unbiased military observers believe that Chiang's forces would be more of a liability than an asset in any defense of China against the powerful Red Army. China is immensely war weary. The conscripts in Chiang Kai-shek's armies have but one desire—to go home at the earliest possible moment. Only a few divisions, mostly American trained, can be depended on as an effective military force.

Nor is Hurley justified in assuming that with Russian interference ruled out by the Sino-Soviet pact the Kuomintang, aided by the United States, can easily overcome the Communists. If Chungking attempts to suppress the Communists and establish its power in Manchuria, the Soviet Union may well regard the incursion as a breach of the understanding upon which the treaty was founded. Russia agreed to recognize Chinese sovereignty over Manchuria, but it did not necessarily agree to recognize the authority of the present Chungking regime in this vital area.

The plain fact is that Chungking's authority in vast sections of China can be supported only by American arms. If the United States wants to maintain its influence in China it must choose between two courses: continuous intervention and the use of a permanent army of occupation, or a return to the Stilwell-Gauss policy of encouraging and assisting all Chinese groups—the left Kuomintang, the Democratic League, and the Communists—that are seeking to establish a functioning democracy in China. Only a China that is democratic can be counted on to align itself with the democratic aspirations of the American people.

Hurley's choice is clear. His China would be a puppet China, bolstered by American arms and patrolled by American troops. Is that the choice of the American people?

A Lecture to Liberals

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

(Professor of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary and contributing editor of The Nation*)*

LIBERALISM may mean so many different things to different people that one doesn't quite know whether one desires or deserves to belong to the group known as liberals. A fair degree of agreement is found, however, on one distinctive mark of liberalism, conceived not as a creed but as a spirit. Liberalism, it is generally conceded, seeks to deal with the problems of the community with some degree of objectivity. It makes a conscious effort to redress the balance when the scales have been weighed down by party passion or private interest.

A large section of American liberalism has failed to meet this test of the liberal spirit. It has been engulfed by the passions of war and corrupted by the immense self-righteousness and sense of power of a victorious nation. It has aggravated, rather than mitigated, the passions of war, particularly those which swirl about in the chaos of the war's aftermath, having lost their proper object and therefore their creative function. This indictment requires a bill of particulars, which I give below.

1. Enemy nations are always appraised in war time in terms which suggest their total and congenital depravity. The passions of conflict lead to such judgments, and they are made plausible by the seeming unanimity on moral questions in the enemy nation, as glimpsed behind the battle line and the wall of censorship. If the enemy nation is governed tyrannically, the plausibility of such judgments is increased. When the battle is over, however, the full complexity of the moral and political life of the enemy nation is revealed. No nation, not even one so deeply corrupted as Germany was, is without its residual sources of health and sanity. It is the business of liberalism to restore discriminate judgment, which is all the more necessary because criminal nations cannot be executed or imprisoned for life, as are confirmed individual criminals. For our own sake and for the sake of the world's health, we must find in the defeated nations elements upon which can be based the new structure of their life and of our common life with them. Liberal journalists, nevertheless, have regarded "Germans" from the standpoint of an inverted racial theory and allowed themselves indiscriminate judgments about the "sullenness" or the "cravenness" of Germans; frequently they have formed these judgments without knowing enough of the German

language to make direct contact with Germans. A friend just returned from Germany writes: "There are innumerable Germans of proved and profound anti-Nazi convictions who have never been seen by our journalists or our army intelligence people. Neither have sufficient knowledge of the German past to identify these men or the linguistic ability to talk with them. Even a brief conversation with Germans proves that it is not an absence of a sense of guilt which is their problem but a sense of guilt so overwhelming that it threatens to engulf them."

2. Victorious nations are naturally inclined to suggest that the peace of tomorrow will be threatened primarily by the foe who threatened it yesterday. Yet it might be put down as axiomatic that the chief peril to the peace of tomorrow lies in the difficulty of maintaining the alliance which gained the victory. Efforts to maim a vanquished foe, already rendered impotent by total defeat, are unnecessary if the alliance of victors is stabilized, and may become futile if the alliance fails. In the former case the present impotence of the defeated nation is sufficient to prevent further aggression. In the latter case the victorious powers will compete with each other in an effort to arm the vanquished nation, the one side against the other. Frantic efforts to guarantee the peace by maiming the beaten enemy can therefore have only short-range efficacy. Yet a section of our liberal press has filled the air with its apprehensions that we have failed to destroy the political and economic power of the foe with sufficient completeness. It has not analyzed critically the social consequences of the forced migration of Germans from the ceded parts of the Reich to the overcrowded and economically chaotic regions that remain.

3. Though nothing could be clearer than that there is no dividing line between war potential and general industrial potential, part of the liberal press speaks glibly of destroying Germany's war potential, and periodically accuses the army of not being vigorous enough in carrying out this policy. Meanwhile General Eisenhower insists that we must send food to Germany in order to prevent starvation; and if we are not careful we shall have the permanent task of financing out of our own pocket the importations of food necessary to an industrially developed nation like Germany. We may even refuse to allow the manufacture of the agricultural machinery which is required to maintain the highest level of agricultural production. Nevertheless, a large section of the liberal press not only takes ex-Secretary Morgenthau's angry economics seriously but tries to make the Potsdam agreement conform to his theory even more consistently than was intended. Our complete control of the German economy enables us to prevent the manufacture of any instruments of war for years to come without the kind of wholesale destruction now proposed. If we follow the policy of destruction we shall increase the economic chaos in Europe, and the hard sentimentalities of the moment will give way to softer sentimentalities when the cry of the hungry is heard. We are not Nazis, and the instincts of humanity will finally prevent us from doing what we now intend.

4. Russia knows what it wants from Germany. It wants to relate the section it controls—and if possible all of Germany—to its political and economic purposes. We do not know what we want, and our lack of policy tends to create both an economic and a political vacuum in Central Europe. This is not to our interest, nor will it lead to a stable peace. A section of liberalism is estopped from making a critical analysis of this problem by its "fellow-traveler" proclivities. Any responsible analyst of world affairs knows that we must find a basis for a stable accord with Russia. But it is stupid to imagine that we can find one only by accepting the policy of the Soviet Union as unwaveringly virtuous and prohibiting all critical discussion of the Potsdam agreement.

5. A section of the liberal press is tempted to compound liberal idealism with an imperial sense of power. It wants the forces of occupation to be as large as possible, and periodically lectures our commanders on how to force democracy upon our foes. It has done little to illumine the fact that military organizations, designed for military combat, are ill prepared to deal with the political complexities of defeated nations. The general tendency of the military mind to prefer "law and order" to any ferment of democracy should persuade liberals that it is important to transfer our authority as quickly as possible to civil officers, who should exercise it with such restraint as to allow responsible government to emerge. We can, by our power, remove the most obvious sources of corruption in enemy nations, but we cannot rebuild these nations in our image by our power. We are unable to do this, not only because there are limits to the efficacy of alien power and limits to the political imagination of military men, but also because there are contradictory impulses in the democracy which informs our life. We are not certain whether we want democracy for our defeated foes, or whether we want to prevent them from having a more radical democracy than the wealthiest nation on earth allows itself. A genuine liberalism would deal more critically with our own political complexities and contradictions as they impinge upon the life of the nations we have vanquished, and would not regard our power as the undefiled fountain source of democracy in the world.

6. In dealing with the problem of bringing individual leaders among our foes to trial some liberals have shown no understanding of the obviously limited capacity of a court of victors to render judgments which will commend themselves to the vanquished as just. They seem to have forgotten that American, or even Allied, judgments are not the judgments of a universal mind, though our omnipotence may tempt us to think they are. Thus liberals were almost unanimous in demanding that the Emperor of Japan be tried as a war criminal. The statesmen of the world were in this case wiser and more modest than liberal journalists and commentators. The Emperor of Japan is only the apex of a feudal-reactionary social system which must be destroyed. There is evidence that in the immediate issues of the war the imperial house tried, however vainly, to restrain the fanatic militarists. But even if this were not the case, it is politically stupid to imagine that we could hasten the democratization of Japan by such means. Leaders in both enemy nations have committed criminal acts which have so far defied both their own best standards and our own that we can bring those criminals to justice without having our par-

tial judgments, as victors, too much impugned. To take the position that leaders of enemy nations are criminals because they opposed us is to allow the megalomania of a very powerful nation to distort our sense of justice.

Unfortunately we do not have an organized world, and do not yet possess completely impartial instruments of justice. We must do the best we can to punish those who have defied the most widely accepted standards of humanity. We shall be the more successful if we do not attempt or claim too much, and if we remember that the decisions of men and nations who "are judges in their own case" are viewed with considerable cynicism by those who are too weak to defy such judgments.

Liberals have generally hailed Justice Jackson's achievement in establishing, as one standard of justice for the international court, the definition of aggressive war as a criminal act. The Russians had the honesty to resist this idea for a while, knowing that it made them guilty in the case of Finland. They finally yielded, probably having decided to make this not too costly concession to Anglo-Saxon cant. More Nazi criminals than we can ever execute are guilty of the most obvious crimes against generally accepted standards of humanity. Why, then, should we engage in the dubious business of making a war of aggression an ex post facto crime, before the world has been organized upon a basis of universal law and before an international community has set up instruments for assessing guilt?

We have lived, and may still be living, in a state of international anarchy. Under such conditions some wars are more overtly aggressive than others; the war just ended certainly placed our foes in the category of overt aggressors. But all wars are expressions of the anarchy in which the nations live; and a vanquished nation is always able to satisfy its own conscience that it was prompted by the necessity of meeting covert aggression with overt action. It will be less inclined to do so if the victors refrain from too simple and too self-righteous judgments.

On this as on every issue under discussion American liberalism has failed to exercise the kind of restraint upon the pride of powerful and victorious nations which it is the traditional function of liberal intelligence to exercise. Such restraint is desperately necessary at the present moment as we move with unaccustomed and untried power into the complexities of world politics.

Revolt in Asia: II–Indonesia

BY ANDREW ROTH

(Author of "Dilemma in Japan")

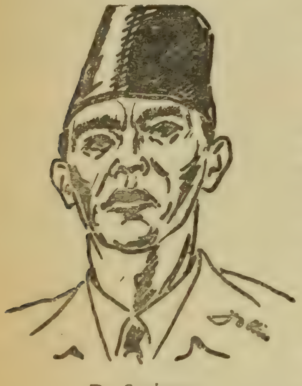
SIGNS have a mocking quality in sweltering, tense Batavia. Splashed high on the buildings in large, clear letters are excerpts from the Declaration of Independence, the Gettysburg Address, and other stirring American protests against the servitude of man to man. But in the streets hostile Indonesians see trucks on which the letters "U. S. A." have just been painted over carrying Netherlands soldiers clad in American uniforms and nervously fingering American-made guns.

A train pulling out of the Batavia station bears a more contemporary slogan: "We don't want a second Dutch treat!" The feeling behind it is grim rather than humorous, for even through the bloody veil of the recent Japanese occupation the Indonesians remember that the Dutch have always considered the Indies a *bedrijf*, or business concern, to be exploited as efficiently and profitably as possible. Before the Japanese invasion three-fourths of the total capital investment in the fabulous Indies—the world's second richest colony—was in the hands of the Dutch. And from this investment was derived a profit amounting to more than a fifth of the Netherlands' national income. In bitter contrast the vast majority of the 72,000,000 Indonesians were ill fed and ill housed on their average wage of 20 cents a day.

Dutch political administration was authoritarian and paternal. Laws and decrees emanated from one man—the Governor General. The carefully stacked *Volksraad*, or People's Council, was a debating chamber which could criticize but not control. Indonesian petty officials governed the native population through an ingenious system of indirect control of native institutions. These officials, kept loyal by handsome salaries, were given the duty of collecting taxes so that the Indonesian masses would not feel directly the weight of Dutch demands. The Dutch encouraged such manifestations of native culture as Balinese dancing, but their educational policy was utterly colonial: after 350 years of their rule the illiteracy rate in the islands was 92 per cent. They were not so race-conscious as most European colonial administrators, and intermarriage with Indonesians was condoned and even favored. But this liberal attitude had its origin in the need for enlarging the governing class. Eurasians were given the status of Europeans so that they might be set off against their pure Indonesian relatives, who had no citizenship rights.

During the past thirty years Dutch rule has been challenged with increasing fervor and strength by the swelling ranks of Indonesian nationalists. Roughly speaking, the nationalist movement has three main streams. One group favors a moderate, gradualist approach, with emphasis on native education and on slow progress toward independence in collaboration with the Dutch authorities. Another group is inspired by religious nationalism. Indonesia is 85 per cent Moslem, and the powerful Moslem nationalist organizations ask their followers as Indonesian colonials to resist Dutch imperial rule and as Moslems to rise against the Christian "infidels." The Moslem leaders look to the Islamic world for support in their struggle. A third group of all-out, non-religious nationalists embraces both middle-class elements and left-wing workers. Its leaders are drawn largely from the intelligentsia, but its mass support is furnished by the burgeoning trade unions, peasant organizations, cooperatives, and women's and youths' groups.

The turbulence that marked the early twenties culminated in widespread insurrectionary outbreaks in 1926 and 1927. In February, 1933, the Indonesian crew of the Seven Provinces, the flagship of the Dutch navy in the Indies, staged a mutiny. The Dutch responded by further curtailment of liberties. Thousands of the rebellious natives were arrested and sent to concentration camps in New Guinea and Banda, where the sea, the jungle, and the malarial swamps took the place of barbed wire. The secret police was strengthened, and all workers, particularly those in factories, were fingerprinted. Censorship of the press was tightened, and no outdoor meetings were allowed without a special permit. In one instance the police declared an indoor nationalist meeting illegal on the excuse that the roof had holes and was therefore open to the sky!



Dr. Soekarno

Despite these repressive measures nationalism continued to grow. In 1941 some five million nationalists of all varieties united in the *Madjlis Rakjat Indonesia* (Supreme People's Movement of Indonesia). The movement had its own newspapers, a news agency, Antara, and a national song, "Indonesia Raya."

During the late thirties Japan's consuming interest in the oil, bauxite, and other wealth of the Indies and its evident intention to drive southward focused interest on the problem of the defense of Indonesia. A narrow fringe of the nationalists succumbed to Japan's blandishments, but the majority recognized that Japan offered only another and more virulent form of imperialism. The Batavian Students' Federation sent ambulances to the Chinese victims of Japanese aggression. Indonesian delegates to the second World Youth Congress, held at Vassar in 1938, strongly supported its anti-fascist program. The *Madjlis Rakjat Indonesia* demanded that the people of Indonesia be armed and that the nationalists be given responsible posts in the government to insure mobilization of the people for the defense of Indonesia. The Dutch refused and tightened security restrictions against both the Indonesians and the Japanese. After the fall of Holland to the Germans in 1940, the Indies were put under complete martial law. All nationalist meetings were forbidden, nationalist leaders were arrested, nationalist newspapers were closed down. When Japan attacked the islands in 1942, the Dutch forces, unsupported by popular mobilization, were quickly overwhelmed.

The Japanese conquest substituted economic rape for Holland's systematic economic exploitation. Pressing military needs and the consuming avarice of the militarists and *Zaibatsu* monopolists resulted in ruthless looting of the country and despoiling of the people. Soon the food and clothing shortage became acute. Men were pressed into labor gangs and women dragged off to the horrors of Japanese army brothels.

The Japanese sugar-coated their ruthless economic spoliation with slippery promises of political independence. In Sumatra they found Dr. Achmed Soekarno, the leading figure of the nationalist movement. Soekarno had been arrested by the Dutch in 1940 for the third time and exiled to Sumatra Although he had adequate reason to hate the Dutch, there is no indication that he was in any sense pro-Japanese. Indeed, the Dutch admit that he asked them to evacuate him from Sumatra because of his anti-Japanese record. The Dutch, however, decided to leave him to the tender mercies of the invaders, who offered him an important post if he would cooperate and may well have threatened him with a dire fate if he would not. The well-known intellectual Dr. Susilo and two hundred other prominent Indonesians who refused to collaborate were killed by the Japanese.

Soekarno's assumption of the presidency of the Java Central Council in 1942 initiated a period of uneasy and mistrustful collaboration. The Japanese exerted pressure on the nationalists to provide economic and political support; the nationalists insisted that the Japanese pay off on the promise of independence which they dangled before the people. Indonesian nationalists claim that Soekarno, under the very nose of the Japanese secret police, began organizing guerrilla bands as early as 1943, telling the Japanese the bands would be used to resist Allied landings. Radio Tokyo admitted that Japanese-trained Indonesians had fired on Japanese forces "by mistake." As the Japanese faced defeat in the first half of 1945, they were forced to yield more and more to the nationalists in the hope of gaining military support.

The capitulation of the Japanese in August, 1945, immediately brought a nationalist uprising; the Indonesian Republic was established on August 17. The Japanese dropped the reins and allowed the nationalists their head, knowing that the results could only be embarrassing to the victorious Allies. In an incredibly brief time the Indonesians dominated Java and began to operate the public services and to arm Indonesian troops with weapons seized from the Japanese. Three radio transmitters and the nationalist paper *Merdeka* blared both anti-Dutch and anti-Japanese propaganda. Indonesian seamen on Dutch ships struck in ports all over the world. In the islands the movement acquired such momentum that Soekarno and other leaders frequently seemed to be borne along on it rather than to be directing it. They have found it hard to control young racial-minded Moslem fanatics, who, incited probably by the Japanese, are trying to start a "holy war" against Dutch and Eurasian "infidels."

The Indonesian National Committee, the high command of the nationalist forces, is dominated by Holland-educated Socialist intellectuals led by Vice-President Dr. Mohammed Hatte. The left is represented by Raden Iwa Koesoema Soemantri, Minister of Social Affairs. Soemantri was Indonesia's delegate to the Comintern in 1925, studied at the Eastern Peoples' University in Moscow, and is the author of "The Peasants' Movement in Indonesia." Soekarno himself holds no very clear-cut politico-economic views. At least one or two members of the committee have clean records of resistance to the Japanese.

The nationalists are making a strenuous effort to capture world opinion and isolate the Dutch. Soekarno has invited the Indian leader Pandit Nehru, Foreign Minister Evatt of Australia, Mme Chiang Kai-shek, and General Carlos Romulo to visit Indonesia and judge conditions for themselves. Dr. Hatte has demanded that Dutch troops be withdrawn until the question of Indonesian independence can be reviewed by a competent United Nations committee.

Large sections of the colonial and labor worlds have responded. In Singapore 7,000 dock workers paralyzed the port in sympathy. Transportation of Dutch soldiers, armaments, officials, bullion, and records was seriously delayed by a series of Australian strikes. Nineteen Australian trade unions refused to load, repair, or supply ships destined to suppress the Indonesian nationalist movement. Chinese and Indian seamen joined striking Indonesians in refusing to man them.

The reaction to all this on the part of the Dutch has been compounded of fear, fury, and frantic disagreement. They know that Indonesian independence would convert Holland into a third-rate power and bring to an end tens of thousands of profitable colonial jobs. They see Indonesian graduates of Dutch prisons in positions of power and daring to disbelieve Queen Wilhelmina's 1942 pledge of eventual dominion status. They feel a growing sense of frustration at having to rely on British forces and American equipment. And they disagree violently among themselves on how to regain their empire. The stiff-necked aristocrat Jonkheer van Stargenborgh Stachouwer resigned as Governor General of the Netherlands East Indies in protest against negotiations with the nationalists. More farsighted colonial officials admit the necessity of negotiating and concede that the Indies should obtain dominion status in twenty or thirty years. These, however, are attacked as "leftists" or publicly contradicted.

When he first landed in Java, Sir Alexander Christison, commander of the British occupation forces, declared somewhat surprisingly that it was not the British intention to pull Dutch chestnuts out of the fire. Because of their own difficulties with Moslems elsewhere, the British were inclined to be conciliatory with the Javanese Moslems, particularly in view of nationalist strength, the weakness of available Allied forces, and the explosive potentialities of the entire colonial situation. "You must meet with these chaps and give them a clear-cut statement of future status," Sir Alexander said to Dutch officials. Subsequently, in fear of the spread of the nationalist contagion and eager to weld their Western European bloc, the British became friendlier to the Dutch. "To support—or tolerate—local nationalist movements in this hour of confusion would lose Britain the friendship of its nearest neighbors," the influential London *Economist* asserted.

American policy in Indonesia has been characterized by the *Hindustan Times,* published by Gandhi's son, as "utter moral cowardice." When Soekarno protested against the use of American equipment to suppress the Indonesian independence movement, Secretary of State Byrnes suggested only that American labels be removed from the equipment. This seemed a far cry from the ringing words of President Roosevelt in April, 1943: "We know that the day of the exploitation of the resources and the people of one country for the benefit of any group in another country is definitely over."

In the Wind

EDUCATION: The University of Minnesota is offering a course in scientific and technical Russian. The prospectus says, "The publication of numerous important scientific contributions in Russian makes it essential for scientists in this country to have at least some rudimentary reading knowledge of the Russian language."

GUIDANCE: "My point is," said Paul Mallon in a discussion of the atomic bomb on October 9, "we should not be guided politically by scientific advice."

BARGAIN BASEMENT: The United Ships Corporation, New York, has Canadian corvettes for sale. "For a minimum of $29,000 each," says an advertisement, "in quantities of ten, we offer you these famous vessels costing originally over $650,000 each."

FORTISSIMO: *Editor and Publisher's* special supplement on syndicated columns lists Dorothy Thompson's "On the Record" under Music.

POPULARIZATION: Hearst's San Francisco *Call-Bulletin* of October 6 announced serialization of Sinclair Lewis's "Cass Timberlane" "in easy-to-read picture-strip form."

TEAM! TEAM! TEAM! A chapter of the Alumni Association of Georgetown University has been established in Tokyo.

SACRIFICE: The Combined Resources and Production Board announced on October 20 that per capita purchases of civilian goods and services in the United Kingdom fell 15 to 20 per cent below the 1938 level during the war, but in the United States and Canada rose 10 to 15 per cent.

O. C. S.: "Chicago department stores," said the *Wall Street Journal* of October 25, "don't know what to do about former salesmen who went into the services and became captains, majors, and lieutenant colonels. 'You can't expect them to be happy selling socks or shirts,' says one merchant. The stores feel kind of cheated, too. They say it was their training that taught the salesmen how to sell themselves along the road to success in uniform."

EXPLANATION: H. R. Cullen, chairman of the board of regents of the University of Houston, Texas, in an address on October 19 said the trouble with the country "is a misunderstanding, not between capital and labor, for we are all capitalists, for to own a house, a cow, a farm, a home, is to be in possession of capital; so the misunderstanding must be between the masses of people and corporations."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Who's Killing What Goose?

MR. TRUMAN'S broadcast homily to capital and labor on the restraint of appetites, will not, I fear, end the present wage-price deadlock and usher in an era of industrial peace. The President declared that full maintenance of war-time wage incomes would not be possible and warned labor not to press its claims too far lest it kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. On the other hand, he reminded business that its prosperity depended on a broad market for its wares and pointed out that reduced pay envelopes must serve to restrict demand. There was, he suggested, a margin available, at least in many industries, to provide a moderate increase in wages without a corresponding rise in prices.

This statement, while bestowing a partial blessing on present wage demands, does not carry us much nearer a solution to the problem of what wages industry can afford to pay. Clearly, no short and easy answer is possible, for industries vary markedly in their circumstances. But one thing is certain —unless business as a whole accepts price levels predicated on the employment of a high proportion of their productive capacity, post-war prosperity is going to be short-lived.

What does a corporation like General Motors mean when it insists that it cannot pay a 30 per cent increase in basic wage rates if it is denied the right to raise prices? Does it mean that, no matter how many cars it sells, it will lose money; or does it mean that its margin of profit on a low output will be reduced below what it considers a reasonable amount? In the brief presented by the United Automobile Workers to support its current claims against General Motors, a number of estimates are offered to show how the company's profits vary with volume. Given 1942 model prices and an increase of 15 per cent in material costs over 1941, production, it is suggested, would reach the break-even point at only 29 per cent of capacity, at present wage rates. If wages were raised 30 per cent, the break-even point would be 40 per cent. In other words, profits would begin to accrue at a very modest production level.

I cannot vouch for the accuracy of these figures, for although they have obviously been carefully prepared by experts, only General Motors itself has all the necessary data on costs, and it guards its secrets tenaciously. But even if there is a 25 per cent error—making the real break-even point, after a 30 per cent wage increase, about 50 per cent of capacity—General Motors' position appears amply protected without any increase in prices. For it must be remembered that once the break-even point has been passed, profits increase much faster than production. This is because the biggest factor in costs in a mass-production industry is overhead charges, and the more units that are produced the more thinly these costs are spread.

Not unnaturally, every business seeks to keep its break-even point as low as possible by setting a price which will enable it to avoid losses even if demand proves disappointing, and which will allow a rising margin of profit if sales are large. Reporting to the War Production Board earlier this year, sixty-five industries provided estimates of post-war capacity and the production level at which they would break even; sixty-one of them placed this point at less than 80 per cent of capacity, fifty-one at less than 70 per cent, thirty, including automobiles, at less than 60 per cent, and fourteen at less than 50 per cent.

Price-makers who aim at low break-even points automatically limit the market by attacking purchasing power at both ends. By keeping wages at lower levels and fixing prices at higher ones than would be justified by capacity or near-capacity production they reduce the incomes and inhibit the spending of those groups whose buying is essential to sustain the demand for mass-produced goods.

General Motors and other firms in a similar position claim, however, that they cannot anticipate the profits of high production. In the present situation, as *Business Week* of October 27 explained, they "want to wait and see what labor's post-war efficiency will be and how much volume it can produce. If industry rises to the level the optimists expect, profits will spiral, probably making room for both pay rises and price cuts." These hopes are all too likely to be frustrated by a low-wage high-price policy. With take-home pay 20 per cent and more below war levels, current income of the workers will not enable them to buy an annual output of 7,000,000 automobiles and equivalent outputs of other industries making durable consumer goods.

Nor can the managers of such industries count on pent-up demand and stored-up purchasing power to provide buoyancy for sales even though current income lags. When pay envelopes suddenly grow slim, men do not rush to spend their savings; they continue to make do with old cars or refrigerators and postpone purchases of desirable but non-essential goods, particularly in the face of high prices. In "Price-Making in a Democracy" (Brookings, 1944) Edwin G. Nourse gave the following advice to business:

> To attain sound adjustment, management must in its own interest be alert to hold prices down to a point where full product can continuously be taken off the market by current purchasing power. . . . If the price is set tentatively at a level so high as to be profitable with the volume of sales 20 or 30 or even some greater percentage below the war level or post-war full-scale rate, then that is the volume of sales and employment and use of invested capital which will be realized. If price-makers think they can ignore or defer the period of adjustment of their prices to an efficiency cost basis while they garner in the accumulated "easy money," they will have made the task of real adjustment more difficult, if not, in any full sense, impossible.

In other words, only by deliberately aiming for high volume can price-makers insure the generation of sufficient purchasing power to maintain that volume. By setting their sights for a large margin of profits instead of a large output they are all too likely to miss both targets. If the golden goose of private enterprise is in danger, it is far more because of the erratic shooting of its keepers than because of labor's designs upon its neck.

KEITH HUTCHISON

The People's Front

ON HIS recent return from London, where he attended a Catholic celebration, Monsignor Casimiro Morcillo, Auxiliary Bishop of Madrid, assured Franco of the continuing support of British Catholics. Monsignor Morcillo himself and with one or two exceptions the entire Spanish Catholic hierarchy are staunch supporters of the Generalissimo's regime. In his pastoral of September 3 the Spanish Cardinal Primate had urged the people to rally behind Franco and had denounced the "anti-Spanish" campaign abroad. The Bishop was greatly relieved to find that in Britain, at least, true friends of Spain had not been taken in by the propaganda of "Free Masons and reds" about concentration camps, executions, the Blue Division, and the activities of Nazi agents.

The *Tablet,* Britain's most influential Catholic weekly, has been consistently pro-Franco. In this country his most respectable organ, the influential Jesuit weekly, *America,* recently published an attack on the Spanish Republicans that outraged even so deeply religious a group as the Basque exiles. Devout Catholics but good Republicans, the Basques have not forgotten the hundreds of priests who died before Franco's firing squads.

The Vatican has been as useful an ally of the Franco government as was the now defunct Axis. No doubt when Franco falls, the Holy See will advance all sorts of subtle arguments —its archivists will miraculously dig up "hitherto unpublished documents"—to prove that this charge is untrue. The beautiful hands of Pope Pius XII, which blessed the Axis forces and the victorious American troops in turn, will describe the same graceful gesture of benediction when the first Basque delegation from the restored Spanish Republic visits Rome.

But it will require more than benedictions and musty documents to make the world forget the Pope's many pronouncements in praise of Franco. On several occasions in 1939 Pope Pius congratulated Franco on his "glorious Catholic victory." In 1943 he hailed "the happy resurgence" of the faith in Spain. And although in his Christmas message of 1944 His Holiness mentioned in alphabetical order the other nations meriting praise for their "brotherly love and charity," he preceded the entire list with Spain and its "head of state." To my knowledge the Pope has never uttered a single word of protest against the Franco repression.

The frequent reports that the Vatican favors the return of the Spanish monarchy do not contradict its consistent support of Franco. What the Vatican fears above all is a democratic victory in Spain. It does not seem to realize that only a strong Republican government can assure freedom of religion; that only under a republic could the church regain the respect of the Spanish people, for then it would be rigidly excluded from interference in the political life of the nation.

The Vatican believes that in the present situation a monarchy offers greater guaranties of security than the decaying Franco regime. At the same time, however, it realizes that the monarchy lacks popular support—a weakness which the Republican forces could exploit to good advantage. For that reason it would like to see a kind of merger between the Franco forces and the royalists: Don Juan would play the role of "constitutional" monarch, backed by the Falangist bayonets which made it possible, as Pope Pius so eloquently said in a message to Spain shortly after the end of the Spanish war, for "Christ [to] triumph in the schools and . . . the Church rise up out of the smoking ruins to infuse the Christian spirit into your laws, your institutions, and all the manifestations of official life."

The Vatican's Spanish policy is only one part of its large and ambitious foreign program. It has emerged from the war one of the important world powers, enjoying all the advantages of that position and none of its disadvantages. Accorded an almost unique elasticity of speech, the Pope adopts now a liberal tone, as in his New Year's address to the Roman nobility, now a "trade-union" approach, as in his address last March to the Christian Workers' Association of Italy—but all the time goes on using the language of reaction to Franco Spain.

Progressives everywhere have assumed a peculiarly timid attitude toward the Vatican—an attitude rooted in their reluctance to be regarded as anti-Catholic. And the Vatican has astutely exploited the popular misconception that to attack clericalism is to attack the Catholic faith or the church. I have just gone through the issues of a well-known British liberal weekly for the past six months. On almost every subject it has spoken with admirable courage and independence. But I did not find a single article, not even a passing comment, on the activities of the Vatican. As a matter of fact, a British daily created a sensation last year by publishing a Low cartoon, Neutrality in Rome, which showed a cardinal dispatching a message of congratulation to Hitler while another hawked an anti-Russian issue of the *Vatican News.* The United Press commented, "It is believed to be the first time that a British daily newspaper has carried an anti-Vatican cartoon." Indeed, the Vatican enjoys a kind of diplomatic immunity which the British Foreign Office and the State Department have good reason to envy. Each time the leaders of the Big Three have met, the papers have printed many inside stories, personal attacks, and canards. Yet Archbishop Spellman has made several trips to Europe, and we have still to learn the real purpose of his visits.

I have no unfriendly feeling toward the Catholic church. Thousands of Spain's best Catholics are on the side of the Republican government in exile. Spain is a Catholic country; it will doubtless remain a Catholic country; the Spanish Republic is resolved to protect the rights of Spain's Catholics. But the Catholic faith is one thing and the Vatican is another. And in Spain as elsewhere the Vatican is today in the service of reaction.

DEL VAYO

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Karl Shapiro's Poetics

ESSAY ON RIME. By Karl Shapiro. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.

"ESSAY ON RIME" is an attack upon the character of modern poetry and upon the author's own poetry, as Shapiro says with modesty. This modesty would be less distressing were it not uncalled for, and were it not a repudiation of Shapiro's own attitudes and practice as a poet.

The essential vagueness of Shapiro's attack is such that any attempt at an exact formulation of it must omit some ambiguous qualification or apology. To state directly what is actually diffuse and contradictory, Shapiro has discovered a threefold confusion in modern poetry. In prosody, the modern poet depends too much upon scansion by count of ear, which Shapiro confounds with such devices as Cummings's typography and with his own misunderstanding of Bridges's analysis of Milton's blank verse. In language, the modern poet makes a false use of conversational diction, abstract nouns, and like devices—a criticism which is too general to mean very much. In belief, the failure is disbelief, the effort to find beliefs, and an acceptance of the doctrines of Freud — accusations which are soft impeachments indeed. What Shapiro desires, and what he regards as the peak from which poetry has declined, is again hard to say, although in one passage he asks, "Where is the literature/ Of nature, where the love poem and the plain/ Statement of feeling?" and he repeatedly expresses his dislike for "verse of the mind," a distaste which must include Lucretius, Dante, Donne, Pope, Coleridge, and lesser lights.

The wrongness of this new work extends from the writing as such to the governing motives of the entire poem. In particular, the versification is in a rhythm as crude as a rocking-chair's, and the phrasing is full of such items as "traumatic shattering shock," "gross indecency," "brave kids," and "the golden doors of Hopkins' heart." And then in describing the nature of modern poetry Shapiro commits countless errors of fact and interpretation. A passage from Marianne Moore's profound poem about poetry, the ironic remark, "I too dislike it," is cited by Shapiro to show that Miss Moore literally dislikes poetry. Freud's *therapy* is said to be "deterministic" and "deductive." Poe is called "the Lenin of the Symbolists." Hart Crane's death is attributed to the religion of art. "Finnegans Wake" is said to be an exercise in "Freudian philology." And we are told that Blake's lyrics are left unread for the sake of his "Prophetic Books." These details would not matter too much except for the purpose they are meant to serve.

The declared purpose of showing the decline of modern poetry none the less permits Shapiro to praise greatly a few authors—Joyce, Eliot, Auden, and other modern poets. The fault is said to be with the imitators of these great authors, though the imitators are making use of the masters' inventions. If it seems contradictory to praise the master for qualities for which the follower is censured, and the whole of modern poetry condemned, the explanation is that Shapiro's praise is really half-hearted and ambiguous. "Ash Wednesday" is a great poem, and "Ulysses" is a great work, too. But for "the breakdown" in language "Joyce is as much to blame as any man"; "the price he paid for greatness is too dear," a statement which means less and less the more it is scrutinized, unless it means that "Ulysses" ought not to have been written.

When Shapiro speaks of criticism—by which he means only "self-dependent pride in thought, act, and invention" —and when he attacks intellectuals who practice criticism—which turns out, after all, to be elucidation and evaluation of and commentary upon works of art—the bias and the crucial weakness of his attack seem to become plain. The worst consequence of such attacks as these—Shapiro's is not the first, or the last, or essentially different from that of Van Wyck Brooks or of J. Donald Adams—is that the false and vicious seesaw of attack and defense is forced upon everyone. To object to this kind of attack upon modern poetry is far from being prepared to deny the excesses and limitations of modern poetry. To feel that Shapiro's anti-intellectualism and philistinism are foolish does not mean that one has to justify the serious defects of the intellectual and the bohemian. In his previous volume, in a poem entitled "The Intellectuals," Shapiro wrote, "I'd rather be/ A milkman" and "I'd rather be a barber" than an intellectual, forcing one to wonder what is so wonderful about being a milkman—not that one has anything against milkmen. In this new work he condemns intellectuals more than anyone else, which suggests powerfully that the attack on criticism is a fear of critics, and the hatred of the intellectual a fear of the intellect. There is no other explanation of his horror of glosses, commentaries, translations, and the analysis of poetry. The truth is that the modern poet, critic, or intellectual is not so inferior to the milkman as this depressing and disappointing book makes out.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

Study of the Jews

A PARTISAN GUIDE TO THE JEWISH PROBLEM. By Milton Steinberg. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $3.

WHEN Dr. Steinberg put "partisan" in his title he instantly showed the scrupulous tolerance that characterizes this study. No one involved in the Jewish problem can remain non-partisan; the only approach to reason is through announcing one's prejudice at the outset. This study embraces everything from the arguments for assimilation to the methods for a rejuvenation of Judaism. Every type of Jew is presented, from the orthodox Jew to the Jew who has only a sense of belonging to a social group, with perhaps a tenuous memory of ritual stimulated annually by the news photographs of Yom Kippur. There is an analysis of the sick soul of the Jew, his self-hatred as a result of centuries of persecution—a characteristic studied by Freud even while

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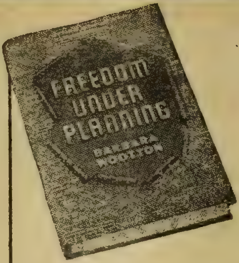

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MEMORIES OF AN OLD-TIME TAR HEEL

By KEMP PLUMMER BATTLE

Edited by W. J. Battle

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THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS • THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS • THE UNIVERS he was himself unwittingly its victim. There is an answer offered, in a positive and progressive Judaism. And finally there is a remarkably good section on Zionism, interesting not only because it stresses the rebuilding of land and character, but because it points out that the movement's greatest contribution to society may yet prove to be the wide experience of the Jewish colonies in cooperative and communal living successfully integrated with private ownership.

Dr. Steinberg himself is a "reconstructionist," a disciple of Mordecai Kaplan, who defines Judaism as an "evolving religious civilization." Both men find Jewish life compounded of religion, culture and civilization, and peoplehood, all organically interwoven, and point out that Jews can live as Jews through even a remote realization of any one of these factors, but that the full creative life is built upon a well-proportioned realization of them all. I do not feel as strongly as Dr. Steinberg the need for ritual, but then, Dr. Steinberg is a rabbi, and I am not a synagogue-goer. Yet I share his liking for the Oneg Shabbat—a Sabbath custom evolved in Palestine, consisting of an assembly for lectures, discussions, music, and group singing. I believe that while religion carried our ethic for many centuries, this ethic can now develop through human rather than deified sanctions, through human authority for social progress.

Perhaps Dr. Steinberg underestimates the positive Jewish feeling of many of us who find no niche in the Jewish community life, which, as he points out, is so badly organized. At one point, for instance, he quotes a study in which Jewish authors were asked about the role of Jewishness in their creative lives. Only two were found who "regarded Judaism as actively meaningful to them."

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I was not included in this study, and a number of writers spring to mind who should have answered in the positive, simply by the evidence of their work: what about Irving Fineman, Henry Roth, Ben Hecht, Daniel Fuchs, Albert Halper, all of whom have written out of this background?

Dr. Steinberg's cultural orientation is offered as an answer to those who believe Jews must either assimilate or live in ghettos. "I sing Negro spirituals, American ballads, and Hassidic and Palestinian folk songs with equal ardor. On the Fourth of July I set off fireworks and attempt to transmit to my children an appreciation of the significance of the occasion. With equal earnestness I kindle Hanukkah lights and discuss with them the meaning of that festival. At no time am I conscious of a strain between the two worlds."

He is clear in his understanding that Jews must be in the front ranks of the movement "toward economic security for all." Aside from their special interest in eradicating the economic roots of anti-Semitism, Dr. Steinberg points out that Jews "must put themselves behind every well-considered program that seeks, within the framework of the democratic process, to humanize the economic order . . ., for theirs is most immediately the heritage of the prophets and sages who centuries ago first cried out against communal iniquity. . . . The tradition of the Jews unites with their self-interest in making the good society very intimately their concern."

This is soberly and cautiously put—Dr. Steinberg is more passionate in writing about Palestine—but it touches the practical and ideal basis of Jewish behavior.

MEYER LEVIN

Peace and Law

THE PRICE OF PEACE. By Sir William Beveridge. W. W. Norton and Company. $2.

LET'S TALK ABOUT THE PEACE. By Henry G. Alsberg. Hastings House. $2.75.

EUROPEAN MANIFESTO. By Pierre de Lanux. Creative Age Press. $2.

BOOKS like Alsberg's and Beveridge's fill me with despair. They are so quietly, so incontrovertibly right. All readers will coolly nod approval; and then they will go on indorsing, supporting, or at least condoning the policies which Alsberg and Beveridge have so luminously shown to be disastrous. And this means *you*, member of *The Nation's* intelligentsia.

There is nothing flashy and nothing cryptic about either book—just plain, straightforward discussion. The tone is very much the same. Alsberg professes to address a G. I., carefully explains technical terms, and uses an occasional bit of slang. Beveridge might be addressing the House of Commons, a Rotarian meeting, or a Bankers' Institute. The frivolous and the sophisticated had better leave these books alone.

Both books were written before the fiasco of the London Conference of Foreign Ministers, before the Potsdam meeting of supermen, before San Francisco, and even before Yalta. But the issues have not changed, and the books re-

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main as timely as when they were first planned. The essential idea is simple: you can have peace only on the basis of law, among the nations as well as within each nation. And the law must be equal for all, or it is not law. An order established on force is not peace, for the only meaning of force is the threat of war. Therefore any juridical distinction according to power, any privilege granted to the Big Five, *is* war. It may be bloodless war, if the victim submits without a struggle, as Czechoslovakia did after Munich. But injustice does not become legitimate because it is overwhelming.

The "price of peace," according to both, is the renunciation of absolute sovereignty and the substitution of collective security for private—that is, national—armaments. In a liberal state the individual is "sovereign," although not independent; he is "the captain of his soul," and cannot be coerced except when he is interfering with the freedom of others. All are equal in the eyes of the law. In a liberal World Commonwealth the same juridical equality of all members, great or small, should prevail. It was promised in advance by the Connally resolution, pledged anew by Cordell Hull, reaffirmed in the Preamble of the San Francisco Charter. But in a daze which is partly confusion, partly hypocrisy, partly weariness we turn our backs upon international law and revert to Bismarckian "realism," "blood and iron," "might is right," "power politics," "the Big Three."

Sir William protested in advance (March 7, 1945) in a fine letter to the London *Times*. Later developments have not invalidated his argument. He was pointing the right way; we took the wrong turn; but he is still pointing the right way. The latest development, the atomic bomb, has strengthened his thesis. He is at present advocating, I understand, the World State *now*. San Francisco was but a futile gesture—as all who attended felt at the time. Even without the Big Five poison, it would be obsolete before it came into effect. Our work is still ahead.

From the historical point of view Sir William Beveridge's book is the richer. Chapter III, The Lesson of Experience, is a masterly summary. Alsberg's gives a more comprehensive survey of the problems we have to face. It is, indeed, in twenty-five easy "lessons," a first-class Primer of World Affairs. The author dares to tackle, for instance, the question of population pressure, which most of us seek to evade. Malthus was right in the main: if population kept increasing in geometric ratio, however small the ratio, the world would eventually turn into a solid mass of humanity—which is absurd. There must be a check; war, pestilence, famine are not the most humane solutions. Alsberg considers the problem solved so far as the white race is concerned. He hopes that the Hindus and Chinese will reach the same state of equilibrium when they are fully industrialized. In the meantime he would provide an outlet for them, particularly in Brazil. I do not know whether this particular solution will prove sufficient; I do not know whether there is any effective solution; but the problem should not be shunned.

Alsberg strongly and ably advocates a Federation of Europe west of the Curzon Line, and including England. As I noted in reviewing Chamberlin, everyone is driven willy-nilly to that solution, which was foreshadowed by Roosevelt and Churchill. If Europe is Balkanized, torn between Russian and English influences, it means war. If Russia and its friends

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in this country should oppose European union, they would hasten it—but against Russia. War again, but a war which might turn into a crusade of the pluto-democracies against communism and result in the triumph of reaction. The solution would be for the West and Russia to reach a friendly agreement. It is not beyond the reach of statesmanship. If we have no guide but distrust and fear, "realism" will take its course. And we should be realistic enough to know where such realism leads.

I am informed that the International Relations Clubs, thanks to the Carnegie Foundation, have distributed among the colleges many copies of "European Manifesto," by Pierre de Lanux. A wise move. Lanux is a good world citizen and a good European. He has worked for years in the Paris office of the League of Nations; he may be said to be, with Coudenhove-Kalergi, the heir of Briand's spirit. He too wants an integrated Europe. He urges particularly that the liberated nations, which have so deeply suffered, should have a voice in the settlement. If they were overrun, it was on account of our lack of foresight, of our neutrality and isolationism. Our record gives us no authority to reconstruct Europe; and the European peoples have not forfeited the right to shape their own destinies. "United through the tragic fate of Nazi subjugation and a common underground, ten European nations—140,000,000 people—form the nucleus of the New Europe."

ALBERT GUERARD

BRIEFER COMMENT

A Satisfying Human Tale

THE READERS of such an autobiography as Marianne Oswald's "One Small Voice" (Whittlesey House, $2.75) ask themselves, if they are honest, "Would I find the story interesting if it were not by and about a famous person?" The answer for this book is—no doubt about it—yes, you would, any reader would. For, in the first place, the book is written, as gifted people occasionally do write a language not their own by birth, with a freshness and originality which give it great charm. Her father had a "beautiful secret face"; her feet "looked proud in their new shoes"; the butcher and his wife wore "white, blood-drunk aprons"; "like the cut end of a pound-cake, everything had crumpled up; Catherine was the last raisin of my childhood"; "the chairs, the desk, seemed to yawn with loneliness."

But even without the especially savory taste of the English in which this touching story is written, it would attract and fascinate readers. It is intensely personal, first-hand, and authentic; yet the theme is classic, sure-fire, folklore—the immortal Cinderella, the Ugly Duckling, the ignored youngest son.

Not literally the youngest son, for the sorrows of the violently emotional little Lorrainer of Sarreguemines who tells her story come from the disappointment of her family that she was not a boy. But literally Cinderella because of a wicked elder sister, overbearing and selfish, who continually pushes the sensitive, highly gifted younger child away from the glass slipper of success and fulfilment which really fits the dancing feet of the child genius, not her own—middle-class and clumsily trampling over other people's feelings.

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Yet no, not literally Cinderella, friendless as Aschenputtel was, save for the brief glimpse of the good fairy at the end. The wild-hearted child who became the great diseuse had a friend who gave her the sweetest, warmest, most creative love and understanding. Few characters in any book have in them a more utterly adorable character than Catherine the cook. She shared life richly with the small Marianne, and she opened before her, as a woman can for a little girl, door after door, through which later the Cinderella of this tale went through to fame; and to better than fame, to the ability to stir other human hearts, as Catherine stirred hers, to pity and love for the unfortunate.

As in nearly all autobiographies—I suppose psychiatrists know why this is so—the story of the childhood years is more appealing than the later part. Yet the last few chapters handle with brevity, skill, and good taste the rather awkward position of an ugly duckling who has to describe his own transformation into a stately and acclaimed white swan; of a Cinderella who must describe her own success at the ball.

"One Small Voice" should be on the shelves of all those interested in the growth of children, of all those who like a satisfying human tale—and, as a matter of course, of all libraries. DOROTHY CANFIELD

. . . Ergo Sum

ACCORDING TO REPORT, M. I. T. has invented a thinking machine; and simultaneously, across the Charles River from M. I. T., Houghton Mifflin has issued "The Practical Cogitator" by Charles P. Curtis, Jr., and Ferris Greenslet ($3). New England is determined to do our thinking for us or to prod us into doing it for ourselves.

The way in which the "Cogitator" does this is by presenting under about a dozen headings some five hundred pages of extracts from philosophers, poets, jurists, and other articulate men. The anthologists have stressed the practical by choosing passages that deal with difficulties in the life of mind or that suggest techniques and conclusions. They keep the reader going, moreover, by an exquisite balance between old and new, familiar and novel, long and short, didactic and witty. Like all miscellanies, the volume is meant for the bedside shelf, but unlike them it is thoroughly indexed. So that if one does not read from first to last without skipping, one can readily find one's favorite essayist and see "what they chose from him," or indulge the equal pleasure of finding out what anyone can possibly have to say about, say, *pompiérisme*—which, by the way, the editors quite misconstrue.

Messrs. Curtis and Greenslet are on the whole so admirably eclectic that it is carping to ask the usual "Why this? Why not that?" Yet in one or two instances a question in that form intrudes itself upon the mind of the most docile co-cogitator. For example: why no Samuel Butler—surely a practical fellow; why not more of Bagehot, his kindred contemporary? Weren't there more artists who could think? Again, New England is heavily represented in this collection, and this is quite proper, but O. W. Holmes, Sr., deserved a bigger place and for something better than a calendar sentiment about love. Indeed, for my taste, he could usefully replace with his own wisdom most of his son's rather facile skepticism.

Which reminds me of one very practical conclusion that this book has made me reach: the widespread admiration for our great American lawyers as thinkers and literary men is misplaced. Off the bench they are third-rate at best and write like solid citizens; it isn't fair to exhibit them side by side with James, Whitehead, and Confucius. J. B.

Shinto Shown Up

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC is now armed with two more books of distinct value in the continuing campaign against retaining the institution of the Japanese emperor. Willard Price's "Japan and the Son of Heaven" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $2.75) is a breezy, readable attack on the emperor myths in the refreshing tradition of journalistic debunking. It is so replete with amusing, irreverent, and sometimes spicy stories that its translation and publication in Japan might do a lot to dispel the aura of sacredness which years of indoctrination have formed around the throne. It suffers, however, from one serious defect: the author overemphasizes the importance of the emperor and slights the more fundamental question of the future of the ruling oligarchy, of which the emperor is the most effective instrument. Robert O. Ballou's "Shinto, the Unconquered Enemy" (Viking Press, $2.75), a study of the religious and political origins and development of Shintoism, is a more academic but no less valuable contribution to the campaign against state Shinto. A large part of the book is given over to a very useful selection of key Shinto texts. ANDREW ROTH

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Films

JAMES AGEE

CONFIDENTIAL AGENT" is a surprisingly serious translation of Graham Greene's thriller about a Spanish Republican who came to England to negotiate a coal deal for his government and ran into a kind of nightmare cartoon of the cruelty, treachery, stupidity, and hopelessness of the period. The film's intrepidity in calling Sp—n, and even F–sc–sm, by their full right names would have been easier to appreciate in 1938 or so. Yet this is in some ways an exciting and good picture, the best attempt yet, though still inadequate, to make the most of a Greene novel. Charles Boyer, imaginatively cast, gives the agent a proper balance of incongruous frailty, incompetence, tragic responsibility, and moral courage; Lauren Bacall is still amateurish and she is about as English as Pocahontas, but her very individual vitality more than makes up for her deficiencies. The various capitalists, workers, fascists, thugs, scientific idiots, idealistic imbeciles, and perfidious undergrounders of Greene's fable are played with unhoped-for edge and earnestness, with especially vivid performances by Katina Paxinou, Peter Lorre, and a young girl, new to me, named Wanda Hendrix. Even Greene's somewhat mawkish metaphysic of universal mistrust is undertaken rather than discarded. In several scenes — Lorre's ugly aria of fear, Hendrix's death, Boyer's horrible parting scene with Paxinou —the players bear down and the camera bores in with an intensity which suggests the sense of liberty, even in matters irrelevant to censorship, which freedom from the Hays code can bring. The most interesting failures in the movies are failures in pace, atmosphere, and visual brilliance. It should have been possible to tell the story in about two-thirds the time taken, without skipping or slighting anything or seeming at all to hurry; and in spite of some very good sets and a number of beautiful shots, Greene's greatest talent —which is, I think, with the look and effluence of places, streets, and things —is not once even approximated. This is odd, because in these respects Greene achieves in print what more naturally belongs in films, and in a sense does not write novels at all, but verbal movies. I don't entirely like to think so, but he may have proved that certain kinds of movies anyhow are better on the page than they can ever be on the screen.

"Spellbound," Alfred Hitchcock's surprisingly disappointing thriller about psychoanalysis, is worth seeing, but hardly more. A psychiatric adviser appears among the credits, and with enough toe-dancing through the labyrinthine rationalizations of dramatic (and box-office) license, it is possible to imitate the faint ways in which the advice may have been followed. But I felt that the makers of the film had succeeded in using practically none of the movie possibilities of a psychoanalytic story, even those of the simplest melodrama; and that an elaborate, none-too-interesting murder mystery, though stoutly moored to the unconscious, merely cheapened and got in the way of any possible psychological interest. To quite an extent the psychological pretensions cluttered up the murder mystery too. Ingrid Bergman plays the scientist and wears glasses to prove it; Gregory Peck is the troubled layman. Both are ornamentally effective-looking —so much so that in spite of some bits of pretty good playing it was impossible to disidentify them from illustrations in a slick-paper magazine serial, and more hopeless still to identify them with living people. There are some frightening shots of the kinds of striated whiteness which mysteriously terrifies the patient—the mark of fork-tines on a table cloth, for instance; the remembrance of the initial trauma is excitingly managed; and in one crisis of mental dereliction, in which the camera flicks its eye forlornly around a bathroom, you get a little of the unlimited, cryptic terror which can reside in mere objects. But these are practically the only suggestions of the hair-raising movie this had every right and obligation to be. As for the dream designed by Salvador Dali, it is as frankly irrelevant to dream reality, and so to criticism for its lack of reality in that direct sense, as Markova is for not growing a four-foot larynx for "Swan Lake." The trouble is that this decision in favor of unreality was mistaken in the first place. In the second, the dream is none too good in its own terms. James Cruze did one many times better, twenty years ago, in "Hollywood," probably without even considering calling in an outside specialist, far less a psychiatric adviser. But then I doubt that they could have thought of hiring Dali in the first place if they had been at all wise to the possibilities of their subject. "Spellbound" is just so much of the Id as could be safely displayed in a Bergdorf Goodman window.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

TOSCANINI'S great performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony may yet be recorded to his satisfaction; but it hasn't been so far; and the vacuum hasn't been filled by the Stokowski version, which falsifies the work, or even by the Weingartner version, which gives an effective and moderately well-recorded statement of the first two movements, but a perfunctorily ineffective and poorly recorded statement of the last two. Nor has it been filled now by Columbia's new recording (Set 591; $8.50) of a performance by Ormandy with the Philadelphia Orchestra, the Westminster Choir, Stella Roman, soprano, Enid Szantho, contralto, Frederick Jagel, tenor, and Nicola Moscona, bass; the one to acquire of the three available.

The performance is unusually straightforward for Ormandy: he seems to have set out to play the music with strict obedience to the directions of the printed score, and with strict maintenance of tempos (the one bad example of his usual practice is the slowing-up of the third movement at the end of side 10, which is followed by a disproportionate speeding-up at the beginning of side 11). But that is all he has achieved: a statement of the sounds of the work, without continuity of relation or impetus in their succession, and without communicative power. Even as such it is preferable to Stokowski's monkey-business; and the better recording may make it preferable to the Weingartner version. For this is Columbia's most successful recording of the Philadelphia Orchestra thus far—the first to achieve an over-all sound of the orchestra that is natural, clear, and bright, and without the stridency of earlier recordings. One fault is the weakness of woodwinds as against the rest of the orchestra—for example on sides 3 and 4; and the weakness of orchestra as against chorus and soloists in the last movement (the sound of the chorus is a little harsh in fortissimos). Another fault—which will inconvenience those who play the set with a record-changer—is the differences in volume-level from some sides to the next, and in some instances the changing volume-level on one side. And a couple of sides in my review copy wavered in pitch.

Moscona's tremolo makes it almost impossible to know what notes he is singing; but the other soloists sing their parts adequately; and the chorus is excellent.

Even before the scarcity of records caused by wartime shortages of materials and labor I received complaints from readers remote from the big cities about the difficulties caused by Victor's and Columbia's method of distributing records. Thus the first letter which this column's favorite correspondent wrote, early in 1941, was a complaint about his experiences in a North Carolina university town—experiences that went back as far as 1935. His family had a camera business; and it dealt directly with the Eastman Company's own warehouse, which filled its orders within a week or ten days. Victor and Columbia, on the other hand, distributed their records to retail dealers only through intermediate jobbers with exclusive franchises for their regions, who played safe by stocking not the entire catalogue but only the best-sellers and the recent issues. If the retailer ordered something the jobber did not keep in stock, the jobber in turn had to order it from the Victor or Columbia factory; and then, my correspondent reported, it took never less than a month to arrive, more often took two months, sometimes took six, and sometimes never arrived at all. The reason for this, it developed, was that the factory itself did not maintain a stock of the entire catalogue to take care of orders as they came in, but preferred to wait for orders to accumulate before it pressed the copies to fill them.

Moreover the set might arrive with a broken or scratched or otherwise defective record; and then there were the same procedure and delay with the replacement. I heard a great deal about that even from friends in New York—from one friend in particular who after two years had still not received replacements for two defective records in a couple of extra-expensive Columbia "society" sets. And it is about this that I have been getting the bitter complaints recently: now it is impossible to get a replacement at all. My North Carolina correspondent, back from the war, mentions in a letter about recent experiences in record-buying that just before he went into the army, in December, 1942, he broke one record in the Glyndebourne Festival recording of "Così fan tutte," which he asked his dealer to replace, and which is still unreplaced.

All I can offer is sympathy, and if my readers want more they had better complain not to me but to Victor and Columbia.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

We Are Infected

Dear Sirs: It is very well to get the refugee Jews settled in Palestine or any place in which they can be assured of the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. But why try to do it in a way that seems to commit civilization to legendary tales of Abraham and a Promised Land, which appear to modern minds as irrational and as productive of evil as Shintoism and emperor-worship?

There is a much worse side to it. It is an ignominious hiding of the fact that the great American nation is behaving even worse than the Arab effendi and with much less excuse. We have so much land, and that the richest on earth, that we pay farmers a bonus for not using it. Next to the Australians, we are the worst land-hogs in the world. We could settle all the Jewish refugees of Europe in Arizona and give them a home with all the advantages of Palestine and in doing so add to the nation's wealth and self-respect. We will not do it because we are badly infected with the worst moral pestilence from which the world suffers—a racism that amounts to emotional insanity.

ERNEST M. WHITESMITH

Canon, Ga., October 23

The Snafu System

Dear Sirs: In the September 1 issue of *The Nation* there was a little note to the effect that the navy's punched-card system was unable to distinguish between service ashore and service afloat. By this date it is probably obvious that the system is practically of no use in aiding demobilization.

When the rate of Specialist (I), or punched-card operator, was frozen at the end of the war, none of us doubted the wisdom of the move, believing that we could be very valuable in demobilizing the fleet. Previous experience with the navy should have made us less gullible. The moon has set, and the Pleiades; time passes, time passes, and we lie alone. I have not done any work since the war's end. The average work week for our 250 enlisted men is about 24 hours. This includes the low-point men working and the high-point men writing letters, reading, being ordered out of the office whenever there is a threat of the higher brass visiting, and getting a good suntan.

A study of the Specialist (I) rate was made at the request of the Bureau of Personnel. Of course I don't know the complete results, but on our local scene there are only 3 men of the 250 who are eligible for discharge. Early in September about 40 rated men were flown out to us from Washington, with an A-1 priority. On the other hand, about 60 men from a neighboring installation were sent back to the States. Even Whitehead's and Russell's logic won't help here. You must use the SNAFU system.

I've spent nearly three years in the navy, and I'm eligible for discharge on points. I'll be a lot more valuable to the country back in school than out here, where I draw $170 a month cash for doing nothing. What can be done about it? SP (I) 1C

Pearl Harbor, October 23

The American Air

Dear Sirs: To my horror I am attacked from time to time—as a result of the autumnal season, which reminds me of this-time-last-year—by bouts of nostalgia for the campaign, which I hated cordially at the time. Nostalgia for "what will tomorrow bring?"—for the state of flux—and, most astonishing of all, for the Americans! Who would have believed it?

I was washing for dinner last evening when in walked from out of the night a man of about thirty-five, dressed in the uniform of a United States sergeant. I was delighted to see a G. I. again, and spoke to him warmly, when something in his manner did not seem right, and I tumbled to the fact that he was a Dutchman dressed, as many of them are, in an American uniform. My disappointment was extreme. And what surprised me, too, was that I had been so very glad in the first instance to see an American.

In Normandy, and also in Belgium at the time of the Rundstedt offensive, we were on the United States flank, and the G. I.'s called on us every day and

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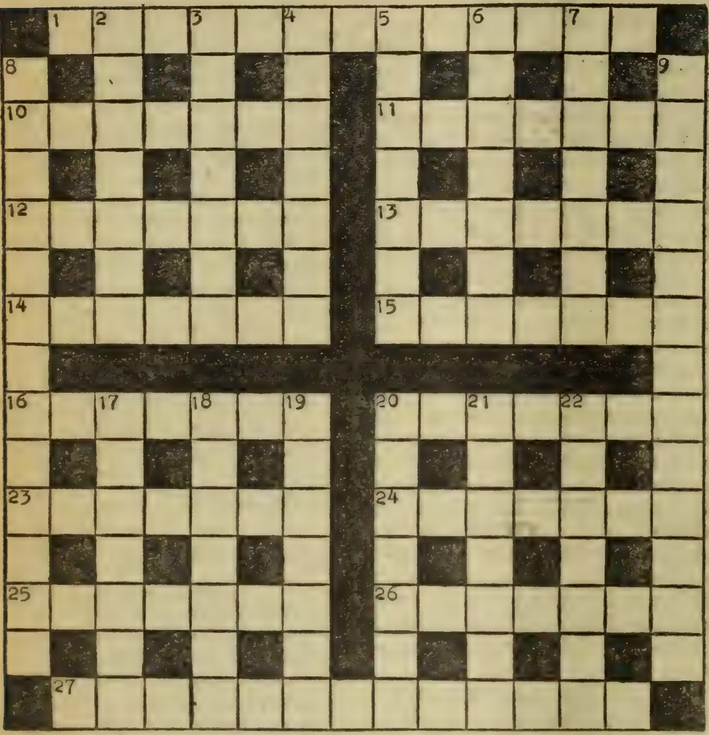
Crossword Puzzle No. 134

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 All of their music is by handle (hyphen, 5-8)
10 He is usually heard from at open meetings
11 "My starveling bull, Ah! Woe is me! In ------- full How lean is he!"
12 Spanish city famed for its Alhambra, built by the Moors in the 13th century
13 No smoke without fire—except when things do this
14 Heads!
15 What can't be cured must be this
16 Literally, its name means "beautiful lake"
20 He fought with Pilgrim in the Bunyan tale, and sounds like a bad 'un
23 Smaller, flatter and less dangerous than an iceberg
24 A Night in Shakespeare
25 More commodious
26 Son of Sir Rowland de Boys, in *As You Like It*
27 Gee-gees, but in no sense the stable variety (hyphen, 7-6)

DOWN

2 Known as ""Coeur de Lion," he spoke no English, knew nothing of England, and spent only nine months there during a ten-year reign
3 A free translation of this old greeting might be, "Everybody welcome!" (two words, 3 & 4)
4 Self-styled "master race"
5 Admits being past its heyday, hence the deadlock
6 Always followed by a concord in music, or should be
7 A regular visitor could be no ruder
8 England's favorite Gilbert and Sullivan operetta (two words, 3 & 10)
9 Familiar nursery tale the French know as *Le Petit Chaperon Rouge* (hyphen, 3-6-4)
17 A musical direction to organists
18 Act with a careless, swaggering, frolicsome air
19 Invaded and occupied
20 Lost city of Syria, afterwards rebuilt under the same name
21 "My name is John Wellington Wells; I'm - ------ in magic and spells" (two words, 1 & 6)
22 "Millions for -------, but not one cent for tribute"

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 133

ACROSS:—1 GUNPOWDER; 6 PATTI; 9 BONE DRY; 10 LANTERN; 11 OBVERSE; 12 NOODLES; 13 NED; 15 UNHAND; 17 MAUSER; 18 UTICA; 19 ROWING; 22 NATURE; 25 ATE; 27 FIGURES; 28 LORRIES; 30 NIAGARA; 31 STUDIED; 32 DELVE; 33 THEODORUS.

DOWN:—1 GOBBO; 2 NINEVEH; 3 OLD IRON; 4 DRYDEN; 5 ROLAND; 6 PANDORA; 7 TREBLES; 8 INNISFREE; 14 EXIST; 15 UNREFINED; 16 DUG; 17 MAN; 20 WAGTAIL; 21 NARRATE; 23 AGROUND; 24 UNIFIER; 25 ASKANT; 26 ELYSEE; 29 SIDES.

---

drank with us, and traded coffee for eggs, which they did not have the art of scrounging. Also, on my trips to Paris, I was sometimes pulled out of the mud, and literally out of the snow, by G. I.'s; and the presence of this huge army on our left (3½ G. I.'s to every Tommy) was constantly felt from Bayeux to Westphalia.

But now Ike has gone from us, and we are isolated once again in our separate zones.

What is it about the Americans that attracts me? Is it the men themselves? They are often dull, and, generalizing, an average British Squaddy has more individuality, is more of a person (often an executive, or a character, or a man with a point of view), than a G. I. What suddenly made me homesick when I saw that this apparently American sergeant was a Dutchman was perhaps the quality of great width and breadth, of size and expanse, that the United States army had and ours did not. This was not a matter of numbers but of freedom—something of a wider air, a more distant, less defined horizon.

Do you get me at all? The way they drove their trucks, for example; the way they looked a bit lost wherever they were. They did not settle in, get their feet under the table, as our men did. They wandered. They drifted rather, restlessly. They came into our camp, were ten times more charming and generous than an Englishman, noisy yet courteous; then they moved off again. And though their camp might be only five kilometers away, you had the impression they were going back one hundred miles, and that France, Belgium, Germany became one vast prairie in their presence.

BRITISH INTELLIGENCE OFFICER
Hamburg, October 15

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The Shape of Things

GENERAL ARNOLD'S STRIKING FINAL REPORT ON the operations of the Army Air Forces prefaces as grisly a picture of the next air war as we have seen drawn. Unlike many a traditional military leader, General Arnold believes that a country should prepare for the next war by preparing for the next war—not the last one. And in the next war, allowing for vast improvements in aerodynamics, methods of propulsion, and electronic control, "aircraft, piloted and pilotless, will move at speeds far beyond the velocity of sound, well over seven hundred miles per hour," "small amounts of explosive materials, as in atomic bombs, will cause destruction of many square miles," and "true space ships" will range far beyond the earth's atmosphere to launch their atomic missiles at effective distances from their targets. He admits our experience in this war has shown that efficient methods of defense against bombing attacks "are most difficult to attain." He suggests that there might be some security in the dispersal of our cities and in a world-wide intelligence service which would give us some warning. The United Nations Organization might be of some help, but, on the whole, he is convinced that the only sure defense is in overwhelming air superiority and in the "maintenance of a strong peacetime military organization." It is the honest report of a brilliant professional soldier. In its way it is as competent an analysis as General Marshall's report. But, like the Marshall report, it develops its own refutation. There is no national defense against the air war Arnold describes. And the search for national security through military preparedness is an invitation to national suicide, as Professor Schlegel suggests in his article elsewhere in this issue. The only security for our nation, for our world, is international security. The sooner we get that firmly into our heads, the sooner we shall take the next important steps toward world peace.

*

THE SLAUGHTER OF HAPLESS INDONESIANS AT Surabaya is the most painful example of the dangerous trend of British policy in Asia. In London sixty left-wing Labor M. P.'s have denounced the use of British troops to "restore Dutch and French imperialism in the Far East." Australian labor, with government support, has blacklisted all Dutch military supplies for Indonesia and has denounced the British Labor government for its "strikebreaking action against its brother labor movement in Australia." In deciding to back the principle of imperialist solidarity with unlimited force, instead of insisting that the Dutch authorities negotiate with the Java nationalists, Britain's Labor government has embarked on seas which may wreck it. But our own government has also a responsibility which cannot be dodged by removing American tags from tanks used to crush Indonesian insurgency. In his Navy Day speech Mr. Truman declared: "We believe that all peoples who are prepared for self-government should be permitted to choose their own form of government." [Point Four.] "We shall refuse to recognize any government imposed upon any nation by the force of any foreign power." [Point Six.] Are these principles to be applied to Indonesia, and if not why not?

*

THE DECISIVE VICTORY IN HUNGARY OF THE Smallholders' Party—it won 191 seats in Parliament while the Communists won 52 and the Social Democrats 55—has been variously interpreted as a triumph of democracy, a protest against Russian domination, and proof that Hungary has "gone right." But a consideration of the makeup of the victorious party indicates that such interpretations have only a limited validity. The Smallholders' Party is a catch-all which includes both liberal and conservative elements. It thus provides a haven not only for reactionaries of the defunct Horthy regime but for the fearful middle-of-the-roaders who wish to turn neither right nor left. Moreover it is a "safe" party for peasants who mistrust politics as "the trickery of the gentlemen" and for agricultural workers—never organized by the predominantly urban left parties—who are still convinced, in spite of the secret ballot, that their choice will somehow be known to "the authorities." Add to this the fact that all parties had agreed, before the election, to the continuance of a coalition which, we may be sure, will continue to get along with Russia, and it becomes apparent that the victory of the Smallholders' Party was something less than a clearcut indorsement of a specific "conservative" program. The cruel truth is that what Hungary needs most is food, clothing, and fuel. Presumably all parties agree upon the precedence of this "program" which cannot be carried out without the aid, and the mutual agreement, of Russia and the Western powers.

*

THE DEMOCRATIC VICTORY IN NEW YORK CITY, statistically so sweeping, actually provides little cause for encouragement for the party politicians. Although William O'Dwyer was elected Mayor by a record-breaking plurality of 685,175, the most significant feature of the balloting was the large number of voters who expressed their dissatisfaction with the party nominees either by not voting or by breaking party ranks. Both O'Dwyer and Judge Jonah Goldstein, the Republican-Liberal-Fusion nominee, finished well behind their tickets. On the other hand, Newbold Morris, running on the No Deal ticket with Mayor LaGuardia's backing, received a larger vote than the Republican, American Labor, or Liberal parties. So while Tammany is celebrating its return to office after twelve years in exile, the results in no sense demonstrated the strength of the Democratic organization. If the coalition that elected LaGuardia in the three previous elections had remained intact, the Democrats, on the basis of the votes cast, would have suffered a worse defeat than in 1941. And this despite an extremely light registration which would normally have played into Tammany's hands. Responsibility for breaking the coalition is shared by all the groups concerned, but the decision to run Judge Goldstein, a Tammany graduate, on a "Good Government" ticket is generally believed to have been dictated by Governor Dewey as part of his 1946 campaign strategy. Goldstein's miserable showing is a severe blow to Dewey's prestige and will undoubtedly reduce his chances for reelection. The voters also administered a striking rebuff to the Liberal and Fusion parties for having participated in the deal. The Liberals, who rolled up 307,000 votes for Roosevelt in 1944, polled a scant 123,000 for Goldstein despite an extravagant campaign. Goldstein's vote on the Fusion ticket was less than 9,000. Although the American Labor Party with 260,000 votes retained a larger share of its 1944 strength in supporting O'Dwyer, it made a better showing where it ran its own candidates than it did in coalition with the Democrats. Despite their compromises, the four independent parties together polled 790,000 votes, only 40,000 fewer than the Democratic total. Had they united on a strong candidate, they could have defeated both major party machines.

*

ELSEWHERE THE OFF-YEAR ELECTIONS FAILED to reveal a significant national trend. The Detroit results are extremely disheartening. Richard Frankensteen, vice-president of the U. A. W., waged a vigorous campaign with the backing of the Political Action Committee against Mayor Jeffries, who has an unenviable record of inaction on labor, housing, and race issues. Running alone against the combined forces of the political machines, big business, and the "hate" groups headed by Gerald L. K. Smith, Frankensteen might have won had it not been for a spurious red scare and an anti-Negro whispering campaign instigated by his opponent. The Detroit setback was counterbalanced by the triumph of moderately progressive Democrats in Pittsburgh and Cleveland. Republicans profess to be encouraged by unexpected local victories in New Jersey, up-state New York, and Connecticut, but they conspicuously ignore the striking Democratic successes in Albany, Ithaca, and Utica and the Socialist triumph in Bridgeport. Although the upsets reveal no particular pattern, they suggest a healthy independence on the part of the voters which may turn out to be significant in 1946 or 1948.

*

W. W. NORTON WAS MORE THAN A PUBLISHER OF great distinction. He was also a man whose generous liberal sympathies were expressed through a wide variety of public activities. He was a busy person, constantly preoccupied both with the demands of his firm and with his duties in the National Association of Book Publishers and, later, as chairman of the highly effective Council on Books in Wartime. But none of these commitments interfered with his devoted interest in certain liberal causes, such as the fight for a democratic Spain. As commander of the Willard Straight Post of the American Legion, he was one of the men chiefly responsible for its magnificent record. *The Nation* knew him as an interested and helpful adviser; he was, from its beginning, a member of The Nation Associates. His unexpected death last week was a grievous shock to his friends, and his loss will be felt in many widely diverse circles.

BEGINNING ON DECEMBER 1 AND CONCLUDING with a dinner on December 3, The Nation Associates will conduct a forum to consider the most important aspects of atomic power and its control, including the pressing question of our relations with Russia. Last week we outlined the plan of the meeting and mentioned a few of the men and women who have agreed to lead the discussion. We can add this week the names of several persons whose knowledge and point of view should be particularly valuable. Among the new participants are Judge Thurman Arnold, who will talk about the relation of monopolies to the development of atomic energy; Boris Pregel, head of the Radium and Uranium Corporation of Canada, whose contribution to the bomb project was as great as that of any single person, but whose primary interest is now in the social and economic implications of the new discovery; Stuart Chase, economist and frequent contributor to *The Nation,* whose interests lie in the same direction; Jerome Frank, jurist and political philosopher; Lieutenant Cord Meyers, Jr., veteran of the war and aide to Captain Stassen at the San Francisco Conference; Lieutenant Kingman Brewster; James B. Carey, Secretary-Treasurer of the C. I. O., who will analyze labor's responsibility and stake in the control of atomic energy; and L. N. Ridenour, professor of physics at the University of Pennsylvania and chief radar adviser of General Spaatz in the ETO. The plans for the forum have aroused even wider interest than we expected; applications for admission to the sessions as well as the dinner are pouring in. The importance of this response is evident since the purpose of the forum is public education—followed by public demand for a wise policy in Washington. For this reason above all others we urge the full participation of Nation Associates and other *Nation* readers. A detailed announcement appears on page 531.

Russia and the Bomb

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

[*This editorial article is the first of three which will present the position of* The Nation *on certain aspects of the atomic-bomb issue. Next week J. King Gordon will consider the problem of international control, including the relationship of the large and small nations. Taken together these editorials will, we hope, offer a framework for discussion at the sessions of the forum to be held on December 1-3 by the Nation Associates.*]

THAT Russia should be given full information about the atomic bomb is so evident that the question no longer seems arguable. The obvious objections have been answered with devastating finality in the last few weeks by many scientists and a few public men. They have proved beyond question that not even the narrowest concept of national security will be served by secrecy. Since this is so, the longer the matter is discussed the worse for all of us, for the debate itself generates poisons out of which, if they are not soon neutralized and washed away, the next war—the Atomic War—will certainly come.

Our secrecy policy, restated only the other day by President Truman, would have been accepted without question in other circumstances. A new weapon of ordinary dimensions, according to traditional practices, is kept for the use of the country that perfects it; only in the course of actual warfare would the secret be shared even with a trusted ally. The war was over almost immediately after the bombs hit Hiroshima and Nagasaki. And nothing that has happened since then has increased official American or British trust in our Russian ally. What more natural, therefore, than to sit tight on the secret of the bomb, particularly in view of its unprecedented destructive power?

Natural, but futile, and therefore stupid. For the destructive power of atomic explosion is exactly what makes an attempt to monopolize it more dangerous than the bomb itself. It is not merely a new weapon. It is a weapon which gives the nation controlling it the power of life or death over any other nation. This is a situation which in its essence is intolerable. At the same time, as the nuclear scientists have patiently explained, it is a situation impossible to perpetuate. Put those two facts together in proper proportions and you have the makings of the greatest explosion on earth.

Many people, I believe, were temporarily deceived by the restraint exhibited by other nations in discussing America's monopoly on total destruction. It seemed at first as if our allies, grateful for the sudden ending of hostilities and awed by our overpowering display of energy, creative ability, and cold cash, were prepared to accept us as the appointed trustees on earth of the released power of the universe. Even Russia said not a word. But soon, very soon, the reaction began, and it has been growing steadily in many parts of the world; its most important manifestation has been a solid, total deadlock in our relations with Russia. It is that deadlock which strangled the Foreign Ministers' conference in London and kept Russia out of the meeting of the Far Eastern advisory commission in Washington. It is that deadlock which has brought Prime Minister Attlee to the White House.

But what of it?, some of the arguers may still ask. Suppose Russia doesn't like it, what then? Didn't Mr. Churchill have the answer when he said that even during the war Russia had shown little inclination to share its military secrets with its allies, and would hardly hand over the secret of the bomb today if it had it? This position might be worth considering—though at best it betrays a rather juvenile approach to a grimly adult problem—if the United States were permitted the freedom to decide which Mr. Churchill and Mr. Truman and most of our military leaders assume for purposes of debate. The scientists have ruthlessly snatched away that freedom. We can't keep the secret because every advanced nation already knows all we know about atomic energy and how to release it, and even our last reserved area, the sacred American "know-how," will be conquered soon.

This is accepted fact; neither General Marshall nor Mr. Truman would think of disputing it. What, then, do they hope to gain by hiding our technical knowledge behind barred gates and building stock-piles of hatred and suspicion abroad? What do they hope to gain by legislation creating a federal dictatorship over all atomic investigation, as well as production, and making the interchange of scientific information in the field of nuclear experiment impossible under threat of criminal prosecution? What is it all about, if Russia and Sweden and France, and perhaps Spain and Argentina, will be able to make bombs within the next five years?

The answer is a complex one. Chiefly, they hope to gain time. And in the time gained, they hope to do two incompatible things: first, accumulate a lot of improved atomic bombs so that we can maintain our head-start in destructive power; and, second, create some sort of international control to take charge of the situation when other nations finally get around to manufacturing bombs themselves. This sounds, perhaps, too silly to be taken seriously, but it is the only explanation so far publicly offered for our policy of secrecy. If you suggest that secrecy plus bomb-production makes difficult the achievement of that mutual trust—especially with Russia —on which any effective international control must rest, you will be fobbed off with the theme that ran through Mr. Truman's unfortunate Navy Day speech: The bomb is a sacred trust; everyone in the world believes us and knows that we will not violate that trust. The only catch is that the premise is inaccurate. How inaccurate, can be best realized if for a moment one imagines that Russia possesses the secret of the bomb and has announced in the same pious words its determination to hang on to it. Would we decide forthwith to drop our efforts to make a bomb of our own? Would we accept Russia's protestations of good will? The questions answer themselves, and demolish at the same time the position of those who hope to build a structure of international trust on a foundation of Anglo-American (though chiefly American) monopoly of atomic power.

Only one explanation of our policy would make sense. A short period of secrecy would be worth the cost if we intended to start an offensive war against Russia or if we expected Russia to attack us in the immediate future. In either case our temporary monopoly would give us an overwhelming advantage; we could destroy Russian cities and industries without fear of retaliation and quickly bring the Soviet Union to total defeat. But this, the one sensible explanation for our present policy, paradoxically makes no sense whatever. For in spite of our bluster and our camouflaged designs on strategic bases, and our shocked objections to other nations' similar designs; in spite of a few generals and Congressmen and newspaper editors who, accepting war with Russia as inevitable, argue with a sort of maniac's logic that it had best come soon while we have the upper hand; in spite of all this, the United States is not going to attack Russia. And Russia is not going to attack us, bomb or no bomb. One can be certain that no disagreements Moscow may have with any major power will be allowed to develop to the point of war as long as Russia is desperately struggling to restore its shattered economic life and rebuild its cities. The Soviet Union needs peace even more than we do.

In fact the reality is exactly the opposite and the danger a very different one. Since the chance of our being involved in war in the next two or three years is remote, the possession of the bomb-secret is a positive disadvantage and the bomb becomes a weapon aimed at ourselves. If we don't intend to use it first, we are creating suspicion without any compensating benefit. By the time other nations have made bombs of their own, the international situation may have so deteriorated as to make certain a war in which we shall be the attacked, not the attacker, and our guarded secret, our "sacred trust," will ironically have been one of the chief factors in producing the breakdown.

The position I have put here is not only supported by most liberal opinion in America; the British press, from left to right, accepts as a prerequisite to all further international action the necessity for conquering Russia's distrust by giving it the secret of the bomb. Presumably the Prime Minister will convey to the President that point of view and the various reasons for it. He must persuade Mr. Truman that those advisers are wrong who recently urged that Russia should not be let in on the secret "until the various peace settlements have been finally determined." Their insistence that the bomb gives the United States and Britain "dominance in current discussions" has been disproved by events. The contrary is the case. Only if we approach Russia with the secret (not the bomb) in one hand and our proposals in the other will the proposals be taken at their face value. At present they make a funny noise when we drop them on the conference table.

A decision to give the bomb to Russia would immediately shift to new ground the other urgent problems facing the powers. It would not solve those problems. The differences between Russia and the West are real differences; they existed long before the first bomb was dropped and they would still exist if Russia had the secret. But the bomb has intensified them and stalled efforts to solve them. Mr. Molotov opened the way to a new attempt to overcome those differences in his speech last week. He stated clearly but moderately Russia's intention to develop the bomb through its own efforts, he offered a detailed explanation of Russian policy, domestic and foreign, and he emphasized the desire of the government for close cooperation among the Big Three. "Expressions of good intentions are not enough," he said. "The Soviet Union has been and will continue to be a reliable bulwark in the defense of peace and the security of peoples, and is ready to prove this not in words but in deeds."

If Attlee and Truman want to put Molotov's promise to the test, they can easily do so. The bomb is not a bargaining counter to be used to extract from Russia concessions which would serve the national interests of Britain and the United States. It must be given freely. But in giving it, the Western powers would have a right to assure themselves and the world that Russia will accept genuine international control of atomic power and will cooperate in converting the machinery of peace to the demands of the new age. Much needs to be done to the structure of the United Nations Organization and to the rules under which it operates before it can be trusted with powers of atomic control. Russia must be ready to accept such chances, as must the Western powers themselves.

If the necessity to give Russia the secret of the bomb is self-evident, there are subsidiary questions of vast importance that require detailed consideration. Many dangers could be avoided if the conferees in Washington would settle the secrecy issue quickly and get on to those other matters. For the secret is only an obstacle; the real problems lie on the other side.

Germany's Drifting Economy

IN TWO recent reports General Eisenhower has painted a dark picture of Germany and warned of an approaching economic crisis. Industry remains practically dead, communications are tenuous, unemployment is increasing as more men are released from prison camps, there is a tremendous lack of shelter, disease and infantile mortality are mounting, food is scarce and threatening to get scarcer, millions of refugees are drifting about the country, and the danger of disorder is growing. General Eisenhower is, moreover, describing conditions as they are in the American zone, which is probably more nearly self-sufficient than the other zones. There the normal ration level is 1,550 calories daily compared with a usually accepted minimum health standard of 2,000. In the French zone, Anne O'Hare McCormick reports on the authority of French officials, the ration is only 1,250 calories.

Malnutrition and horrible living conditions are, of course, all too common in Europe today. Up to now, at least, the Germans have probably been better off than most of the peoples they victimized. At the end of the war they had reserve stocks of food and were certainly the best-clothed people on the continent. But in western Europe, at any rate, reconstruction is beginning to move ahead and living conditions are slowly but noticeably improving. Germany, on the other hand, appears to be at an economic standstill. This year's harvest was poor and even if next year's is better the problem of getting food from the farms to urban consumers is going to prove formidable. For inflation is already so far advanced that money transactions are being abandoned for barter, and unless some industrial production is revived to provide a means of exchange for farm produce, only a thin flow will come into the market.

To a very great extent the Germans have only themselves to thank for this state of affairs. Their Nazi rulers, whom they applauded so fervently in the days when Hitler's victories were bringing in a stream of loot, deliberately left as their legacy to the world a state of anarchy in Germany. Their refusal to surrender long after they knew they were doomed, their megalomaniac attempt to provide themselves and their country with a spectacular Wagnerian curtain, these are the primary causes of the German plight.

But the Allies, who now exercise complete authority in Germany, also have their responsibilities. They are pledged not to destroy the German people and they cannot, in good conscience, adopt the *laissez faire* commandment:

> Thou shalt not kill, but need not strive
> Officiously to keep alive.

Yet unless some plans are soon adopted to restore economic life in Germany, famine and disease may begin to solve the German problem in a way that is bound to create a strong revulsion of feeling in the democracies.

There is no need to debate at this moment whether or not the Potsdam economic plan for Germany will prove adequate in the long run. The immediate necessity is to put the Potsdam directives into effect, and particularly Article 14, which declared: "During the period of occupation Germany shall be treated as a single economic unit." But three and a half months after Potsdam General Eisenhower reports that proposals for the establishment of five central agencies, for the administration of transport, finances, communications, foreign trade, and industry, have made no headway in the Allied Control Council. Thus no common policies have been adopted and, with the four occupation zones more or less sealed off from each other, the fragmentation of the country continues. There is little exchange of goods between the different parts of the Reich, and the nervous system of an extremely complex economy remains paralyzed. Unless steps are taken either to restore that economy on a national basis, or to begin reorganization on the assumption of permanent partition, Germany is likely to be reduced to an economic slum. The Allies may well be faced with the alternative of allowing millions to starve or providing relief on a gigantic scale.

The immediate cause of the deadlock appears to be the determination of the French, who were stupidly excluded from Potsdam, to use their veto power in the Allied Control Council to block all unification measures until the future of the Rhineland has been settled to their satisfaction. Their ultimate objective appears to be the permanent fission of Germany and they regard any steps to restore centralized administration as laying a basis for the restoration of German power once the American and British occupation forces withdraw. In any case they want to make certain that the Ruhr and Rhine industrial districts are integrated with the economy of western Europe.

Intermingled with this question is that of reparations. If the Ruhr is to be detached from the Reich, the status of its heavy industries becomes a matter for new debate. According to the Potsdam plan, only those plants essential for the maintenance of a modest standard of living in Germany are to remain; the rest are to be distributed as reparations or destroyed. Russia, already impatient at delays in determining its share of reparations, is unlikely to make concessions to France which would add potential economic strength to the western bloc it professes to fear, while reducing the amount of industrial materials available for reparations. A compromise between French and Russian views is possible if, as has been reported, Russia is willing to support internationalization of the Ruhr under four-power control. It is far from certain, however, whether the British, who are now in possession, would agree to this solution.

On the agenda of the next meeting of the Big Four—France must not be left out again—the unsettled problem of the Ruhr should be given high priority. For that is not a question within the competence of the Allied Control Council in Berlin, whose functions are confined to the implementation of the Potsdam directives. But immediate responsibility for preventing Germany from falling into a state of economic chaos does rest on the council, and it cannot allow matters to drift while the Allied foreign offices argue about long-range policies.

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I. F. Stone's first dispatch from Palestine has been delayed. We shall carry a first-hand report from him next week.

John L.'s Monkey Wrench

BY ALFRED FRIENDLY

(*Labor editor, the Washington* Post)

Washington, November 12

MIXING up the place cards of the delegates to the Labor-Management Conference, a prankster could occasion infinitely meaner fist fights by confining his seating rearrangements to the labor table than by redeploying the industry men among the union representatives. The bitter feeling of the labor delegates toward one another is the tragedy of the conference and the thing that may wreck it completely. The chance of reconciling differences between "labor" and "management" on important procedural and mechanical aids to industrial peace is vastly better than the chance of obtaining agreement on anything among the labor leaders at the conference.

While the management delegates are happy enough to watch John L. Lewis and the A. F. of L. smash the C. I. O.'s drive to commit the conference to President Truman's declaration that "wage increases are imperative," they may be pained at the prospect of the sabotage extending to the other objective. For the management men, with a few exceptions, really want better machinery for handling industrial disputes, and the great majority of the union conferees want it too. The disagreements on details and even those on the fundamentals of peace-time organizations to minimize labor conflicts are such that reasonable men could reach a compromise on them and work out some fairly satisfactory solutions. But Lewis, allied to the A. F. of L. in a sensationally chummy entente and thus controlling a majority of the labor votes at the meeting, is driven by something other than reason. His consuming hatred of Philip Murray gives him a unique and undeviating singleness of purpose.

Now, at the end of the first week, it seems probable that the Lewis–A. F. of L. coalition will smash any proposal, good, bad, or indifferent, that comes from the C. I. O. side. If this analysis is correct, it means that the opportunity of the conference for achieving one of its two major goals—the much-needed replacement of the War Labor Board with other machinery, government or bi-partite—will be destroyed.

Hopes that the conference would succeed in its other primary purpose—commitment of labor and management to the Administration policy of negotiating "substantially" higher wages without too serious a change in present price levels—were never anything to bet on, and what little prospect there was, was irretrievably lost on the first day. Management made it clear that it was utterly opposed to even a mention of the nasty subject of wages. Bill Green took the ball and ran in the same direction. Injection of the issue of wages into the conference, he said, would make its failure "a foregone conclusion." When Murray proposed the maximum objective he could possibly hope for from the conference—that it urge all management and labor to resume collective bargaining within the framework of President Truman's scarcely radical proposal that higher wages were necessary—the majority was already committed against him.

Lewis's carryings-on in this matter show that he has lost none of his skill. After a couple of days of build-up, in which he emphasized that he and the A. F. of L. were as one in all things, and in which he made Green as pathetically happy as the sissified schoolboy suddenly taken under the protective wing of the bully who has been tormenting him, Lewis had his chance to blast Murray's proposal. It came at a session of the conference's executive committee, where Murray's resolution was under consideration. Lewis played a supremely clever game. In a speech to the committee, which he agreeably recast a few hours later for the press, he denounced the resolution as "feeble" and "namby-pamby," thus taking an unassailable position in the eyes of workingmen. But at the same time he delivered what Ira Mosher, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, described as one of the finest defenses of free enterprise he had ever heard. In one blow Lewis struck at Murray's most vulnerable point, the C. I. O.'s necessary reliance on government support, and endeared himself to the business group.

Just before the war Lewis had showed signs of taking this tack, of cuddling up to industry on the theory that he and business could understand each other, that they were cut out of the same cloth, that they were both ruggedly individualistic and could slug it out fair and aboveboard, with no dirty holds applied in the clinches by that sneak partisan the New Deal. Last week he went the whole hog on this approach. And industry is going to love it.

Get rid of government controls, Lewis urged. Let's not bargain under the limitations of the wage-price policy. "The limitations I favor are those of free enterprise and free competition. . . . We are opposed to the corporate state and its manifestations as incorporated in the C. I. O.'s resolution." President Truman says he wants to lift controls at some time, "but I'm not so sure the C. I. O. intends that."

At this point Murray's resolution is clearly lost, and the only question is how much capital he can make of the fact that half of labor and all of industry at the conference are repudiating a call to collective bargaining under the terms of Mr. Truman's national wage policy. In General Motors and United States Steel Murray has two devastating illustrations of his contention that such collective bargaining has, indeed, been rejected by management.

As for the other goal of the conference—creation of procedures and mechanics helpful in labor troubles—it is still too early to write off the session completely. Something may be worked out in committees where Lewis is not on hand to revile the C. I. O. However, Lewis won his fight to sit on the executive committee, which passes on the reports of all the working committees, and he is thus in a spot where, to use a good labor term, he can stir up a Mulligan. There are few takers for bets that he won't.

Scientists of the World, Unite!

BY RICHARD SCHLEGEL

(Of the research staff of the Palmer Physical Laboratory at Princeton University)

THE application of physical science has reached a vicious climax in the atomic bomb. The ideal of offensive warfare, a weapon of total destructiveness against which there is no defense, has been realized. And we, having just emerged from a struggle to maintain reason and humanity in the world, now find that we are the generation which will determine whether or not our civilization has the wit to keep itself alive.

Two facts should be clear to all. First, that the atomic bombs used so far are of "baby" size in respect to destructive power compared with those which can be—and perhaps have been—manufactured. Second, that the industrial capacity and wealth required for manufacturing the atomic bomb can easily be overestimated. Uranium is required, but the United States has no monopoly on that—rather, the indications are that our deposits are smaller than those of many other nations. The method of manufacturing the fissionable isotope required for an atomic bomb is very simple, as a reading of the Smyth report* will tell one. To be sure, an understanding of nuclear physics is necessary, and some old-fashioned engineering must be applied to carry out the new processes. And we gather from the Smyth report that some ingenious technology is involved in the actual fashioning of the bomb. But other nations too have nuclear physicists and engineers. Since the Smyth report outlined the method of producing the required fissionable material, any group working on atomic energy now knows at least one right path. As far as physicists of other countries are concerned, perhaps there never was any secret about the fundamental processes. The only "secrets" now are probably those of detailed manufacturing techniques, and any industrial nation can be expected to work out such details for itself.

The unearthly destructiveness of the bomb and its potential availability to all nations are two components of our crisis; the third is the historical fact that nations have always periodically waged war upon one another, using the strongest weapons at hand. We cannot change the fact that men know or will know how to build the bomb. Our contemporary urban world can be saved only if there is no use of atomic energy in war. The prime question facing us today is whether or not we can save ourselves from being blown to bits.

It is becoming clear to a large part of the American public, and to many of our legislators and officials, that international control of atomic power must be achieved within the next few years, before every nation in the world with any claim to military power has its own supply of atomic explosives. The temporary military advantage which we enjoy because we have already built atomic bombs should give us strength and confidence to lead the way to such control, and—in all realism—to urge any recalcitrant nation to join the control organization. How this organization shall be formed, how it shall function, what will be the details of international inspection and control of atomic-power installations—these are problems which in the next one or two years will test the ability of the nations to meet the crisis. We are fortunate to some extent at least in that the atomic bomb came to a world which had already experienced the San Francisco conference and the formation of the United Nations Council A hopeful new beginning had been made in world cooperation.

If the nations give up the right to use atomic power for military purposes, they to a large extent give up their right to make war. For modern war is not fought as a rough international game, within the bounds of certain rules. Rather, every conceivable resource of destruction is employed. If possession of atomic-energy weapons is the exclusive prerogative of an international authority, every nation will be inferior to the supreme military power of that authority. Thus international control of atomic energy is equivalent to the creation of an international governing body to which the individual nations have surrendered their sovereign right to make war. In effect, the international control of atomic power will bring a world authority which can enforce universal peace.

To achieve this in the next few years will be difficult indeed, but the alternative may be fearful enough to force even the least imaginative to desire the world authority. It is literally true that all other issues, domestic and international, are of small importance compared with the problem of atomic-energy control. The leaders of all nations must act with a passion for unity that transcends the fears of individual nations—must act so, that is, if any nations are to survive.

It is perhaps fortunate for the world that scientists are probably more international-minded than any other professional group. They can be expected to be on the right side in the coming critical months. Scientists are not politicians or statesmen, and we would not expect them to be responsible for the detailed organization of an international authority. But clearly scientists must serve as advisers to an atomic-energy control body and to a large extent determine its policy, since it is they who understand the possibilities and dangers of atomic power, as well as the requirements for development and manufacture. I suggest that an international scientific council be established for the purpose of advising the international control authority.

The council would consist of representatives of an organization of all scientists working on atomic energy—or perhaps eventually an organization of competent scientists generally. The elements of such an organization already exist in the United States, for the "Manhattan District" workers at Chicago, Oak Ridge, Columbia University, and Los Alamos have formed associations—and have also, incidentally, made a plea for international control of their product. These associations are now being drawn together into a national federation of atomic scientists which, with similar groups of men who have worked on atomic power in Canada and England, could serve as the framework of the international organization. Russian nuclear physicists and other scientists engaged in the problem would be expected to join at the earliest possible date. The goal, of course, would be for qualified scientists from all the nations to belong.

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* "Atomic Energy for Military Purposes." By Henry De Wolf Smyth. Princeton University Press.

Beyond its advisory capacity, the international organization would have great power in that its members would be the guardians of the working knowledge of atomic energy. Since scientists, as I have said, have usually a more international point of view than other men, they could be relied on to develop their strongest loyalties to the welfare of mankind in general and not to be swayed by nationalistic interests. It is imperative that such a group should not take part in political and economic conflicts. If there should be a breakdown in the international political organization the scientists could withhold the use of atomic-power weapons from all nations. One can hope such a code and tradition of conduct would grow up among this group that the world could trust them to do everything possible to prevent the military use of atomic power.

It is my belief that the existence of an international scientific council such as I have described would greatly increase the confidence of the peoples of the world in the international control body, and that the declared policy of the scientists not to allow their weapons to be used in warfare would give people everywhere a sense of security. Further, the organization would have great value as a symbol and example in these days of first strivings for "one world." The actual setting up of a world scientific council would require the support of statesmen. Its formation could presumably be discussed in connection with the planning for an international atomic-power control authority. As has been pointed out, some provision must be made for an advisory body of scientists which will work with the control authority. Existing plans for a scientific office to be attached to the United Nations Organization might be utilized to some extent.

One of the most important functions of the proposed scientific organization would be to insure that laboratories and libraries remain free and open to all throughout the world. Secrecy about actual manufacturing details connected with atomic bombs might be in the interest of international security. But the May-Johnson bill now before Congress shows how far non-scientists, though well intentioned, might go in blocking fundamental scientific communication and research in order to preserve a specific manufacturing secret which they considered vital.

With the military use of atomic energy under international control, and to a degree under the guardianship of scientists themselves, we could face the "atomic age" with bright hopes.

The Scandal of the Waterfront

BY MAURICE ROSENBLATT

(*Former editor of the* City Reporter; *a special agent for the army's criminal-investigation department until a month ago*)

THE longshoremen's strike in New York, labeled in the headlines another heart-breaking defeat for 35,000 American dock workers, stands as the most promising attempt of recent years to rid the city of its waterfront scandal. The root of that scandal, an archaic system of hiring called the "shape-up," is a device, like the poll tax, which for all its simplicity has complex and far-reaching effects.

At one time the shape-up was everywhere the accepted method of longshore hiring. It dates back to the days when men carried cargo from the pier to the ship's hold. A foreman at a pier entrance at hiring time sizes up the longshoremen standing around in a wide semi-circle, chooses the huskiest, and turns the rest away. The system is bad because the shape-up takes place at all the piers at the same time, and in consequence labor supply cannot be adjusted to the demand. Moreover, the opportunities afforded for favoritism are subtle and many.

On the West Coast Harry Bridges's International Longshoremen's Union did away with this system, established a central hiring hall, rotated available jobs, and gave the longshoremen a chance to live like decent citizens. In Liverpool and most other modern ports the shape-up is a thing of the past. But in the port of New York it is still used, indefensible as it is. In New York, though machinery does the lifting, and experience and skill count for more than muscle, the hatch boss still scans the men in the shape-up and selects his workers. The chosen may work a couple of hours or well into the next day. Few jobs could be more haphazard. Scattered over the waterfront, the men are ignorant of when and where they will be needed. In war time this often meant that ships went unworked and cargoes unmoved while idle longshoremen unsuccessfully sought work a few blocks away. In normal times a surplus of labor is almost inevitable at all points.

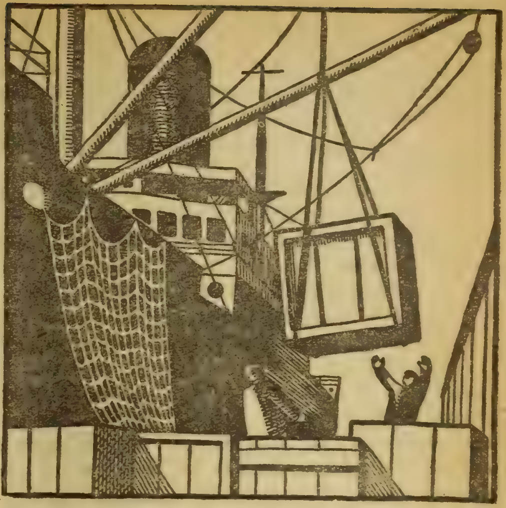
The power of the hiring foreman is absolute. Upon his nod depends the longshoreman's bread and butter. To secure his favor the men have often kicked back to him a share of their wages, an ancient practice described by the Maritime Labor Board as extortion that men are forced to pay for the right to work. In certain locals before the war the kick-back was the expected thing, like the social-security tax. Dock workers report that the custom is reappearing.

Tribute is often exacted in more devious ways. In some parts of the port longshoremen are required to borrow money, whether they need it or not, in order to be hired. The District Attorney's office prosecuted two loan sharks of an I. L. A. local who were making $200,000 a year in this way. A prudent longshoreman will patronize a certain barber shop, grocery, or bar, or he will gamble and lose, in order to get work. There have been cases, during hard times on the Brooklyn waterfront, of a foreman who fancied a longshoreman's wife or daughter and took the liberty known historically as the *droit de seigneur.*

The shape-up and its evils have been tolerated and even defended by the International Longshoremen's Association (A. F. of L.). Held tight in the grip of its lifetime president, Joseph P. Ryan, who receives a salary of $20,000 a year, the I. L. A. lacks the administrative hierarchy of other unions and is governed by a compact group answering directly to the president. With the locals' delegates on Joe Ryan's pay roll, the association's New York District Council is as independent of the rank and file as was ever Hitler's Reichstag. Of the forty-one locals involved in the strike several have no headquarters; no accurate membership or financial records are kept; and the initiation fee of $100 may be shaved down by bootleggers to $30. Members are expelled on Ryan's verbal order; a copy of the I. L. A. constitution is a collectors' item.

Under Ryan's rule I. L. A. locals have been invaded by racketeers with political protection. Gangsters in Brooklyn locals, unable to find employment for all members ready to pay the kick-back, have regularly sent men to Hoboken, and had them hired while New Jersey men stood helplessly in the shape-up. When the racketeers started placing their clients along the Manhattan waterfront the rank and file protested angrily to Eugene Sampson, president of their local, who said, "What do you want me to do about it? Get my head cut off by those Brooklyn mobsters?" The sums obtained by mulcting longshoremen were indicated by Assistant District Attorney Hanley when he said that "one gangster, namely Tony Romeo, alias Tony Spring, received a personal profit of from $25,000 to $50,000" from I. L. A. Local 929. Sluggers, ex-convicts, Christian Fronters have always found lucrative berths along the waterfront and won preferential positions in the I. L. A. A steady undercurrent of violence and sudden death exists, though it is rarely noticed in the newspapers—five men have been killed in the past eight years in the struggle for the plums of Local 824.

Any attempt to change conditions is stifled in this deadly atmosphere; leaders of any such attempt have been murdered. In 1939 Peter Panto led 1,200 longshoremen in a rank-and-file movement against gangster domination and the kick-back and other extortion rackets along the Brooklyn waterfront. He was threatened by Emil Camarda, a shadowy I. L. A. official who dominated six Brooklyn locals. Panto disappeared mysteriously on July 14, 1939. District Attorney William O'Dwyer intimated that Murder, Inc., was responsible and promised prosecution as soon as the body was found. Panto's body, tied with a rope and encased in lime, was found near Lyndhurst, New Jersey, on January 29, 1941. No one has ever been convicted of this crime, nor has the District Attorney's office ever satisfactorily explained its special handling of Camarda or certain angles of the investigation. The grand jury specifically referred to this case in its recent charge of "gross laxity, inefficiency, and maladministration" in the Brooklyn District Attorney's office during Mr. O'Dwyer's incumbency. O'Dwyer's reply that he was "concentrating on murders and not kick-backs" was hardly adequate.



Before the war 76 per cent of the longshoremen, according to a survey made in 1939, earned an average weekly income of less than $25—and paid kick-back and tribute. Their hourly pay is deceptively high, for the total number of hours worked is low. The shipping industry has the longshoreman caught in an economic nutcracker. The loading companies contract to do loading by the ton but hire longshoremen by the hour. It is to the companies' interest to move as much tonnage in an hour as possible, which leads to a constant speed-up, overloading of slings, and disregard for safety. From 1928 to 1938 the speed-up increased 66 per cent for handling coffee, 200 per cent for steel pipe, 300 per cent for bananas. And of course accidents increased accordingly; one insurance expert reports that 37 cents of each pay-roll dollar goes for accidents.

A report on New York's waterfront jungle made by a Mayor's Committee in 1916 concluded as follows: "Present conditions of waterfront employment in New York mean poverty, intemperance, dependency, insanitation. We cannot measure these effects; they permeate the life of the city. They make it a less efficient and more costly traffic terminal than it might be, and reduce general prosperity. It is time this condition was ended." This was written before Murder, Inc., and the big-time racketeers had added their twist to the situation.

The strike last month was a revolt against this world and its ruler, Joe Ryan.

The first stoppage occurred on the night of October 1, when the men on six Manhattan piers refused to load nets containing more than one long ton, and shipping officials ordered them to leave. Longshoremen complained that overloaded nets, containing perhaps 7,000 pounds, sometimes broke and scattered bags of cement or sugar, causing injury or death.

The word spread: "Don't go back to work; there's a strike on. Everybody's quitting." The news traveled by the waterfront grapevine around Manhattan, jumped the East River to Brooklyn, and crossed the bay to Staten Island, Hoboken, and Newark Bay. By October 3 the entire 250-mile waterfront was gripped by the most paralyzing strike in the history of the port.

Leaderless, without any preparation or strike call, 35,000 longshoremen quit work and tied up 300 ships. Men scattered among forty-one locals were prompted by some common inner urge to rebel. They were convinced that the new two-year contract just negotiated by Ryan was full of jokers: a forty-hour week would be worthless to those passed over in the shape-up; the vacation provision was hedged with conditions; and none of this touched their real problems. There was the feel of money in their pockets and a new spirit of independence in their hearts. "Nobody is going to ram a phony contract down our throats," they told reporters, recalling how previous contracts had been forced on the membership.

On October 4 the first Rank and File Committee was chosen at an open-lot meeting of eight Brooklyn locals. In the beginning it remained anonymous, telephoning Mayor LaGuardia that if it came forward, "Joe Ryan's goons" would beat it up. William E. Warren, a thirty-two-year-old newcomer in the I. L. A., was elected chairman largely on the basis of his ability to speak convincingly—and in English. With his previous union experience limited to paying dues, Warren was catapulted to the leadership of what the New York *Times* called "the city's most puzzling and confused maritime strike." What did the strikers want? "At first," Warren said, "everyone wanted the moon—regular wages, rest periods—but then we got down to figuring what had a chance." Their demands simmered down to a limitation of the sling load to 2,240 pounds, minimum four-hour work shifts to end the "split-shift" hiring of men for odd hours, two shape-ups daily instead of three, extra pay for working during mealtimes. "There was no talk of joining the C. I. O.," a committeeman reported; "the longshoremen simply want to have some say inside the I. L. A. The reason we didn't ask for a hiring hall is because that would make everybody think we wanted to join Bridges and the C. I. O."

The National Maritime Union watched Joe Ryan's troubles with obvious pleasure. Sailors helped the Rank and File Committee with mimeographing, advised them to hire a hall, instructed them in the fundamentals of striking. The N. M. U. contributed $2,500, and other C. I. O. maritime unions gave support. Sailors received orders to cut down steam and walk off any ship where "phony" longshoremen appeared. On the docks clashes with Ryan's men were followed by angry protest meetings in front of City Hall. Harry Bridges arrived and played a conspicuous part in the C. I. O.'s press conferences. Two years ago Joe Ryan had told an interviewer, "I'm only waiting till this war is over so we can slug it out with Harry Bridges"; it looked as if the long-awaited contest was at hand. But while C. I. O. members were vociferous on the picket line, their leaders scrupulously maintained that the longshoremen should clean their own house. "Stay in the A. F. of L. and fight for your rights," their leaflets urged.

From the first Ryan denounced the walkout as an "outlaw" strike. His henchmen called the strikers to meetings and "recommended" that they go back to work. The men showed an airy disregard for I. L. A. etiquette by ignoring the recommendation and voting to stay on strike. Realizing that confusion can be a potent weapon, Ryan announced in the press that the strike was over, but still the men didn't cross the street when the shape-up whistle blew. Ryan toured the Brooklyn docks, stronghold of the strike. In Prospect Hall he tried to address 2,500 members but was hissed from the meeting amid jeers of "No contract—no work."

On the publicity front he was more successful. Fanned by the fear that the return of soldiers was being slowed, public opinion turned against the strikers. Ryan, lashing out with long-accumulated venom, said the Communists were behind the strike. The press took their cue from him and plunged into an orgy of exposés of "C. I. O.-red" plots to capture the East Coast. Newspapers which had been shrieking that C. I. O. organization of the waterfront would be tantamount to a Soviet beachhead seized on the arrival of Harry Bridges as final proof of the "Red Move to Rule Distribution in U. S." Ryan succeeded in sidestepping any blame for the strife and became the man who was doing most to save his city from the invader. With the bulk of the press spreading his propaganda, he could afford to be patient.

On October 14 Mayor LaGuardia proposed an arbitration plan which called for a return to work and an immediate vote to determine whether Ryan or the Rank and File Committee should represent the I. L. A. in wage negotiations. The strikers accepted the plan; the shippers were non-committal. Ryan roared like an angry bull and said the Mayor's plan was "the silliest thing" he ever heard of. It was the first time a public official had questioned his right to speak for the membership. The New York A. F. of L. Council denounced the plan as "outrageous" and prepared to throw its resources behind Ryan.

The drift back to the docks began; each morning more hungry men glumly joined the shape-up. By October 16 7,000 were back. The Rank and File Committee charged that strike-breakers were being imported to pad the figures. On October 18 the Shipping Association considered the strike broken and reopened negotiations with Ryan. The next day the Rank and File Committee ordered its men to work. While the press crowed, one dejected striker said, "That's the thanks one gets! I've been fighting Ryan's gang since the last war; so now they say I'm a Communist. Will it take another war to get him out?"

As peace came to the docks, Joe Ryan surveyed his union. His victory was only on the surface. Inside, the I. L. A. was boiling. After a meeting with the shippers he presented a new contract; on October 25 only 800 out of 35,000 men had agreed to accept it. The membership had never been consulted about contracts prior to the strike and now took grim satisfaction in rejecting Ryan's best offer. They repeated that he "had better" obtain the minimum sling load and some of their other demands "or the strike might be on all over again."

The Rank and File Committee, reorganized under John Berg, a longshoreman for thirty years, Charles Anderson, and James Glasgow, went to court to prevent Ryan from signing any contract until longshoremen had an opportunity to vote. On October 25 Supreme Court Justice Carroll Walter issued an injunction forbidding Ryan to enter into any agreement with the shipowners. The men jubilantly distributed leaflets saying, "We have won a great victory! King Joe can't sign any phony contract with the shipowners behind our backs."

Ryan broke the strike and forced his C. I. O. rivals to retire. But the great body of longshoremen are no longer inert. Today Ryan is tied by a court order, immobilized by a membership which won't "get in line," harassed by a rank-and-file organization with connections in Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. He must know that the fight is just beginning.

[*A second article by Mr. Rosenblatt will dissect Joseph P. Ryan, central figure in the waterfront conflict.*]

Terror in Bolivia

BY JOSE ANTONIO ARZE

(Head of the Bolivian Party of the Revolutionary Left; now a political exile)

Santiago, Chile, October 22

THE terror in Bolivia is as great as in Argentina, but it has failed to arouse equal indignation in the United States because less is known about it. The newspapers have only occasionally referred to some of the more blatantly repressive measures, such as censorship of the press, the castor-oil treatment of political prisoners, political murders and kidnapings, and imprisonment in regions so unhealthy that the victims sicken and die. The persecution of democratic elements reached a climax in November, 1944, when a number of outstanding civilians and army officers were beaten to death at police headquarters in La Paz and two anti-fascist senators, Luis Calvo and Felix Capriles, were assassinated. The remaining members of the opposition in Congress then fled for their lives to neighboring countries.

Three months ago President Villarroel decreed a general amnesty. A few days later he induced the Argentine government to send a number of Bolivian exiles in Buenos Aires to distant Argentine provinces, where they are still being held. Farrell has admitted that this action was taken at Villarroel's request. Opposition deputies who wished to return to Bolivia from Chile were refused passports by the Bolivian consul, on instructions, he said, from La Paz. When Dr. Walter Alvarado, a member of the *Partido de Izquierda Revolucionaria* (P. I. R.), accepted the amnesty as genuine and returned to La Paz from Santiago, he was jailed immediately. Among some forty Bolivians sent to dread Coati Island on Lake Titicaca are Dr. Demetrio Canelas, editor of the Daily *Los Tiempos* and former Minister of Foreign Affairs; Professor Faustino Suarez, of the American Institute of La Paz; and Alberto Crespo and Mario Cornejo, prominent journalists.

On August 30 the International League for the Rights of Man sent a cable of inquiry to President Villarroel giving the names of many persons reported to be held in prison without trial and requesting an explanation. It said in part: "We assume, Mr. President, that since your government operates under the Bolivian constitution, which guarantees political freedom, since you yourself have twice decreed political amnesty, and since Bolivia is one of the signatories of the Act of Chapultepec and the United Nations Charter guaranteeing human rights, you will agree that the public of the United States and other democratic countries concerned with the maintenance of such rights is entitled to an accurate and frank statement on a matter properly of international interest." On September 17 Villarroel's secretary cabled the League: ". . . Your information from the Chilean press is completely false. I suggest that you seek information from more reliable sources." Actually the league's charges, as was pointed out by John D. Pearmain, its director, were based on reliable information from democratic elements inside Bolivia and from exiled Bolivians in Latin America and the United States.

FAILURE OF THE REGIME'S ECONOMIC POLICIES

Before the present regime achieved power it noisily promised to take energetic action against foreign imperialism and to improve the living conditions of the workers. But after two years the power of foreign capital is greater than ever, and there is evidence that Villarroel and his Finance Minister, Paz Estenssoro, have agreed to keep their hands off large enterprises as long as the owners abstain from political activity. The cost of living has steadily increased. With the 1930 figure taken as 100, the index was 700 in October, 1940, the last date for which statistics are available. No ceiling prices have been set, and no effort has been made to control the steadily increasing inflation. Nearly 50 per cent of the national budget is absorbed by the army and a small number of top officials. Graft has reached an all-time high.

Mining and agriculture are controlled by the same small group of owners as before December, 1943. The government has not fulfilled its demagogic promise to put them under national control. All that it has done is to disorganize them completely, to the special detriment of the small and medium mine-owners and farmers. The Bolivian economy rests largely on tin production, which accounts for about 80 per cent of the dollar value of the country's total exports. In January, 1943, on the recommendation of the United States Bohan mission, a Bolivian Development Corporation was established, with funds provided by the Export-Import Bank and the Bolivian government. Its purpose was to improve agriculture, roads, industries, and the like in order to counteract the distress bound to result from the devaluation of mineral products, a process that has already begun. To head this organization the government appointed an army officer completely lacking in the knowledge and experience necessary for directing the country's economic reconstruction.

Indians make up about two-thirds of Bolivia's total population and are a terribly depressed group. The regime claims that it is seeking a solution for this problem, and this year sponsored an Indian Congress at La Paz. But when certain Indians, mistakenly believing that the government truly wished to emancipate them from feudal bondage, started a campaign against landlord abuses they were persecuted as "Communists."

AN ANTI-LABOR FASCIST STATE

Since the day it took power the present Bolivian dictatorship has tried to create a corporative labor movement in the Argentine style. It has utilized the services of police agents disguised as labor leaders and has bitterly attacked the Bolivian Labor Union, an affiliate of the Confederation of Latin American Workers (C. T. A. L.). Several months ago the government suddenly changed its tactics and decided it would be expedient to seem to make concessions to the C. T. A. L. As a result Bolivia was represented at the Paris labor conference by two delegates belonging to the fascist Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (M. N. R.).

While Villarroel was making these dubious concessions to the C. T. A. L., the record reveals that in the past eighteen months many members of the Bolivian Labor Union, including former Minister Waldo Alvarez, Donato Flores Gironda, Aurelio Alcoba, and Paco Careaga, have been subjected to the infamous castor-oil treatment or imprisoned in pestilential Coati. Germán Reinaga, an ardent Bolivian democrat, died this year as a result of the terrible conditions in his place of confinement.

The Argentine Group of United Officers (G. O. U.) financed the military coup that brought the Villarroel dictatorship to power. This was disclosed by the United States State Department in February, 1944. Relations between the Argentine government and its Bolivian satellite have continued to be extremely cordial. The Argentine government has agreed to invest 100,000,000 Argentine pesos in Bolivian railway projects and 15,000,000 pesos in the Bolivian oil industry. Strengthening the economic bonds between the two governments is the identity of political purpose—the maintenance of a totalitarian dictatorship.

Logically enough, Spain and Argentina recognized the Villarroel government a few days after the December, 1943, coup. Most foreign countries, however, at first declared a diplomatic quarantine against it. Villarroel, aware that he must obtain their approval, was quick to issue pro-United Nations statements, but he never implemented them.

The United States recognized the Villarroel regime in June, 1944, largely as the result of a report submitted by Avra Warren, who had been sent to Bolivia as a one-man investigating commission. Warren stated that Villarroel had promised to expel the leaders of the M. N. R.; and the M. N. R. Cabinet ministers were, in fact, advised to resign. But the minute recognition was granted, they were recalled. Moreover, in December, 1944, Paz Estenssoro, Minister of Finance and founder and leader of the M. N. R., represented Bolivia at the Mexico City conference. Carlos Montenegro, who has never concealed his admiration for the Nazis, was given an embassy post in Mexico City. Augusto Céspedes, editor of the M. N. R.'s official organ, the anti-Semitic *La Calle*, was given a similar post in Paraguay. José Escobar, La Paz chief of police during the November massacres and largely responsible for them, was sent to Washington in May, 1945, as a member of the Bolivian Military Purchasing Commission and is still there. Members of the M. N. R. were delegates to the San Francisco conference. The admission of the Argentine delegates aroused heated discussion, but the Bolivian delegates, representing an equally illegal regime, were seated without argument.

MR. WARREN'S MISTAKE

United States recognition of the fascist Bolivian regime alone has enabled Villarroel to survive. It was granted after Mr. Warren, unable to penetrate beneath the regime's façade, failed to interpret the Bolivian situation correctly to the State Department. He had every opportunity to find out the truth. In a conversation in La Paz in May, 1944, a month before recognition was granted and while he was examining the situation, I gave him the relevant facts. In the preceding January, I told him, the P. I. R. had vainly attempted to induce Villarroel to include some P. I. R. members in the government and to adopt an anti-fascist program. Early in March the government began to persecute the P. I. R. leaders. Many, including myself, were seized and kept on Coati Island during the month of March. Government repression of democratic elements was going on at the very moment of our talk; I had just received a report from a physician who had treated several persons in a deplorable condition from the castor oil they had been forced to take at the headquarters of the Calama regiment.

The government's claims of labor support were, I assured Warren, entirely false. The only "labor leaders" backing the government were disreputable police agents. under such conditions, I said, the P. I. R. felt obliged to continue in the opposition and to organize an anti-fascist front in conjunction with other democratic parties.

General elections had been scheduled for July, and I suggested that it would be advisable to withhold recognition until shortly afterward. Democratic countries should grant recognition only to a Bolivian government chosen in genuinely free elections.

Mr. Warren said nothing. But since I knew that his mission was extremely delicate, his silence did not disturb me. The following month *La Razon*, a daily published in La Paz, carried a summary of Mr. Warren's report to the State Department. It contained a number of astonishing statements: for example, that both the P. I. R. and the labor unions support Villarroel's government; that Villarroel would become President with or without elections; that the M. N. R. members of the Cabinet were to be expelled. Immediate recognition of the Nazi-Fascist Villarroel government was granted, with great lack of foresight on the part of the State Department, two days before the July 2 "elections." As a result Villarroel's position was enormously strengthened.

THE ANTI-FASCIST COALITION

Within Bolivia the anti-fascist opposition is waging unremitting war against the dictatorship. The P. I. R., founded in July, 1940, as a Marxist party with no international affiliations, was the moving force behind the coalition of anti-fascist parties formed in May, 1944, and known as the Bolivian Democratic Union (U. D. B.). Co-founders of the coalition with the P. I. R. were the Genuine Republican Party, the Socialist Republican Party, and the Socialist Party. A representative of the Liberal Party has recently joined. The five-point program of the U. D. B. calls for: (1) the eradication of Nazi-fascism and complete solidarity with the United Nations; (2) the restoration of the constitution and genuine political freedom; (3) full protection for the working classes and free trade-union activity; (4) an immediate and practical program to reduce the cost of living; (5) organization of a Board of Planned Economy that will place national resources at the service of the country.

The U. D. B., like the Argentine *Patria Libre*, has an underground movement which is carrying on the struggle despite all repression and espionage. The exiled committees and the underground organization are working together for a peaceful restoration of democratic liberties. We do not want a putsch; we do not want civil war. We want a peaceful transition to democratic government. If the United States, which is so generously giving moral support to democratic elements in Argentina, would extend that same moral help to the people of Bolivia, the cause of democracy would be immeasurably strengthened in Perón's puppet state.

Fair Play for the Nisei

BY LEONARD BLOOM

(*Assistant professor of sociology, University of California, Los Angeles*)

THE War Relocation Authority is committing suicide. And though it is a leading candidate for the title of America's most unpopular war-time agency, its announced intention of putting an end to its existence is causing deep concern to persons who want justice for Americans of Japanese ancestry.

The WRA has performed onerous and difficult tasks for three and a half years. It was born of the correct assumption that the army got into the wrong business when it evacuated a segment of our population on the smallest of pretexts: there was no historical justification for the initial act and no precedent except in fascist states for the administrative procedure that was developed. The agency was staffed by a confused and varied personnel—sincere and able individuals who wanted to see the best made of a bad situation, faithful routine government workers, and some out-and-out racists who looked upon the evacuees as criminals in a prison.

But by and large the WRA has gained the strong support of fair-minded Americans. On the West Coast especially people have felt that it was trying honestly to protect the interests of the evacuees. Attempts of groups who had engineered the evacuation to establish military control of the camps were strongly opposed. Attacks on the agency by Dies, Rankin, and company gained it supporters. The general feeling was that about the only way to help the evacuees was to help the WRA. Thus its efforts to relocate the population of the camps and restore them to normal life in the American community received vigorous backing from various organizations of citizens who recognized the evacuation for the tragic event and the ugly precedent it was. When belatedly the restraining orders were lifted and general resettlement on the Coast became possible, these organizations and many anonymous individuals worked hard to find jobs and houses for the "returnees."

On July 13 the WRA, always under diverse pressures, declared that it would liquidate its centers at intervals between October 15 and December 15. No adequate survey had been made of housing conditions or of jobs, but the camps were to close on schedule, like a military operation: the directives are disconcertingly reminiscent of the days of evacuation. What if the residents of the center are not ready on the closing date, if their plans are not complete, or if they are unable to obtain housing? The WRA says they have had time enough to get ready. If they don't know where they want to go, they will be sent back where they came from. If they are penniless, they need not worry; the WRA supplies a train ticket and $25, and their home communities must provide relief.

By the middle of 1944 about 30,000 persons, most of them young and resourceful American citizens or financially secure persons, had moved out of the camps to new locations, chiefly in the Middle West. More than 62,000, including 17,000 at the Tule Lake segregation center, remained in camp. By September 1, 1945, the total camp population had been reduced to 49,000, and in an article in the *Progressive* of September 24, Dillon Myer, head of the WRA, indicated that the departure rate from camps was 1,100 per week. This meant that the rate of removal that had been achieved under great pressure was not yet sufficient to meet the closing dates.

Many things have happened since the spring of 1942 which are simply ignored in the WRA's plans. When the Japanese Americans left their homes, most of their businesses, properties, crops, and work opportunities were liquidated at a loss that has not yet been measured but must amount to several hundred million dollars. The sections where they formerly lived have been filled up by war workers, many of whom belong also to minority groups. For example, in Los Angeles, which is probably the crucial area of adjustment, the Negro population has more than doubled, and the districts available for racial minorities have, if anything, been constricted. Some sections which formerly contained large numbers of Japanese Americans, such as Terminal Island with its pre-war colony of 3,000, have been taken for military installations or war plants. In short, the WRA is not sending back the evacuees to pre-war conditions but to communities badly disorganized by the war.

The housing situation has not improved since the end of the war, and the number of jobs has of course declined. The several thousand Japanese Americans who thus far have come to the Coast are housed in substandard "temporary" quarters. The few residential properties still owned by Japanese Americans have already been reoccupied. It has just been learned that the WRA is planning to house 3,500 returning evacuees in barracks in the Los Angeles area. These barracks would have all the disadvantages of camp life and none of the amenities of the present camps, which have been made livable and functioning communities by the hard work of the inmates. The barracks would not be easily accessible to transportation or to schools, and health facilities would be grossly inadequate. There is no evidence that the county school and health officers were even consulted in the matter. As a crowning indignity the financial costs of maintenance would have to be borne by the returned persons or, if they were indigent, by the county.*

Responsible people on the Coast want to see the Japanese Americans return and justice done. Conscious of the guilt of the region, they want to see a plan set up that will have a chance to work. Such a plan, they believe, must include the following provisions:

1. Extension of the life of the WRA, with at least four centers remaining in operation, until resettlement can be conducted on a reasonably individualized, planned basis.

2. The eventual establishment of a separate center, preferably at Manzanar, for indigent old persons. Such segregation may have the appearance of cruelty, but by relieving younger Japanese Americans of the burden of aged dependents it would greatly facilitate their economic reestablishment.

3. Adequate financial aid; this can be justified on the ground that the evacuees were paid at the exploitative rate of $12 to $19 a month for full-time work.

4. Planned resettlement on the West Coast to be regarded as a regional task and to include the provision of housing, jobs, and other facilities. At least 1,200 public housing units should be built in Los Angeles alone. In no case should these units be in large segregated blocks, for such a system would foster racial prejudice and obscure the fact that the difficulties confronting Japanese Americans are simply a badly aggravated form of the difficulties confronting all minorities. As a general rule, Japanese Americans should be distributed among the housing projects so that they do not form more than 15 per cent of any project's population. If segregation should be permitted, one of the few desirable by-products of the evacuation, the destruction of "Little Tokyos," would be lost.

To salve the conscience of America resettlement must be successful, and this requires a full mobilization of governmental and community agencies. Japanese Americans must be urged to resettle, and resettlement must be made feasible. To thrust unready persons into communities ill-prepared to receive them will simply cause more needless suffering.

In his article in the *Progressive* Mr. Myer said that if it were not "planning to close the centers on successive dates between October 15 and December 15, the WRA now would be living in a nightmare of plans to house thousands of American citizens and aliens at government expense for a long time." The WRA may not be having a nightmare, but it is giving one to many Americans of Japanese and other kinds of ancestry.

In the Wind

MAYFLOWER DESCENDANTS take note: "Equality is the arch-foe of liberty. Equality cuts down the peak and summit of ambition to the valley of the commonplace," Sidney Samuels, Fort Worth attorney, told the Waco, Texas, Junior Chamber of Commerce on November 1. The Waco *News-Tribune* reported his address thus: "Asserting that not only the governments of Europe but also our own government are endeavoring to proclaim the unworkable hypothesis that all men are created equal, Samuels told the Jaycees that in adopting this doctrine the governments are trying to drag genius to the masses. 'This doctrine is none other than the doctrine of socialism,' he said. Tracing the history of socialism, Samuels said that it had its roots in the establishment of the Plymouth colony in America."

ECONOMICS: "California olive-crop pressure groups," said the *Wall Street Journal* of November 5, "have both barrels trained on the OPA for more immediate relief. They're aiming for at least a 10 per cent increase in wholesale prices, which would shoot retail prices up about 20 to 25 per cent. One packer frankly admits the situation has its funny side. 'Here on one side,' he said, 'we're trying to convince the OPA that olives are specialty luxury items, and a price increase wouldn't raise the cost of living or affect many people. But then we turn around to persuade the public that olives are a necessary everyday food item and not just an extra luxury or a decorative relish.' "

HERESY: W. H. Gerhauser, president of the American Ship Building Company, told a recent meeting of the American Merchant Marine Conference in New York that government shipbuilding should supplement private work in peace time, in order to keep the private yards going.

SOCIETY NOTE: White and Negro guests were entertained together for the first time at a reception by the Third District Democratic Women's Club of Louisville, Kentucky, on October 31. The reception was for the victorious candidates in the Democratic primaries of August. "This departure from custom," said the *Courier-Journal*, "is due to the candidacy of W. W. Beckert, Negro, who is running for alderman."

WHITE MAN'S BURDEN: We have just received a copy of an official bulletin signed by Colonel Harry F. Cunningham, assistant chief of staff, Fifth Air Force, dated August 15. "We, the conquerors," it says, "have the obligation to impress our superiority upon the conquered enemy. The enemy is an Oriental. . . . Such a demonstration of superiority requires that the shirtless legions which have driven forward from Moresby to Okinawa must now find their shirts and wear them. . . . The Pacific Ocean must remain, what it now is, an American lake, just as American and just as purely and singly American as—for example—Cayuga Lake in New York, Cass Lake in Minnesota, Great Salt Lake in Utah."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

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* As proof is read, the closing of some centers and the establishment of barracks housing have become *faits accomplis*. This has aroused strenuous public opposition.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Mr. Baruch Muddies the Waters

BERNARD M. BARUCH occupies a unique position in American public life. He has acted as unofficial adviser to a succession of Presidents, he is a frequent and popular witness before Congressional committees, he is credited with the inspiration or composition of numerous public documents. Washington correspondents have built him up into an almost legendary figure. They find wonderful copy in the economic elder statesman who sits on the bench in Lafayette Park dispensing the wisdom of ripe experience, and whenever he chooses he can be sure of the headlines.

Mr. Baruch, in short, has become a national oracle whose utterances exert a strong influence on public opinion. This is a position of great moral responsibility, and it is surprising therefore to find him dropping into a discussion of inflationary dangers an ill-considered and irrelevant paragraph suggesting that loans to foreign countries should be used as an ideological weapon. In a letter to Representative Albert Gore, written for publication, he declares:

> We must be careful, when we give aid to other countries, that this aid is not used to nationalize their industries against us, to destroy our own competitive system, which, I think, should be preserved. England, Czechoslovakia, France, and other countries are nationalizing or about to nationalize their industries. Russia has totalized herself—one buyer and one seller—and is totalizing all countries coming under her aegis.

What is the purpose of this statement if not to sabotage the financial negotiations with Britain, which at last seem to be nearing a conclusion? Mr. Baruch is saying that Congress should not approve a loan to Britain unless the government of that country abandons its mandate from the electors and agrees not to nationalize any industries without American permission. Obviously neither Britain nor France nor any other sovereign nation is going to accept a loan on such terms. And as Walter Lippmann has already pointed out in the New York *Herald Tribune,* the refusal of credit to Socialist governments will not delay but hasten the process of socialization. Without American credit the countries of Western Europe, and Britain in particular, cannot reestablish their international trade on free lines. They will have to systematize their present makeshift barter arrangements and socialize the whole business of exporting and importing.

Britain does not need dollars to buy out its coal operators and nationalize the mines, but it could very well use part of an American credit for reequiping those mines with modern American machinery, a task which has proved beyond the imagination and resources of private enterprise. If credit is denied for that purpose, however, it does not mean that the mines will not be nationalized or that the British government will be unable to secure American machinery for them. What it might mean is that the necessary dollars would be found by barring imports of less essential American goods.

Painful as the idea is to many, America has to face the fact that a large part of the world is now committed to considerable measures of collectivism. If credits are to be given only to simon-pure adherents of private enterprise, the world will have to make do without American financial assistance and America will have to get along without much foreign trade.

I don't think this is really Mr. Baruch's objective, though he does suggest that the United States may not at present have any surplus available for export. For the main theme of his letter to Mr. Gore is the danger of inflation unless full production is rapidly achieved. Since foreigners need dollars to spend on American goods, loans to them add to effective purchasing power at a time when increasing wages and decreased taxes are also exerting an inflationary pressure. There is something in this argument, although Mr. Baruch, I think, has overlooked the deflationary factors which are also present, such as the decline in take-home wages.

What is not in dispute is that the proper cure for inflation is production and more production. Paradoxically, one reason for the delay in its application is fear of *deflation.* Business men apparently don't feel confident that demand will absorb the product of capacity operations and consequently, as I pointed out last week, are attempting to set a wage-price pattern which will safeguard their profits at a good deal less than full production. In these circumstances any assurance of future export markets should prove a boon to those key industries which, once war-time shortages have been made good, can hardly hope to maintain a satisfactory volume on domestic orders alone. However, some attention must be given to present foreign needs in order to attract future foreign custom.

To do Mr. Baruch justice, he has not advocated any embargo on exports. What he proposes is that a national inventory be made to determine how much production must be allocated to the home market in order to avoid inflation, and what would then be available for reconstruction in Europe and Asia. This sounds reasonable enough, but such an inventory cannot be completed in a few weeks as Mr. Baruch suggests. Moreover, as he indicates, it implies a system of priorities necessitating the retention of many government controls and the reimposition of others.

Logically, Mr. Baruch's proposal, therefore, calls for planned distribution and more government interference with business. But logic, or at least consistency, is not Mr. Baruch's strongest point, for immediately after his disapproving aside on foreign collectivism we find him telling Mr. Gore: "We cannot go on depleting our soil and mineral resources as we have in the past seven years without tragic results to our whole economy and national life. A study of our resources and modern scientific methods to replenish them must be undertaken quickly." A sensible observation, although exception might be taken to the suggestion that waste of national resources is a recent development. Actually it has been going on merrily for some three hundred years, and no government has yet found a way to check it without interfering with private enterprise. What do you suggest, Sir Oracle? Can we reconcile conservation with property rights, and if not which should be sacrificed?

KEITH HUTCHISON

The People's Front

Montreal, November 12

EVERYONE of us is aware of the rich resources of Canada and the role it has played in this war. First in nickel, first in platinum, first in radium, and the greatest producer of food in the United Nations, Canada, remote from the battlefield, was able to work from 1939 to 1945 without fear of having its war effort interrupted. But one must come here and talk to Canada's leaders and to the man in the street to realize fully how the country's military and industrial contribution to victory has increased the people's confidence in themselves. It is not the irritating arrogance of the *nouveaux riches* or a delusion of grandeur based upon a transitory boom. It is simply a conviction of what Canada can accomplish and of the future that awaits it. I was in Ottawa the day the news came that the Canadian Prime Minister had been invited to attend the Washington conference on the atomic bomb with President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee. Everyone has the feeling that Canada would be better off as one of the lesser great powers than as one of the greater middle powers.

The first to benefit from this rise in international status has been Prime Minister Mackenzie King. His standing in the country is higher today than it was before the war. I would not venture to judge his popularity: it would be difficult to find a man so long in a position of authority in a democratic regime who is less gifted with those qualities that usually draw the masses. His interventions in Parliament are always ponderous, and his voice over the radio is a tiresome monotone. There is nothing stirring or brilliant about his personality. However, during the twenty-five years, except for short periods, that he has governed Canada, he has shown an exceptional capacity to grapple with major crises. Although far from a leftist, he has been drawn into the great socializing current which is spreading through the world as a result of the war. When he was young he was a member of the Fabian Society, and he still carries over from those days a certain progressive nostalgia.

It may be difficult to replace him as Prime Minister; one discerns no great figures about him, although the Member of Parliament for Westmount and present Defense Minister, Douglas Abbott, has gained considerable prestige in the last few months and many people talk of him as the coming man.

The intelligent leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, M. J. Coldwell, entitled his book about political developments in Canada "Left Turn Canada." But as a matter of fact the trend of the country toward the left is rather slow. It will be a long-drawn-out process, and the progressives of Canada are confronted with a hard task. Not that I am allowing myself to be influenced by the results of the recent elections. The twenty-eight C. C. F. members who were returned to Parliament, although less numerous than was expected, form an impressive group; and Coldwell is unquestionably the best speaker in the House. I spent several hours with the C. C. F. delegation at a luncheon which they gave for me, and the discussion was interesting and varied. Their means of publicity are limited; they have, for example, only one daily paper besides several provincial weeklies. The press as a whole is against them, and undoubtedly the C. C. F. is adversely affected by the strong opposition to all forms of nationalization prevailing in the United States. Worse than the warning against all forms of social control emanating from American business is the position taken by most American labor leaders. I heard members of the C. C. F. complain that Green and Murray come to Canada and praise free enterprise. From a Gallup poll taken while I was in Montreal it appeared that the advocates of nationalization were losing ground.

Great hope is placed in the Socialist experiment in the province of Saskatchewan, where a daring and competent Socialist Prime Minister, T. C. Douglas, can, if his plans are successful, provide the C. C. F. with better arguments in support of its program than any words. Last year Saskatchewan was leading all the Canadian provinces in the amount of cash income derived from the sale of farm products. The increase in livestock production was also remarkable.

The Saskatchewan venture is an intelligent and courageous undertaking in every way. Under the supervision of the government qualified scientists are translating into actual industrial and agricultural practice the discoveries of research workers at the university. The labor code is the best on the continent. An educational plan is being carried out which provides an annual equalization grant of $615-000 to be distributed among poorer communities to improve their standards. The new government Department of Reconstruction and Rehabilitation has announced that returned veterans will be settled on farms large enough to be operated profitably. Land has been provided to settle about a thousand returned men immediately. "We cannot wait until we have groups of these men marching down the street and delegations coming here," Mr. Douglas said last February in his speech to the legislature.

After eighteen months of Socialist administration Saskatchewan is today one of the most progressive sections of the American continent. It has come close to its goal of complete socialized health service for everyone. Though the provincial debt was reduced by $13,000,000 in the first year, the slogan of C. M. Fines, the provincial treasurer is: "As long as we are in power we will never balance a budget on poverty and misery." It will be intensely interesting to watch the development of this first modern experiment in socialism in a continent where free enterprise seems so powerfully intrenched.

DEL VAYO

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Pursuit of James

THE QUESTION OF HENRY JAMES: A COLLECTION OF CRITICAL ESSAYS. Edited by F. W. Dupee. Henry Holt and Company. $3.75.

MR. DUPEE might almost have called his admirable selection of twenty-six pieces about James "The Question of Criticism," for surely this intense critical focus from 1880 until today on so richly complicated a subject, employing such a diversity of methods—parody, old-fashioned literary appreciation, textual analysis, Freudian interpretation, the casual essay, the poem of homage—must tell us as much about criticism itself as about its subject. The function of criticism, if we can draw any inferences from this volume, is not to bring in a unanimous verdict or even a clear answer: James is damned by V. L. Parrington and Van Wyck Brooks as a pitiful fugitive from the harsh, bracing reality of America to a European dream world, and is praised by T. S. Eliot and Edna Kenton for improving his native quality and giving it its real chance precisely by his transplantation to Europe; the appraisal of his work ranges from the ferociously contemptuous dismissal of Thomas Beer to the deeply felt reverence of Percy Lubbock; according to Stuart Sherman he is an aesthetic idealist adoring beauty and absolutely nothing else, the most interesting parallel to his later novels being Pater's "Marius the Epicurean," while according to Jacques Barzun he is, with his moral attitude and addiction to violent plots, a writer of melodrama whose allegiance never swerved from Balzac.

Some of these contradictions are so fundamental, such different things are seen, as to suggest that if there is any question of judgment it is the critical eyesight and not James's text that is to be judged; his text seems at times to serve wonderfully like the chart in the oculist's office, which is read not for its contents but for what it reveals about those who read it, and we, the amateurs—who else can do it for us? —must make whatever ultimate professional judgment is now to be made.

Much more than an exploration of the nature of critical vision, valuable as that is, can be had from these contradictions. James himself is in Mr. Dupee's phrase "such a living tissue of contradictions" that he handsomely rewards the play of different minds, so long as they are imaginative, on his text; what are apparently the most irreconcilable differences, such as—to give but one example—those of Stuart Sherman and Mr. Barzun, are sometimes the most profitable. Sherman seems justified in his view by the absolute, because unspoken, assumptions made as to the value of the artist's dedication in James's novels and tales about artists, Mr. Barzun in his by the violence of the stories about worldly greed and passion; the two critics are at first impression so apart because they are in such different worlds of James. But R. P. Blackmur in his exciting piece in this volume bridges the gap between these two Jamesian worlds: in the figure of the literary artist James has a ready-made puppet that can appear very white or very black by the mere mention to the reader of the nobility of the good writer or the flunkeyism of the bad one. "Thus," as Mr. Blackmur shrewdly puts it, "the author of a fiction about an artist has all the advantages of coarse melodrama without losing any of the advantages of high tragedy"—and we are suddenly in the purely aesthetic Paterian realm seen by Mr. Sherman, and there exactly by the method of Balzacian melodrama so brilliantly stressed by Mr. Barzun. (By truncating Mr. Blackmur I have had to omit the beautiful logic of his own demonstration that the later stories of James about the great world are the final fruit of the parables about artists.)

As there is no single answer, there is no single critical method that is the best for getting at James. Methods that would seem to be inappropriate turn out extremely well: Conrad's magnificent "historian of fine consciences" is at once an instance of how much of so large a subject can be "put into the nutshell of a phrase" and of how amazingly right the critic can be who sees in his author only his own image; Frank Moore Colby, for all that he shows that too familiar American phenomenon of a good mind gaily resisting any intensity of creative insight, nevertheless by the very gaiety of his own resistance has sharp intimations of the "guilty" secrets hidden in "darkest James," secrets not unlike those that Edmund Wilson has shaken out of "The Turn of the Screw" by standing it, with the help of Freud, on its head.

James in the end—there was always something of the artful dodger about him—eludes his critics. This is an ineluctable rule of the game, for if he could have been caught at all he would never have been worth their try. He leaves them, however, not empty-handed but loaded down with a wealth of spoil, not the least part of which is the profusion of fine things they have themselves created to aid in their—and our—pursuit of him.

JAMES GROSSMAN

Bronzeville, U. S. A.

BLACK METROPOLIS. By St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5.

THE Negro has been in America for more than three hundred years, but in all that time we have learned very little about him. Perhaps this is because he is our guilty conscience, the proof of our failure; in order to excuse ourselves we have built around him a legend. We have said that he was ignorant, but denied him adequate educational facilities; that he was a criminal, then segregated him in crowded slums which produced more crime; that he was lazy and shiftless, while shutting him off from all but the most menial jobs; that his family life was irregular, only to hold back from him the human dignity that makes for permanent family relationships. And when, in spite of all this, he managed to fight his way up and out into the main stream of American life we told ourselves that he could do this because of an admixture of white blood.

Thus for eighty long years we have been creating what we now know as the Negro problem. In our futile effort to solve it we resemble an ignorant man looking for a patent medicine to cure a disease no one has as yet diagnosed. In need of a blueprint, we are still trying to build a house from the roof down, and each time it crashes to the ground we look at one another in amazement, then begin over again.

Certainly no single book can solve the race question. But "Black Metropolis," a deeply penetrating study of the Negro community in Chicago, is one of the very few books known to this reviewer which shows any real conception of what that problem is—shorn of all the mumbo-jumbo of race relations and the fumbling efforts of the good white folks who want to do right but insist on maintaining the status quo.

In the latter part of Richard Wright's "Native Son" Bigger Thomas is talking to Max, his lawyer: "Really I never wanted to hurt nobody. That's the truth, Mr. Max. I hurt folks 'cause I felt I had to; that's all. They was crowding me too close; they wouldn't give me no room. Lots of times I tried to forget 'em, but I couldn't. They wouldn't let me."

After reading Mr. Drake's and Mr. Cayton's book we know everything there is to know about the background that molded Bigger Thomas. Bronzeville, as the South Side of Chicago is called by Negroes, is perhaps the most typical segregated area in the North. Less sophisticated than Harlem and with more rigid boundaries, it is bursting at the seams from the pressure of 350,000 permanent residents and an influx of transients lured to the North by the promise of better jobs. It is an area of high rents and living costs and a low value on human life. It is a boiler which has too much steam up. Knowing this, we stand by ineffectually, hoping that somehow our witch doctors will mumble the magic words that will allow the steam to escape before the boiler blows up in our faces.

Yet in Bronzeville is hope as well as despair. City workers, professional men, artists—a varied middle-class life we have never suspected—live in this city within a city. Always there is a wall between Bronzeville and the outer world, a wall different only in thickness, as Mr. Wright has so often told us, from similar walls in Memphis or Jackson. That wall is what keeps Negroes from being Americans, and Americans from being free men.

To say that Mr. Drake and Mr. Cayton have created another "Middletown" may seem too facile a comparison, but it is one which is richly deserved. Few communities have ever been put under a more searching or relentless inquiry. "Black Metropolis" is a rare combination of research and synthesis, a book to be deeply pondered. It offers no short cuts or magic solutions, but it contains the clearest picture of what it means to be a Negro in America that I have ever encountered. It is realistic and far-reaching, probing where other books have glossed over, interpreting where others have merely stated generalities. No one who reads it intelligently can ever believe again that our racial dilemma can be solved by pushing buttons, or by gradual processes which may reach four or five hundred years into the future.

The lengthy introduction by Richard Wright deserves a review in itself; it is always germane to the subject, almost a part of the book. It is what the commentary of a documentary film should be. Introduction and book together form the most informative and readable treatment of the malignant racial growth from which America is suffering that I have ever read, not excepting Gunnar Myrdal's monumental "American Dilemma."

BUCKLIN MOON

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Sorry Prospect

MONOPOLY IS NOT a satisfactory word for the subject of David Lasser's "Private Monopoly" (Harper, $3), and the author is the first to say so. It will be too bad if readers shy away from it as a too familiar subject, for Lasser has done an excellent job of presenting and documenting the faults of the politico-economic system dominated by big business.

Combinations in restraint of trade are only one manifestation of the business philosophy which looks for profit primarily in the margin between cost and selling price instead of in volume of sales. Small firms are in general even more addicted to that philosophy than large ones. Competition is no skeleton key to all the problems of an economy of abundance.

Lasser has selected and assembled the most significant evidence collected during the last ten years by the Temporary National Economic Committee, the National Resources Planning Board, other Congressional investigations and government departments, and independent economists and reporters. The result is a thoroughly depressing but important picture of the state of the capitalist economy, national and international. The author's proposals for "democratization" as a solution of the problems he presents are well-reasoned and sensible, but he does not leave the reader with too much hope that they can be carried out.

A capitalist economy could be made to work for the general welfare, given sufficient intelligence and good-will, and it has advantages over any other system in terms of democracy and individual freedom. "Private Monopoly" details the faults which must be overcome. It does not give much assurance that they will be.

CHARLES E. NOYES

A Living Process

THE LATE CARL L. BECKER was one of the truly wise men of our generation. He was historian, philosopher of history, and political philosopher, whose special interest it was to find a firmer foundation for democratic life and who had come to the significant conclusion that eighteenth-century thought was an inadequate basis for the continued growth of democratic thought and the constant readjustment of the democratic process.

In a posthumously published series of lectures titled "Freedom and Responsibility in the American Way of Life" (Knopf, $2.50) he sums up his conclusions so perfectly that they well might have been the intended summation of his life work. "The nature of freedom and responsibility is such that they cannot be discussed," he declares, "still less dealt with to any good purpose, separately." The eighteenth century had equated democracy with the assertion of inalienable rights. Becker shows that the rights and liberties must be exercised with a higher sense of responsibility for the common good; otherwise the community is forced to abrogate them in the interest of justice. "The owners of English cotton mills in the 1830's," he writes, "enjoyed freedom of contract as a cherished liberty; but for the anemic women and children who contracted to work in the mills because the alternative was starvation, it was a species of wage slavery."

While Becker emphasizes the importance of character in the operation of democracy ("the preservation of our freedom depends less upon the precise nature of our Constitution and laws than upon the character of the people"), he does not belong to the moralists who would solve political issues by moral means only. He is constantly looking for the best possible political instruments for the preservation of both justice and liberty. He is certain that the eighteenth century was wrong in assuming that an unmanaged economy would make for justice, and he nicely debunks the privileged classes of today who use that creed for their own ends. He understands that collectivism finally destroys freedom, but is also certain that there must be increasing control of the economic process in the interest of justice.

He is critical of all uncritical devotion to written constitutions and to cherished forms of the past because he understands that democratic life is a living process which requires constant readjustments to new situations. Becker is in short the kind of guide whose loss one regrets the more deeply in a day in which interested dogmatists speak unctuously of the "American way of life," while they seek to preserve some special privilege or evade some obvious responsibility of their power. REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Psychology and Politics

THE SOCIAL REFORMISM of Dr. Samuel Lowy in "New Directions in Psychology" (Emerson, $3) is based on what might be called the "argument from neurosis." His book indicates that a simple concern for the individual personality involves an alienation from contemporary political practice. The study of a number of uprooted persons, for example, convinces him that the forced migration of masses amounts to large-scale spiritual murder. He records, on the basis of his analytic experience in a Slovakian town, that even among persons hostile to Jews in everyday and political life "anti-Semitic sentiments only rarely constitute the content of free association." Anti-Semitism is, in this view, not very deep in the psyche but merely a convenient symbolic expression of repressed hatreds which are produced in family and social situations.

Dr. Lowy's suggestions aim at the elimination of aggressive impulses, the freeing of the personality. Here he is confronted by the polarity that plagues every libertarian movement. How encourage spontaneity in the individual when the only apparent fulcrum of major change in a complex society is the state machinery, the apparatus of authority? Dr. Lowy insists that "men can be forced into such spontaneity," that freedom for adults requires certain inhibitions to be imposed by state force. Herbert Read, who contributes

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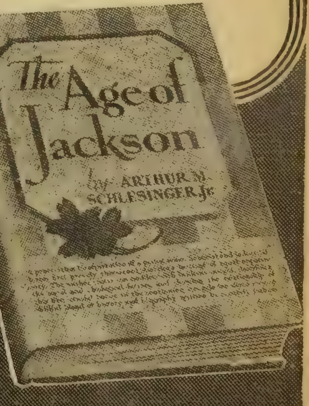
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a rather reluctant introduction to the book, notes that the authoritarian state is itself a projection of masochistic and aggressive neurotic symptoms. He argues that the solution of mass neuroses must be in the direction of "an inner accord between individual morality and spontaneous group activities. . . . The way lies through reciprocity and mutual aid, not through coercion and external authority." Dr. Lowy is "practical," but his means exactly contradict his ends; Read is a "whole-loafer" and his logic pure, but his means are seemingly hopeless. The stalemate of an era.

The sources of Dr. Lowy's thinking are admittedly eclectic; he uses with equal approval Freud, Stekel, Adler, Fromm, Horney, and Mannheim. He is closest, however, to the sociological, anti-instinctivist school represented by the last three, though he has neither the historical grasp of Fromm and Mannheim nor the lucidity of Horney. His style is laborious and repetitious. Sentences that open promisingly too often close on truisms and commonplaces. One suspects, from Dr. Lowy's limited venture, that an analyst less sentimental, more selective and relevant, and happier in style might add a suggestive dimension to political thinking. Considering the state of political life, the psychoanalyst may be better fitted than the practicing politician to diagnose and offer cures for our communal ills. NATHAN GLICK

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China's Basic Problem

FOR YEARS NOW we have been hearing that the basic cause of China's stagnation was its feudal system of land ownership and utilization. But it has been difficult for a Westerner to understand how the traditional agrarian relationship impeded progress. Farm tenancy we understand; but since the proportion of tenancy in China is not much greater than in some of our Middle Western states, it is clear that tenancy alone does not account for China's poverty and backwardness. A detailed picture of a traditional Chinese village with all its economic relationships is necessary before we can grasp the nature of the Chinese problem. Such a picture is provided in a remarkable sociological study of three Yunnan villages by Hsiao-Tung Fei and Chih-I Chang entitled "Earthbound China" (Chicago, $3.75). This readable book, a Chinese rural "Middletown," tears away the veil of Oriental mystery and reveals the traditional Chinese social and economic structure in sordid detail. We are helped to understand the curse of landlordism, for example, when we find that even the petty landlord—the largest landholding in one village was only about four acres—rarely does any work. Since nearly a third of the population of some villages are in the petty-landlord class, the social waste of the system is apparent. Well over half of the families in each of the villages studied either possessed no land or had less land than they needed for self-support. All the villages had more workers than could be effectively used on the amount of land available, and so some of the landless were compelled to seek other means of support. In the traditional village the only other source of income of any importance is handicraft production. As in other countries this is carried on in sweat shops. Near the cities the surplus population is drawn off by emerging industry, but only a fraction of Chinese villagers live near enough to cities to be affected by large-scale industrial development. As the authors point out, China's greatest need is for the development of small local industries, preferably cooperative in character, which can utilize the surplus labor that exists in every village.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

An Economic Survey

PEP (Political and Economic Planning), whose researches in British economic problems are attracting increasing attention, has done well to sponsor a study, "Economic Development in Southeast Europe" (Oxford, $3) by a group of experts drawn from all the countries covered—Poland, Czechoslo-

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vakia, Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Greece. By eschewing politics the participants were able to find much common ground in regard to such problems as nutrition, agriculture, industrial development, transport, marketing, and capital needs. Their aim has been to present the known facts—the book contains valuable statistical material—and to make tentative recommendations for projects in which the various countries might cooperate for mutual benefit.

K. H.

Behind the German Curtain

"THE CURTAIN FALLS" by Count Folke Bernadotte (Knopf, $2) is an unpretentious, highly interesting account of the last days of the Third Reich, a serious contribution to the inside story of the Nazi collapse. Since the totality of this collapse prevented most of the leading figures from leaving behind their own versions for the use of the historians, Count Bernadotte's contribution is especially valuable. Bernadotte went to Germany as representative of the Swedish Red Cross to obtain the release of Scandinavian prisoners from German concentration camps, and thus obtained the privilege of witnessing the downfall of the Nazi gods from inside the Reich. He did not see everything—Hitler and Goebbels remained hidden to the Swedish observer—but he saw Ribbentrop and Himmler, whose first surrender offer was transmitted through him. Two of Himmler's closest advisers, Kaltenbrunner and Schellenberg, who appear as Himmler's bad and good angel in Bernadotte's account, permitted him startling glimpses behind the falling curtain. The macabre scenes that he reproduces, with their revelation of the triviality and cowardice of the Nazi leaders, make the reader wonder how such petty men could have succeeded in deceiving so many people in so many countries long enough to bring the world so close to the abyss.

JOSEPH BORNSTEIN

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FICTION IN REVIEW

CHRISTOPHER ISHERWOOD'S "Prater Violet" (Random House, $2) is not only a very short novel which is yet the most completely novelistic novel I have read in a long time, but also the most charming novel I have read in a long time which yet reverberates with the widest and deepest meanings. Nor are these the only scores on which Mr. Isherwood's new book contradicts the present-day order of literary things and is a lovely achievement. It is a book written in the author's own person, yet utterly without ego; it is a novel about movie writers which is yet a novel about the life of every serious artist; it is a book without a political moral, but a profound moral-political statement; it is gay, witty, sophisticated, but wholly responsible. It is even a novel by a member of that small coterie known as the younger British intellectuals, and yet neither a coterie novel nor a novel nurtured in the shadowy recesses of the worried intellect, but a novel about intelligent, attractive people living familiar, interesting lives.

The story of "Prater Violet" is deceptively slight. The time is 1934, the place London. Isherwood is invited to write the scenario and dialogue for a musical movie of old Vienna, about a flower vendor in love with a disguised prince. The director who has been engaged for the film is a Viennese, Friedrich Bergmann, a man "with the face of a political situation, an epoch . . . the face of Central Europe," and with a Central European sense of political realities. To Isherwood's considerable daze at finding himself writing dialogue for "Prater Violet"—the novel's title is taken from the film—is added the rich confusion of daily intimacy with this collaborator; Bergmann is a person of great human proportions—voluble, weak, vain, robust, deep-feeling, dramatic, amusing, devoted, loving and lovable. In the midst of the shooting of the movie, the newspapers report the Vienna uprisings. Bergmann and Isherwood have their emotions about the fate of Austria, and their emotions about their job. The movie gets finished, it is a great success, and Bergmann gets a contract from Hollywood.

But the story that Mr. Isherwood tells is merely the pebble in the lake, from which his novel ripples out in ever-widening circles of implication. In what we might call its first circle, "Prater Violet" is a novel of narrative and social observation, and light, incisive humor about modern personalities. In its next circle, it is a study in sensitivities—it confronts the sensitive poet with the sensitivities of the movie craft, the sensitive foreigner with British insularity. Then, in a further circle, it is a study in dedication—a very wise insight into the quality of devotion which any job must exact, even the job of making a shoddy movie, if it is to be meaningful to the person doing it. In a still farther circle, it is a study in the relation of the individual to society, particularly in the relation of the politically conscious man, who is still not a political man, to political action; and it is here, of course, that "Prater Violet" will be most suspect to the liberal reader accustomed to the raising of banners of public allegiance, because Mr. Isherwood refers all conduct back to private sources. Finally, it is a novel about man's relationship to himself—a subtle, bold assertion that life has no need of justification from our usual modern moral values, that human affection is enough to support it.

The word "human" is important. We have been told that Mr. Isherwood has joined the Aldous Huxley-Gerald Heard group of California mystics, and that for some years he has been living a monastic life and working on a translation of the Bhagavad-Gita. Were we not acquainted with these biographical facts, we would not guess them from "Prater Violet," which is a thoroughly worldly book, unless perhaps from its informing emotional tone, which struck me as remarkably innocent of the contemporary social and personal guilts. But totally unlike the culminating principle of, say, Mr. Huxley's recent novels, the life-principle on which Mr. Isherwood takes his quiet stand is accessible to the least mystical of us: it is nowhere made to draw its strength from beyond the naturalistic universe; and, even more important, it is in no way based in negation. Just as I think we can measure the efficacy of Mr. Isherwood's life-principle by the pleasure he gives us with the book which embodies it, I think we can attribute our pleasure in the book to the gusto and liveness with which Mr. Isherwood's characters have their being in this faulty world of ours. For instance, we compare the Bergmann of "Prater Violet," with his poetry-making, his curiosities, his wonderful reenactments of the Reichstag-fire trials, to the analogous father-people in Aldous Huxley's last novels, to discover that the author of Bergmann is not at all concerned, as Mr. Huxley is, to make the father-person a saint. Bergmann is no emasculated savior in the protection of whose love the merely mortal young man plays out his mean sexual game. He is allowed not only his full humanity but his full manhood; and as a consequence Mr. Isherwood's novel has a dignity and an intimation of true tragedy which are always finally missing from Huxley. If, that is, it is out of his knowledge of God that Mr. Isherwood has come to, or confirmed, his knowledge of man, it is still man to whom his novel, in the end, gives godhood.

And, indeed, I suspect that it is to his acceptance of the common humanity of man, to what I see as his worldliness and not to his unworldliness, that Mr. Isherwood even owes the quickness and warmth of his prose. It is very much the fashion these days to write "simply." Mr. Steinbeck does it, Mr. Hersey does it, at another extreme Katherine Anne Porter does it. In the Steinbeck-Hersey tradition simplicity is the passport of social virtue; and while I do not question the good-will of these writers, I question whatever underlies their good-will which produces a prose so heavy with condescension to the people with which it deals. On the other hand, the simplicity of Miss Porter's prose, however skilled and tasteful her prose is, is the simplicity of the over-conscious artist; Miss Porter does not condescend to her subject, but she does assert herself over it. But the simplicity of Mr. Isher-

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wood's style is a reflection neither of condescension nor of assertion. It is the style of a free and generous creative intelligence, most happily balanced between self-tolerance and tolerance of others.

It would be a pleasant comment on our present literary culture if one could be certain "Prater Violet" would get the reading it deserves. Properly, there should be several books as good as this each season; and the publishers of this one, just by the way, should not feel impelled to veer between advertising it as a "satirical" novel and announcing it, on its dust jacket, in terms of "fascist terror," "opportunism and appeasement," and Europe's "bath of blood": such a distortion of the whole attitude of Mr. Isherwood's book is culturally all too significant. But fearful that it will not reach its audience through the usual channels—one influential critic, for example, has already reported his doubt that it was worth writing—I for once wish to urge a novel on at least the readers of this column. For, small as it is, "Prater Violet" suggests, better than any book of the last three years, the charms and satisfactions which some few of us still ask for from current fiction but which current fiction so persistently refuses us.

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Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

AFTER the Fauve color explosion there came around 1907-08—when Cézanne replaced Van Gogh and Gauguin as the dominant influence—a gradual sobering of the palettes of the younger avant-garde painters in France. By 1914, when analytical cubism was in full flower, Picasso and Braque were turning out pictures whose color ran no wider gamut than that between black, brown, and gray-white. Matisse was using monumental dark shapes to construct some of his greatest masterpieces; even Chagall's color was relatively somber in this period; while Derain, Vlaminck, and Segonzac were returning the emphasis from hue to value. Those artists who still kept their color high generally lowered its intensity and dulled its finish—with the notable exception of Modigliani. Yet something of the rawness of Fauvism still lingered: an imprecision, a renunciation of crispness of finish and of tangible paint quality. The refinement of cubist and post-cubist painting was not to begin until around 1918, when the discovery and adumbration of that which still constitutes the essential elements of modern style were completed.

There were, however, one or two exceptions besides Modigliani—prominent among them Roger de la Fresnaye, who as soon as he had absorbed all that he wanted or could absorb of Picasso's and Braque's developing cubism proceeded to render it elegant, decorative, and cheerful. It is from De la Fresnaye, one of the secondary figures of the cubist movement, that a good deal of the academicism of post-cubist art takes its departure. He was not the first to put pure, high color into cubism, but he was almost the first to put it in flat, in roughly blocked-out shapes, and one of the first, along with Delaunay, to explore the possibilities of cubism as quasi-abstract decoration.

De la Fresnaye anticipated the softening and prettifying of cubism. Endowed with a feminine sensibility, he was quick to grasp the point of the new style and, in grasping it, to suppress all the struggles and resistances through which it had originally been developed. But even so, he came so early that he could not avoid a certain minimum of struggle. He was in his own way a pioneer, and he had for a time to grope and stumble; he was clumsy, he made errors, and he failed to understand completely what he was doing. The evidences of the struggle are in two big canvases, "The Artillery" and "Conquest of the Air," executed in 1911 and 1913 respectively—the latter was to be seen at a fine show of De la Fresnaye's paintings, drawings, and sculpture at the Buchholz Gallery through November 10—in which cubism is used as a decorative façade rather than as a means of transforming space integrally.

It was in the still life that De la Fresnaye, restricting his data to inanimate, manufactured objects, finally revealed his full powers. Organized around the oppositions of straight lines and relatively exact curves and circles, with clear, fresh color applied so thinly that the white priming of the canvas underneath becomes a tonal ingredient in itself, his paintings of the period 1913-14 achieve in their delicacy one of the early culminations of cubist style. Yet even in these he betrays now and then the still insecure hold he had on the elements of that style. Thus the roll of paper in "Le Diabolo," being presented in accurate perspective and somewhat strongly modeled, jumps out of context and clashes with everything else in the picture; while in the "Still Life with Cylinders" the pasted strips of white paper are arbitrary and their function could just as well have been performed by white paint.

De la Fresnaye was gassed at the front in the First World War and died of the after-effects in 1925, at the age of forty. Whether he had much left to say is doubtful, harsh as it may sound to say so. From 1917 on his work had beat a steady retreat from the positions he intrepidly occupied at the beginning of his career. What was lacking was a surplus of energy above and beyond that embodied in his taste, superlative as that was.

The same may be said, *mutatis mutandis*, of Stuart Davis, whose life work to date is surveyed in a one-man show at the Museum of Modern Art (through February 3). The nature of Davis's gift is startlingly like that of his contemporary and compatriot Alexander Calder, and their careers run closely parallel. Both have made modern art cheerful; both needed a trip to Paris and the absorption of French influence on the scene in order to find themselves; provincials in relation to the School of Paris, both show that eminent capacity of provincials for tasteful adaptation and also the felicity permitted by the un-obsessed mind. The felicity and taste of these two artists is, as a matter of fact, prodigious. Of the fifty paintings in Davis's exhibition, no more than three or four actually fail on their own terms; and I was struck by a similar evenness in Calder's one-man show at the Modern Museum two years ago.

Davis is a natural painter. Two town scenes—"Gloucester Street" and "Gloucester Terrace"—painted in 1916 at the age of twenty-two under the influences of Van Gogh and Gauguin, demonstrate that he had his gift under control almost from the beginning; his chief problem was simply where to direct it. And it is an open question whether anything Davis has painted since then is intrinsically superior to these two canvases, which are original in the same way De la Fresnaye's cubism is original: they generalize and make immediately pleasing what more seminal artists produced at the cost of strain and frequent error.

Davis early came under the influence of cubism, which he, again like De la Fresnaye in the beginning, appropriated as a decorative method at first. By 1928, however, he had painted a full-fledged abstract picture, "Eggbeater No. 3,"

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which helped establish *the* American inflection of post-cubist abstract style for the next ten years. In 1928, also, Davis went to Paris, where he painted a series of street scenes in which two-dimensional calligraphic patterns inclose flat planes in pastel shades. These represent in my opinion the most important work he has yet done. There is no great force behind them, they rely on hints from almost every contemporary member of the School of Paris—yet they are of their kind perfect. And they evoke the time and place in which they were turned out as little else of that period still does—that is, they are period and yet not limited aesthetically by being so. They are exquisite minor art, sufficient unto their moment and without a thing to say to the young artist who comes seeking examples; yet they will remain.

Since 1933 or so Davis's painting has become more and more abstract and at the same time decorative to the point where it is hardly easel-painting any more. He has invented an idiom of his own, influenced as far as I can see by the diagrams of radio-set hookups—a calligraphy of zigzags, circles, and broken curves laid against flat, solid shapes in uniform color. This idiom he manipulates with varying success, one year better, the next year worse, but nothing has yet equaled his work of 1928-29. The moral is the same as in De la Fresnaye's case: taste is not enough for a lifetime of art.

The only salvation I can suggest for artists such as Davis, Calder, and De la Fresnaye is that society give them fixed, exactly defined tasks that require them to fit their cheerfulness and discretion into the general décor of modern life in a systematic way. Let Davis and Calder create an atmosphere in which to move, not solo works of art. There are the examples of Boucher and Fragonard, whose spirit their own resembles.

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Пáпа кепт кам   Papa kept calm

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IT WAS saddening to hear the somewhat frayed condition of Maggie Teyte's voice during most of her first Telephone Hour broadcast; and astonishing to hear the lovely voice of the recordings suddenly reappear at the end of the broadcast in "Oft in the Stilly Night." So at her first New York recital: in the opening group by Méhul, Monsigny, Mozart, and Gluck, the voice was painfully worn throughout its range; then she left the stage and returned immediately to sing the Letter from Debussy's "Pelléas et Mélisande" as though with a different voice—one with texture, color, warmth. I thought at first that the difference was due to the low range and declamatory style of this piece and the Debussy songs that followed it; but the improvement continued in the songs of Duparc and Fauré: it was not a young voice, but an old one that preserved an extraordinary amount of its earlier beauty and flexibility, and revealed its age only in an occasional toneless or metallic high note.

What, then, was the explanation? The mere fact of walking off the stage and back? "Yes, precisely that," answered someone who knew from experience. "It isn't until you walk off the stage the first time at a concert that the awful tension of walking on the first time is relaxed; then you are at ease for the rest of the concert." As he spoke I recalled occasions when I had heard Szigeti scrape and scratch his way through the several movements of an opening sonata, then leave the stage and return immediately to play with serenity of style and beauty of tone. And I recalled also some of Caruso's testimony on the subject in letters to his wife.

Those letters, as Diana Trilling said in her review, are extremely moving human documents and fascinating revelations of the behind-the-façade operations of a musician's career. The torment of walking on the stage for a first group is bad enough for a pianist or violinist; but from Caruso we learn that it is even worse for a singer, since the instrument of his performance is so much more immediately affected by his physical and nervous condition, and so much less subject to his control. One of Caruso's most extraordinary letters tells us how a performance of "Marta" in Mexico City began:

> I went to the theater in a very bed conditions. There I tried my voice and I was surprised of the lightness. Then I was a little quite with my nervs but the headache were there in bak of my head. The performance beginned and from my dressing room I heard how the first scene goes. Nobody knowed the part. . . . I heard that the soprano and the mezzo makes lots of fault and that makes me nervos because I tought at my duets, terzetti e quartetti. The second scene, the market, beginned and the corus went out of kee and the public show his malcontento in wissly terribly. I went out with the baritono and he beginned with a very wrotten voice . . . I beginning my larghetto and with my surprise my voice were without brillancy but my experience let the public applaude at the end of my solo very much. . . . But I was not satisfied . . .

And how it ended:

> There comes the third act were is the romance. Ah, dearie, I dont know where I found such a voice! I never sing that aria so beautifully and there were a demonstration delirante . . . After comes the concertato where I have the famous frase, *Marta a te perdonne Iddio.* I sung such frase with many feelings and intensity, that everybody public and artists cry . . . The emotions were so great in everybody that was explenid as I never sung in my life like that and I communicated to the public all my feeling with a voice over uman . . .

That is something to be considered by the New York critic who once slipped into the seat behind me for the second of an opening group of four Schubert Impromptus at a Schnabel recital, wrote busily during the third, and was gone by the fourth. And by other critics for whom this is standard practice. (But they are fairness itself in comparison with the critic who, kept at home by grippe, wrote a review of a Szigeti recital on the basis of his wife's report on the opening sonata.)

To get back to Maggie Teyte: She returned to sing the Letter from "Pelléas" not only with a different voice but with a communicative power that she had not achieved in the preceding songs with the help of a lot of coy pantomimic showmanship. In the songs that followed, which she did seriously and with superb art, there was a considerable amount of dramatic pointing up in the phrasing, which threw the vocal line out of relation with the delicately sensitive piano contexts provided by George Reeves.

This dramatic pointing up produced a strange performance of *Voi che sapete* from "The Marriage of Figaro" at the first Telephone Hour broadcast. The singing was very jerky and staccato, possibly with the idea of conveying the boyish characteristics of Cherubino. If that was the idea, I would say that what Mozart intended to convey about Cherubino is conveyed in the music sung in the normal flowing style in which he undoubtedly intended it to be sung.

Correction: In the seventeenth and eighteenth lines of the sixth paragraph of the record column of November 3 "couple of hundred thousand shellac records" should have read "couple of hundred *or* thousand shellac records."

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Not the Jews Alone

Dear Sirs: The Ben-Horin article, Have the Arabs a Case? in *The Nation* of October 20 was an excellent one. The shameful betrayal of the covenant entered into by the British government with the Jewish people is the tragedy of our day.

The cause of Palestine is not merely the cause of the Jews but of every honest liberal. You will serve the cause of America, of humanity, and all decent people everywhere if you will place this article on the desk of every Congressman, every Senator, and every member of Parliament in the English-speaking countries. SAMUEL WOHL

Cincinnati, October 25

Rank-and-File Victory

Dear Sirs: Speaking for a number of longshoremen who have read your editorial Victory for a Racket in the issue of October 27, I wish to thank you. It is encouraging to us who have been swamped in a flood of press lies and misrepresentations to find friends in the field of journalism and opinion who are prepared to state our case honestly and fairly. We wish to express our gratitude to you for pointing out that the real issues in the longshore dispute, the just economic demands and the fight for a free, democratic union government, were all but obscured by "King" Ryan's cries of "red" and "C. I. O.," which were so eagerly seized upon by the press. The frenzy with which the press "went to town" on us can hardly be regarded as anything less than a deliberate attempt to discredit and wreck the Rank and File Committee of the longshoremen.

However, thankful as we are for your fair-minded approach, we do have certain criticisms to make of your editorial. We feel that the general tone, including the title, Victory for a Racket, gives the impression of total defeat of the rank-and-file movement. This is not true. The fact is that the men have already forced Ryan and the shipowners to grant an important demand—two shape-ups a day instead of three. They have also forced arbitration on the other principal demands—limitation of sling loads to 2,240 pounds and 22-man gangs instead of 20. Arbitration in Ryan's hands is dangerous since it is conceived as an attempt to arrive at a settlement of the longshore dispute without consultation with the I. L. A. membership. But the men mean to force an honest presentation of their demands. Such a presentation can only mean victory for the rank and file, not for Ryan's racket.

On September 30 Ryan declared that the demands of the men could not be negotiated. That he was forced to resume negotiations on these very demands is no small victory in itself. The fight for these demands and the fight for a democratic union are not two separate problems. It is precisely in their struggle for better working conditions that the longshoremen shook Ryan's throne. When these economic demands are won, it will be clearer than ever to the men that "King" Ryan, like other despots, must yield to the inexorability of progress.

The longshoremen have won the first round. Whether the men win the rounds to come in their fight depends upon the support you and your readers can offer—not the least of which is financial—as well as on their own efforts. No, not Victory for a Racket, but Victory for the Rank and File.

LEON GOODELMAN, Public Relations,
Rank and File Committee

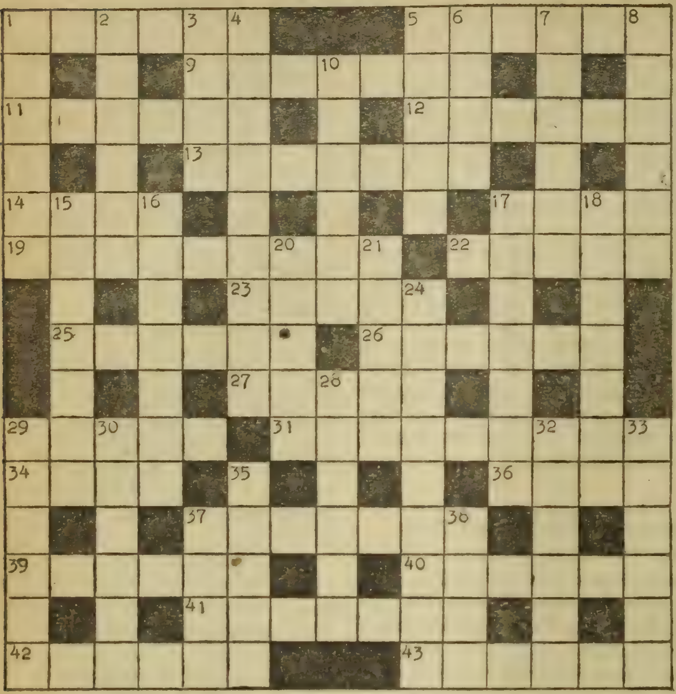
New York, October 31

Bavaria's Catholics

Dear Sirs: In his article What Happened in Bavaria, in *The Nation* of October 20, Saul K. Padover supplies some very valuable information, and of course every liberal must share his evident satisfaction over the forced resignation of the Schäffer government and the appointment of Dr. Wilhelm Högner as Minister President of Bavaria. As Mr. Padover explains, the Bavarian People's Party encouraged Hitler at times in the past—I should like to add, previous to 1924. The party has also committed other political sins, some of them less excusable than the consent, given under duress, to the "empowering law" of 1933, which Mr. Padover cites as the principal incriminating evidence. Moreover, some people from the extreme right wing of the B. V. P. had always had close contacts with the Nazis, which was the main reason why under the Schäffer regime so many Hitlerites could worm their way into the government machinery or pro-

Crossword Puzzle No. 135

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 His Round Table seated 150
5 European capital where they first danced the mazurka
9 Saucy native of China (hyphen, 3-4)
11 Favorable regard
12 Ira and Ted make a speech
13 Painter who superintended the building of St. Peter's, Rome
14 Very French, this
17 The only safe place for a celibate?
19 Art is oral (anag.)
22 Yesterday was recently and tomorrow will be soon
23 What we're all growing
25 Alas, Ma has gone all Oriental
26 Interfere
27 The reason perhaps why demonstrations do not always open harmoniously
29 The newspaperman's beat
31 A person of no importance
34 "'Tis so much to be a king" (hidden)
36 The seer turns out to be Irish
37 The second coat button (two words, 4 & 3)
39 Servant to Aimwell, in *Beaux Stratagem*, and an amusing fellow
40 'Art'ful bird
41 Actually, the animal is brown (two words, 3 & 4)
42 Epic of national life
43 Possesses the world's second best harbor

DOWN

1 Wards off what might be vaster
2 Stagger—and with only one tot!
3 May be sure it's a consumer
4 "There's a long, long trail a-winding"—but this isn't it (two words, 5 & 4)
5 Adam's ale
6 Found in aniline dyes
7 Ascended in a measured way
8 It doesn't sound a very powerful publication
10 Had bee in it, so chop it off
15 Search thoroughly
16 The king of cheeses, though it was never made here
17 Explosive that looks like brown vermicelli
18 Mantles (anag.)
20 I am at the head of fifty men on the Eastern front
21 Fruit first grown in Northern India
24 Turncoats
28 Tied up
29 It's simply an Arabic term for "desert"
30 Grease-gun's less violent relative
32 British general of the Cromwellian period
33 From year to year
35 Being this by a bull might well make you go red
37 Associated with a Peer in the operetta
38 The only answer we could get out of Ryan

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 134

ACROSS:—1 ORGAN-GRINDERS; 10 HECKLER; 11 PASTURE; 12 GRANADA; 13 SMOLDER; 14 NODDLES; 15 ENDURED; 16 ONTARIO; 20 ABADDON; 23 ICEFLOE; 24 TWELFTH; 25 ROOMIER; 26 ORLANDO; 27 ROCKING-HORSES.

DOWN:—2 RICHARD; 3 ALL HAIL; 4 GERMANS; 5 IMPASSE; 6 DISCORD; 7 ROUNDER; 8 THE GONDOLIERS; 9 RED-RIDING-HOOD; 17 TREMOLO; 18 ROLLICK; 19 OVERRAN; 20 ANTIOCH; 21 A DEALER; 22 DEFENSE.

tect themselves from being removed.

But Mr. Padover greatly overstates his case by leaving out the other side of the balance sheet. There has always been a wing of the party which was strongly anti-Nazi, and between 1924 and 1933 this wing was on the whole dominant. One may say much against Cardinal Faulhaber, who is by no means a believer in democracy, but it would be ridiculous to call him a Nazi or a friend of the Nazis; yet Faulhaber has a very strong influence in the Bavarian People's Party. As late as the spring of 1933 the B. V. P. government of the state of Bavaria made a gesture of defiance against Nazified federal government and was deposed by storm troopers; several of the leaders of the B. V. P. had to pay dearly for their resistance.

Many Bavarian priests, almost without exception supporters of the Bavarian People's Party, suffered or died in Hitler's concentration camps. The anti-Hitler revolt which occurred in Munich just before the entry of the American troops seems to have been organized largely by B. V. P. supporters. A party of that record cannot be treated as a "compromised party." No democracy can be built up in Bavaria without the Bavarian People's Party, which still is probably the strongest political group in that state (see Eisenhower's latest report). It was a great mistake to intrust exclusive power to the B. V. P.; it would be equally wrong to deny it a share in the government, except perhaps for a very short "purging" period.

The Bavarian problem epitomizes the great difficulty of dealing with political Catholicism in Europe, because on the one hand Catholicism is a genuine popular force which is often socially progressive, and on the other hand it frequently has indirect—and in some countries direct—ties with fascism. Mr. Padover's failure to distinguish between the essentially democratic and the near-fascist group in the Catholic movement of Bavaria makes his article, in spite of its merits, a poor basis for framing a policy.

CARL LANDAUER

Berkeley, Cal., October 27

Far Eastern Material

TO OUR READERS: *The Nation* is anxious to chronicle accurately and fully the resurgent democratic, nationalist, and progressive movements of the Far East. Consequently we should appreciate greatly the receipt of newspapers, clippings, leaflets, party programs, biographical sketches of leaders, and descriptive letters. Address: Far Eastern Editor, *The Nation*, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

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The Shape of Things

"THE RESISTANCE OF EUROPE IS VERY LOW," wrote C. L. Sulzberger in a dispatch from London to the New York *Times* of November 13. "Tuberculosis is rife. The very young and the very old especially are beginning to die in droves as the autumn leaves fall." Mr. Sulzberger's article served as an introduction to two pages of reports providing details of living conditions in all parts of Europe. In only a few countries is it possible to say that the situation is improving; in most of them people face a winter of cold, malnutrition, and a high incidence of disease. It will be a miracle if no epidemics break out; if they do, they will be hard to control. The *Times* survey, a notable piece of newspaper enterprise, added potent arguments to those brought forward the next day by President Truman in a message to Congress requesting an additional appropriation of $1,350,000,000 for UNRRA. Present funds available for relief work will be exhausted by the end of the year, the President pointed out, and with the liberation of China UNRRA's operations had to be vastly extended. But before Congress can act on this request, it must pass on the bill appropriating $550,000,000 in completion of the initial American pledge to UNRRA, a matter about which it has been bickering for weeks. In the House the Republicans succeeded in attaching a rider forbidding use of any of the funds in countries where censorship hinders American correspondents in writing about UNRRA's activities. This maneuver has been condemned by Senator Vandenberg in terms which we trust will shame his fellow Republicans. "I am unable," he said, "to make mercy an arbitrary hostage to the lifting of the iron curtain at this tragic moment in human history. . . . The iron curtain is in the control of governments. It is the people in these areas who die for want of bread."

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THE FRENCH ASSEMBLY UNANIMOUSLY CHOSE General de Gaulle as interim President of the Republic because it recognized that he had received a strong vote of confidence from the people at the elections, and because no other French personality appeared able to form a government. But this unanimity hid acute political divisions which quickly became apparent when the General sought to form a government representing the three major parties in the Assembly—the Communists, the Socialists, and the Mouvement Republicaine Populaire. The Communists, the largest of the three, considered they were entitled to nominate the holder of at least one of the three chief Cabinet posts, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, War, and the Interior. De Gaulle took the position that the actual selection of ministers was his sole prerogative. Moreover, he was unwilling, as he said bluntly in a broadcast to the French people, "to confide to them [the Communists] any of the levers that command foreign policy: the diplomacy that expresses it, the army that sustains it, and the police that protect it." To do so, he suggested, would be to orient French policy toward Russia and defeat his aim of maintaining a position of equilibrium between the East and the West. Outraged as the French Communists are at what they regard as a reflection on their patriotism, they can hardly deny that, on foreign policy at least, their line is determined in Moscow. Thus the French crisis illustrates once again the difficulty of political combinations involving a party with external allegiances.

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AS WE WRITE NO WAY OF BREAKING THE deadlock appears in sight. With the balance of political forces as they are in France, it would be difficult to organize a government which excluded the Communists. The Socialists and the Mouvement Republicaine Populaire together command a bare majority in the Assembly, and the former, moreover, are anxious not to drive the Communists into opposition, where, free of administrative responsibility, they would be able to devote all their energies to tightening their grip on the French working classes. But a Socialist-Communist coalition would also function uneasily. On domestic issues the two parties are in broad agreement, but they differ on foreign policies, and as rivals for the leadership of the left they are intensely suspicious of each other. Moreover, such a combination would automatically exclude De Gaulle, and a government without the General, certainly the most popular figure in France, is unthinkable. As we went to press the Assembly, against Communist opposition, asked De Gaulle to renew his efforts to form a government giving "equal representation to the three parties." This move might be considered either as support for the General's position or as a hint to meet Communist demands. It seems hardly likely to end the crisis.

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THE HYPOCRISY OF AMERICA'S CHINA POLICY has never been more clearly revealed than in the recent series of official statements designed to defend our intervention in that country's internal struggle. Secretary Patterson, for example, asserted that there was "no danger of our troops becoming involved in civil war in China," but added that the areas seized by American troops would be turned over to Chungking forces and that if the Chinese Communists resisted, the Americans would "react with vigor and success." He defended the dispatch of American marines to key points in North China on the ground that they were needed to disarm the Japanese, but Ambassador Hurley contradicted this a day later by admitting that the Americans were sent to prevent the Japanese from surrendering to the Communists. Similarly, although the American embassy in Chungking denied reports that the United States was planning to equip seventy Chungking divisions or that a $64,000,000 loan had been granted for the purchase of American arms and ammunition, General Wedemeyer, also in Chungking, admitted that this country was prepared to arm thirty-nine divisions. An independent dispatch from Kunming states that 35,000 tons of American ammunition, guns, and equipment had been handed over to the Kuomintang authorities under Lend-Lease, while another report told of the presentation of a large number of American planes to Chiang Kai-shek, including enough transport planes to meet all of Chungking's needs for the next five years. And as if this evidence of intervention were not sufficient, General Wedemeyer declared that the possibility of increased military aid for the Kuomintang was being discussed at a higher level, presumably in Washington.

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MEANWHILE, THE FUTILITY OF OUR COURSE in China is daily becoming more apparent. The Chungking forces are not going to be able to take North China and Manchuria from the guerrilla armies unless American troops help do the fighting. Such action would not only be indefensible; it would be dangerously provocative. One can imagine the sort of reaction it would provoke in Moscow. Athough Russia has maintained strict neutrality toward the Kuomintang-Communist struggle, it would be wrong to confuse neutrality with indifference, particularly where Manchuria is concerned. The Sino-Soviet pact showed that Stalin was ready to meet the United States halfway in an effort to bring about stability in China. But Ambassador Hurley's policies have destroyed the basis of that understanding, imposing upon this country the necessity of finding a new way out. Withdrawal of foreign troops, both American and Russian, and the termination of arms shipments to China are essential first steps toward establishing a new internal balance in China and preventing the civil war from becoming an international test of power.

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THE RISE OF NEW NATIONALIST LEADERS IN Indonesia has had the good effect of bringing into sharper focus the issue of independence versus imperialism. Leadership has passed to those who either refused to work with the Japanese or worked actively against them, eliminating the false issue of collaborationism. That issue was false, because, unlike collaborators in Europe or the Philippines, Soekarno and many of his followers who worked with the Japanese did so as part of the struggle for national independence. During the war, the Dutch themselves recognized this, refusing to denounce Soekarno as a Quisling even when it was suggested by American political-warfare specialists. Perhaps Soekarno's main fault has been his failure to recognize fully the need of disciplined popular forces as the foundation for a successful independence movement. The new leadership is made up of level-headed, young Socialist militants. Premier Sutan Sjahrir is a Holland-educated lawyer who became a labor leader at the age of twenty-three and was exiled soon afterward to the notorious Tanah Merah concentration camp in New Guinea. During the war he refused to take any office under the Japanese and since the war's end has led the fight against the opportunistic wing of the Indonesian Socialist group. The Minister of Internal Security, Amir Sjarifuddim, who has the difficult but essential task of imposing discipline upon the Japanese-incited racialist nationalists, was a leader in the wartime anti-Japanese underground. Imprisoned, tortured, and condemned to death for his activities, he was saved only by the ending of the war. These new leaders are clearly anxious to negotiate an agreement ending the present bloodshed. But they are not prepared to abandon their demand for independence in exchange for the Dutch offer of "home rule," which they suspect, with reason, to be merely the old imperialism in a new package.

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THE UNITED STATES COURT OF CLAIMS HAS AT last ruled upon the hysterical act of Congress which banned three individuals, by name, from employment in the federal government. President Roosevelt, Secretary Ickes, Attorney General Biddle, and others, *The Nation* among them, called this act unconstitutional and odious when it was adopted two years ago; their judgment has now been vindicated by the court. The valuable services of the three individuals—Robert Morss Lovett, Goodwin B. Watson, and William E. Dodd—have, of course, long since been lost to the government; and the men themselves were forced to endure, in war time, an unwarranted reflection upon their loyalty. They deserve amends from the legislative body which inflicted so grave an injustice. They were proscribed by Congress for nothing more than the exercise of a constitutional right, the expression of opinion. Accused by the Dies committee, they were convicted without trial. Thus the action of Congress partook of all the essential characteristics of a bill of attainder. And worst of all, perhaps, it entailed a gross usurpation of executive authority. We hope that Congress will appeal the decision to the Supreme Court—so that it can receive a definitive confirmation of the rebuke administered by the Court of Claims.

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OUT IN LOS ANGELES, WHERE NEW COMMITTEES to support good causes spring into existence every day, the National Committee for Radio Freedom has been formed, with former Congressman Thomas Ford as chairman. Support for the legislation introduced by Congressman Celler will be the committee's major project. Sorely needed at the present time, this legislation would stiffen FCC requirements for license renewals, insure sustaining public-service programs at good listening hours, place broadcasting companies on a public-service basis, and guarantee the right of any legitimate sponsor to buy time on the air. It is high time that opinion was organized in support of radio freedom. Not only is the proposed legislation needed immediately, but such a committee can perform an invaluable function by keeping public attention focused on the work of the FCC, some of whose recent decisions have been extremely disturbing. The new commitee was not born in Los Angeles by mere chance or as a by-product of the evangelical climate of Southern California. It first developed as the Emergency Committee on KFI, to protest the decision of Earl C. Anthony, owner of Station KFI, to take local commentators off the air. Certain of these commentators, such as John B. Hughes, had large radio audiences on the Coast and were universally respected for their integrity and candor. Southern California wants them back on the air; and it wants them on Station KFI. The need for organized public action was further emphasized in Los Angeles recently when Messrs. Jack and Harry Warner, smarting from their recent defeat by the Conference of Studio Unions, began to interfere with the broadcasts of Sam Balter, still another popular commentator.

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WASHINGTON CROSSED THE DELAWARE NEAR Trenton, New Jersey, as every D. A. R. knows. Last week in the same locality United States District Judge Philip Forman crossed the D. A. R. He calmly informed the chairman of the Americanization committee of the local chapter that "the action of the national body of the D. A. R. in restricting the use of its hall in the capital at Washington against Negroes was the kind of policy that could not be reconciled with the doctrines of American citizenship" and suggested that "unless the chapters desiring to participate in [naturalization] proceedings would repudiate the action of their national body their introduction would be embarrassing to the new citizens, the court, and the D. A. R. itself." The logic of Judge Forman's remarks seems to us irresistible. As for his statement that new citizens may be embarrassed by the D. A. R.—instead of vice versa—it deserves to be illustrated by Helen Hokinson.

* * *

BERNARDO SAENZ, A SPANISH REPUBLICAN soldier, can no longer patch together the rags he has been wearing since he escaped into France after the civil war. Pablo Martinez, who lost his left arm in the fight against fascism in Spain, has recently returned to France from the Nazi death camp at Mathausen and faces the coming winter without an overcoat. These men are typical of the 150,000 Spanish Republican refugees in France who have known little but privation and war since 1936. Their physical condition is far below normal. And the winter of 1945-46 will be harder on them than on most other people in Europe: for the official relief agencies, set up to help the citizens of ravaged countries, can do nothing for these nationless men, women, and children. The Spanish Refugee Appeal, in an effort to save as many of them as possible, is conducting a clothing campaign to extend through December. The Unitarian Service Committee will handle the distribution in France. Clothing should be sent to the Spanish Refugee Appeal Warehouse, 715 Second Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

A United Defense Policy

THE chief reaction of ordinary citizens to the current brawling over unification of the armed services is likely to be one of sorrow that outstanding generals and admirals should descend to such fishwifely levels in debate. We may well feel that a prime argument for unification can be discerned in this very squabbling over unification. When our military leaders differ so publicly and so virulently over a major issue of military policy, shouldn't they be unified in order to prevent their differences from hamstringing the national defense?

Manners apart, the weight of common sense and good citizenship still falls on the army's side of the dispute: that is, on the side of unification now, with coequal chiefs of land, sea, and air arms under a chief of armed forces responsible to a civilian Secretary of National Defense. The only consideration in the minds of military leaders should be the safety of the nation; that is the common interest that *should* make unification a sensible and worthy procedure. The navy's spokesmen have protested too much: they have allowed the impression to arise—and it must be erroneous—that they are more interested in the navy than they are in national security. Single sentences remain in one's mind: one recalls General MacArthur's "Success in the art of war depends upon the complete integration of the services," and General Marshall's "The national security is a single problem, and cannot be provided on a piecemeal basis," and one sets these statements over against Admiral King's "The navy has a right to its own Cabinet member," and that even more fantastic dictum, "Any step not good for the navy is not good for the nation." Someone should whisper in the Admiral's ear that nobody, really, is concerned about the navy's *right*—to a Cabinet post or to anything else; what people are concerned about is the national defense, and how the navy fulfils its *duty* of contributing thereto.

By far the strongest, clearest, and most convincing presentation of the case for unification has been made, as one had suspected it would be, by General Eisenhower, who reveals himself more and more to be that unusual phenomenon, a military statesman. General Eisenhower disposed of the opposition arguments with forcefulness and logic. The navy says the job is too big for one civilian secretary; what about the President's job?, Eisenhower inquires. The navy says one branch would be subordinated to another; Eisenhower points to "the unified, balanced force" which defeated Germany in the West. The navy says the chief of armed forces would favor his own former branch; Eisenhower reminds us that he himself was once an infantryman.

On the positive side, Eisenhower sees several advantages in unification which must be constantly emphasized: a well-rounded military program, in which each arm is considered simultaneously with the others, all are administered under a single direction, with unity in doctrine and training, unified research and development, and the elimination of duplication, overlapping, conflicts in procurement of men and matériel, and hasty improvisation when an emergency arises. Eisenhower's final point deserves underscoring; it establishes the fact that he is calling for a change not because he is enamored of organization as an end in itself, but because he knows the tools best suited to the job of modern warfare: "Finally, there is no such thing as a separate land, sea, or air war; therefore we must now recognize this fact by establishing a single department of the armed forces."

Congress would do well to listen to this man, who understands better than most, and from personal experience, the imperative necessity of unified command instead of joint bickering.

THE WAR CRIMES TRIAL

The Nation **will publish in early issues special cabled correspondence from Nürnberg by Peter de Mendelssohn, journalist and novelist.**

British Policy Breaks Down

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IT IS inevitable that Zionists, commenting on Mr. Bevin's Palestine statement, should make what capital they can out of the broken pledges of the British Government throughout the past twenty-five years and of the Labor Party within the past five months. For both are sensational and provide effective moral ammunition. But in the end the Zionist case will stand or fall on more realistic grounds. As long as British foreign policy is based on a determination to preserve the Empire, Palestine will continue to be treated, not as a moral issue, but as a piece in the whole imperial design.

The hope that animated most of us when British Labor took power was quickly extinguished. We did not suppose that the Attlee government would abandon the Empire. But we dreamed briefly of a new policy which would seek for security not through the old by-ways of intrigue and appeasement but along the high road of international cooperation. The San Francisco conference, under British pressure, had made a farce of the trusteeship idea. But the idea was sound and Labor, taking office two months later and faced with urgent post-war problems of colonial readjustment, had a chance to tackle the issue freshly. It could have called a conference of the leading colonial powers, together with Russia and the United States, and undertaken a realistic appraisal of the situation in those parts of the globe where imperial interests clash with one another and with the rights of the people who live there. The chance was lost. The Labor Government chose to continue the old methods, and today we see the results in Palestine—and in Surabaya.

Let no one be confused by the apparent contradiction involved in shooting down Javanese nationalists and supporting Arab nationalists. There is no contradiction; both are expressions of a single strategy: to suppress those elements which threaten the dominance of the ruling groups to whom the Colonial Office looks for cooperation in maintaining British control. The Arab League was not created as an instrument of Arab nationalism; it was invented—and subvented—by Britain to serve British purposes in the Middle East during the war. If the League and Arab political leaders generally are developing ideas of grandeur it is because they have learned that blackmail pays, especially when it is dressed up in high-sounding sentiments. Britain is hedging on its promises to the Jews not because it has been converted to Arab views on Arab rights in Palestine, but because Arab leaders have promised to make trouble if those promises are kept; and Britain wants to avoid new trouble in an area as important and unstable as the Middle East. It is true that the Jews are also beginning to show signs of anger; riots have been suppressed in Tel Aviv and tension is growing. Faced with growing disillusionment, responsible Jewish leaders may be unable to check violence, and the power of the extremist minority is likely to increase. But by and large the Jews are not a major menace: their loyalty, their patience, their civilized procedures, and their basic dependence on British power all tend to weaken their strategic position.

The British are afraid of the Arabs, and with reason. The League is no longer a source of security. It is openly planning the expulsion of British influence and control from the whole Middle East, as it has successfully expelled French influence and control (with the aid of British arms!) from the Levant states. Faced with this threat, what can the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office do but continue to stall and betray their promises and try more and bigger appeasement? The alternative would be a new approach to the whole problem of Empire defense.

Mr. Bevin's Palestine proposal is proof that the Labor Government is not ready for that. The Committee of Inquiry is little more than a new wrinkle in an old policy. This is not the first time necessary action has been delayed by the launching of an investigation; the device is as old as governments. The new feature introduced by Mr. Bevin is the participation of the United States—and it is an important innovation. For it insures powerful support for conclusions which, ironically, were largely anticipated by the Foreign Secretary in his statement announcing the committee. By accepting the plan on British terms, Mr. Truman has, we fear, walked into a trap, as the Zionists charge.

He can only retrieve the situation and live up to his own and his country's pledges by altering as completely as possible the frame of reference in which the Committee of Inquiry is to operate. He should insist upon his original proposal that 100,000 homeless European Jews be transferred to Palestine. The British turned down the request, but that was before the committee had been agreed upon. They would find it difficult to refuse if Mr. Truman backed his proposal with firm guaranties of American help in handling the transfer and insuring the safety of the refugees. In any case, it is cruel nonsense to leave the Jews in German camps while new investigations are undertaken. We already have the careful reports of Dean Harrison and Judge Rivkin to verify the known fact that most of these persons look to Palestine as the only hope of survival for themselves and their children.

The President should also make sure that the inquiry into the problem of Palestine is unhampered by Mr. Bevin's ready-made prejudgments. If the United States is to accept responsibility for helping to solve that problem it must not go in with its hands tied. The only obligation it can afford to assume is the obligation to see to it that the terms of the Balfour Declaration, as elaborated in the British Mandate, and officially recognized by acts of Congress in 1922 and 1925, is duly carried out. In other words, the establishment of a Jewish National Home and the encouragement of Jewish immigration should be assumed, as a starting point. From there on, the inquiry should take the form of a brand-new examination of the place of Palestine in the intricate design of Middle Eastern relationships. It should consider, without prejudice, what kind of control can best be applied in a region where the interests of great powers, strategic and material, make external control of some sort inevitable. In view of America's own growing interests in the Middle East and its new international obligations, such an inquiry should be pursued without too much regard for existing colonial practices. We have an opportunity to do what Britain, tied to its burdensome past, has failed to do; we can make a new start.

Obviously British policy has broken down, whether the Labor Government will admit it or not. The old tactic of buying protection from greedy ruling cliques has sensationally failed. Perhaps the Middle East as a whole should be put under international control; perhaps the Levant states and Palestine might be joined in a federation under United Nations trusteeship. Perhaps a different solution altogether would emerge from a fresh study of the problem. But it is certain that the results of imperialist intrigue—now bloodily visible in Palestine—can be eliminated only if the powers are able to cooperate in new methods of regulation which will provide security for their legitimate interests and at the same time encourage the frail beginning of social progress, popular enlightenment, and self-government.

The Bomb Is a World Affair

BY KING GORDON

CAPTAIN Harold E. Stassen, in a recent speech before the Academy of Political Science, urged "placing the control of the atomic bomb definitely on a world level." The other courses open to the nations now possessing the bomb were to maintain a policy of secrecy and suppression or to open our records to the other United Nations without attempting to bring control of the bomb under a world authority. The consequences of the first course are vividly set forth in the original terms of the May-Johnson bill. Simply to share the secret would probably result in other nations' making bombs; it would remove the threat of the atom bomb as a unique instrument of Anglo-American power policy, it would not remove the threat of the bomb to our civilization itself. In outlining his proposal Captain Stassen assigns to the United Nations Organization the responsibility for control through an Atomic Bomb Commission, set up by an amendment to the United Nations Charter. After establishing an international air force armed with a limited number of atomic bombs, the United Nations would destroy the remaining bombs in existence, and forbid the manufacture of atomic bombs by any nation. The Atomic Bomb Commission, composed of distinguished scientists, would have full powers of inspection to see that no nation violated the ban. But scientific research devoted to the full development of atomic energy for peacetime uses would be carried on freely.

The details of the proposed World Stabilization Force raise some doubts: if we are to have international air policemen, an atom bomb is not a very good substitute for a nightstick. If we can manage to suppress the manufacture of atomic bombs as instruments of national policy it would seem wise to eliminate their use as punitive weapons in the hands of an international force. But Captain Stassen's main position is indisputable. Unlike Dr. Einstein's proposal for Big Three world government, his plan of control would be based upon the United Nations Organization. It is broad enough in scope and concept to meet a mighty problem. It provides a practical alternative to the suicidal program of competitive armament on which the United States and their chief allies seem to be embarked today.

A brief examination of Captain Stassen's proposal sets useful bounds to a discussion of the international control of the atom bomb. There is no doubt that the determined effort of the nations which own the bomb to hoard its secret has increased distrust among the nations which were united in a victorious war effort. The bomb, of course, has been only one of a number of factors that have led to the waning of international good will since the San Francisco conference. In half a dozen areas widely scattered over the earth, local infections are being aggravated and dangerously extended by the conflicts of rival power systems and the exigencies of imperialist consolidation. Germany, the Balkans, the Middle East, Indonesia, China, all present critical problems which are being resolved not primarily in the interests of the inhabitants, or on the level of international responsibility, but in the interests of the great powers. These problems accentuate distrust among the nations and provide a bad foundation for attempts to deal with atomic control through international mechanisms. It has been this distrust that has driven us back to the inveterate folkways of national sovereignty, national security, national defense—concepts which in the world of the atom bomb have very little meaning. It has permeated the thinking of our military leaders as they urge preparedness and present horrific pictures of the next air war. It has plotted out advance naval and air bases far into the zones from which conceivable aggression might come. It has inspired our policy of guarding the secret of the bomb and sowed panic over the prospect that others might steal the secret from us or arrive at it themselves—as undoubtedly they will—within a few years.

If Russia was disturbed by the American policy of strict bomb monopoly, it must have been even more disturbed by its exclusion from the conference between the three nations possessing the secret of the bomb's manufacture. For the purpose of the conference was to discuss means of international control of a weapon that admittedly could not long remain the secret of one nation or group of nations and against which there was no effective defense. It would have been a wise and statesmanlike move for Mr. Truman to invite the Soviet Union as well as Great Britain and Canada to Washington, as we proposed editorially last week.

But, having admitted basic errors in policy that have tended to heighten rather than lessen international distrust, what about the statement itself? I must confess that I differ with certain commentators who see in it only a maneuver to put Russia on the spot or a plot to blow up the embryonic structure of the United Nations. It is true that the statement carries no assurance that the secret of the bomb will ever be shared; in fact, it indicates that it probably will not be. This in itself is no disaster, although in the present state of international confidence it does, of course, underline our distrust of the good intentions of other nations. What is more important, however, than immediate sharing of the secret is an efficient method of controlling the bomb and, if possible, eliminating it altogether. The Washington statement proposes a very specific plan for removing the control of the bomb from the hands of one or three nations and placing it in the hands of an international body, the United Nations Organization. The first step toward this control is the setting up of a commission to submit recommendations to the United Nations Organization—

> (a) for extending among all nations the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends
>
> (b) for control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to insure its use for peaceful purposes alone
>
> (c) for the elimination for national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction
>
> (d) for effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means to protect complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions.

It is arguable that the statement should have announced clearly that the bomb's secret would be handed over to an international body. Certainly the language could have been simplified and carried a more ringing challenge. Certainly Russia should have been included in the discussion. But it is irresponsible to suggest that the conference proposed no method of international control or was aimed at sabotaging the United Nations. It is quite possible for the United Nations Assembly to set up an atomic control commission at its January meeting. The first step can be taken within the next few weeks while the preparatory executive committee is meeting in London: if instructed by their governments, representatives of the major powers can place the business of constituting the commission at the top of the agenda of the Assembly. (And in the diplomatic conversations which will inevitably coincide with this preliminary meeting Russia's opinions should be fully consulted.) If the matter is not taken up by the preparatory committee, it can be raised directly in the Assembly or the Security Council. There has been some demand for a Big Three meeting to deal with this and other crucial matters before the Assembly meets, and this, too, might still be arranged. But on the other side, there is much to be said for regarding the United Nations henceforth as the international body primarily intrusted with international decisions. There is no better way to build the prestige of the U. N. O. than to put it to work. There is no better way to reduce its authority than to by-pass it on every important crisis.

The Washington statement provides that when the control of atomic energy is firmly vested in the United Nations commission, the manufacture of atomic bombs will cease and the manufacturing plants of all nations will be open to inspection. Some have raised a question as to the feasibility of such inspection, but sound scientific opinion holds that it can be carried out satisfactorily. Of more crucial importance is a willingness to submit to inspection by all the United Nations. Here, quite obviously, the veto power by members of the Security Council cannot operate. No nation can be exempt from inspection or every nation will feel insecure. It is safe to predict that it is on this question that the first important fight for recognition of a genuine international authority will be fought out in this and other countries. It is on this concrete and limited issue that liberals had better be prepared to rally their forces.

The setting up of such international control will admittedly go only a small way toward restoring confidence between nations. And it may be that even this amount of progress will be delayed by existing rifts and suspicions. We have learned that there is no easy or clearly marked road to peace. In a recent speech on atomic control Beardsley Ruml insisted that three programs had to be embarked on simultaneously—a long-term program directed toward the establishment of world government, an intermediate program in active support of the United Nations Organization, and a short-term program making use of diplomacy, public and private, to reduce existing international tensions. Mr. Ruml gives the world about twenty years in which to lay a solid foundation for realizing the *long-term* objective. Perhaps Mr. Ruml is an optimist, but he thinks it can be done.

Jewry in a Blind Alley

By I. F. STONE

Jerusalem, November 15

I CAME to Palestine unhappy, and during the first few days I became even unhappier trying to figure out solutions of the problems involved; but the longer I have been here the happier I have come to feel despite all that has happened and may happen in the next few days.

I stayed five days in Egypt visiting with many Egyptians and spending some time in a village near Cairo. I was able to see the sharp contrast in cleanliness and health between the Egyptian villager and urban poor and the Arab villager and urban poor in Palestine. I felt happy that the coming of the Jews had helped rather than hurt the Arabs.

I was deeply moved by my visits to the colonies here. From Gevulot, in the far south of the Negev desert wastes, to glorious Minara, 3,000 feet above the Upper Jordan on the far northern edge, I saw young Jews from every clime and country reclaiming the land and making something for themselves and their children under conditions which are truly heroic. This sense of consecration and common effort in the Jewish community must powerfully attract all who prize human courage, devotion, and idealism. I was not at all surprised to hear of two cases of non-Jewish demobilized British soldiers, formerly in service here, applying for admission to membership in the Jewish Kibbutzim, or communal settlements.

I felt happy to see that despite difficulties which from abroad appear insuperable there was a great and growing community here, and in visits both to Arab villages and neighboring Jewish colonies I saw evidence of good relations between the two peoples. I feel a huge reservoir of goodwill between the Arab and Jew which can be tapped; and I have not sensed in talks with Arabs either in Palestine or in Egypt, despite their differences, any feeling of race hatred or dislike of Jews as a people.

But at the cost of unpopularity perhaps in the Jewish community of America I wish to say as strongly as I know how that the new Bevin statement is only the latest indication of the blind alley into which Palestinian Jewry is being led by the failure to achieve any political understanding with the Arabs. And I wish to say just as strongly that political agreement will be impossible so long as a single Jewish state in Palestine is demanded.

We have been carrying on a campaign in America on the basis of half-truths, and on this basis no effective politics can be waged and no secure life built for Yishuv. It is true that the Arabs have benefited by the Jews coming to Palestine, and it is true that there is plenty of room here for several millions more, but I cannot find a single Jew who can find a single Arab who favors a Jewish state in Palestine! It should not be hard to understand the natural dislike of any human being for being ruled by another people or his unwillingness to trust himself to such rule.

There is only one way in which a Jewish state here could be sold to the Arab world and that would be as part of a general settlement of Anglo-Egyptian and other Arab problems which would satisfy the aspiration of the Arabs for self-development and federation. That was what made Zionism acceptable in earlier days to the wise and far-seeing Feisal and other Arab leaders, but Britain's failure really to keep the promises given to the Arabs has made the Arabs naturally hostile to the promises given to the Jews. The Bevin statement is only another chapter in the record of broken promises to both.

The most significant point to be noted in the Bevin statement is that while consultation is assured the Arabs concerning any further Jewish immigration in accordance with the White Paper, not a single solitary word is said about a promise to consult with the Jews on the other major item in the White Paper—the undertaking to the Arabs that a start would be made in setting up self-governing institutions in Palestine within five years. I could not help noting also that in Egypt, if it were not for anti-Zionist political agitation, the British would be confronted immediately with a demand for a basic settlement of Anglo-Egyptian problems, including the Sudan, Suez, and British occupation.

It is true that the Jews are in a terrible position, on the one hand asking to be beneficiaries of British imperialism and on the other serving as its lightning rod. Two political axioms seem to be completely forgotten by Jewish world leadership. One is that politics cannot be played unless one has alternatives; one cannot bargain unless one can obtain similar wares elsewhere. The other is that in politics one saves favors for those one must win over and does not waste them on elements already in one's pocket. So long as the Jews are dependent on Britain with no alternative policy for an agreement with the Arabs, the Jews are helpless. Incidentally the Arabs are also helpless until they reach some agreement with the Jews, because just enough will be given both sides, as by Bevin, to keep both dissatisfied and embroiled. Let us remember that as long as there is no solution of the

Arab-Jewish problem, Britain has an excuse to keep ample troops near the Suez Canal. I realize this does an injustice to the subjective intent of many British leaders, but it is politically true none the less.

I understand, after being in this part of the world, why the Jews must fight against the conversion of Yishuv into what the Royal Commission of 1937 called "one more cramped and dangerous ghetto." Consignment to minority status in an Arab state is a violation of pledges made to the Jews, fulfilment of which they have a moral right to demand. But I understand too why the Arabs in Palestine, who are also human beings and who also have historic rights here, are prepared to fight against any subjection to a Jewish state.

I know there are other Arab states, while there is only one possibility for a Jewish state; I know that proposals to divide Palestine into two national states, put forward several times by Jewish sources, have fallen on stony ground. Nevertheless, despite present public utterances by the leadership on both sides, I think that a division on these lines, with two national states created on a parity principle, is ethically right and politically feasible and would be acceptable to a great majority of Jews and Arabs if it were imposed from above by Anglo-American or United Nations decision. Certainly only on this basis can Arab-Jewish political understanding be reached.

I heard much talk in London against partition. I think it ducks the fundamental and inescapable question of the Middle East. For the Arabs, the removal of the Jews would be a calamity. I am convinced that the Jews have already contributed much and can in the future contribute even more toward the development of the Arab world. The Arabs are a great people with great potentialities. For the Jews, conversely, the basic problem here is to get along with the Arabs, to win them by helping them and by demonstrating a sincere desire to live together on an equal basis. This is a nobler and politically sounder goal than any narrow Jewish nationalism. If Britain and America wish peace with justice in this part of the world, with the Jew and Arab both here, I am convinced the solution lies in this, the only escape route from *divide et impera.*

Burma: Objective Freedom

BY ANDREW ROTH

(*Author of "Dilemma in Japan"*)

IN THE midst of the war, when Burma was still the bastion of the Japanese position in Southeast Asia, two men of seemingly opposed views met while nervous guards tried to keep the secret of their meeting from the Japanese. One was Major General Aung San, commander of the Japanese-sponsored Burma Defense Army; the other was Thakin Soe, the leftist political leader of Burma's energetic anti-Japanese forces. As a result of this meeting the most virile elements of Burmese nationalism were fused, Japanese rule was overthrown ahead of schedule, and the British government was confronted with a challenge infinitely more direct and forceful than that of pre-war days.

Before the war the Burmese people were hewers of wood and drawers of water in a land whose riches were siphoned off by others. Petroleum—Burma's most important mineral resource—was the preserve of three giant British concerns. Another handful of British concerns monopolized the valuable deposits of tin, tungsten, silver, lead, and zinc. While the British were intrenched in large-scale enterprises, smaller firms were in the hands of Indians and Chinese, while Indian *chettyars* (moneylenders from Madras) dominated the field of rural usury and owned a large part of the most fertile agricultural lands.

After Burma was separated from India in 1937, its government was somewhat liberalized but no less firmly controlled. There was a carefully rigged and circumscribed legislature chosen by an electorate limited to one-fifth of the population, but all important powers were reserved for the British-appointed Governor.

The nationalist movement which rose to challenge these conditions first became a significant force in the '30's. Well-to-do Burmese, resentful because the economic cream was being skimmed by non Burmese, supported the *Myochit* (Patriot Party) of the unscrupulous U Saw. Despite its name, the *Sinyetha* (Poor Man's Party) appealed to the lower middle class and was led by a dainty opportunist, Dr. Ba Maw, who became an open fascist during the Japanese occupation. Both parties were purely parliamentary groups, with no mass following. By far the most important nationalist organization was the *Dobamma Asiayone* (Our Burma Association) whose members were generally called *Thakins* (Masters) because they claimed that Burmans should be the masters of their own country. Its original base was among Socialist-influenced students, but it subsequently proclaimed itself the party of the peasantry and workers and attempted to recruit members in those classes. It showed its greatest pre-war strength in 1938 when the oil workers of Yenangyung struck and the *Dobamma* organized demonstrations and a general strike in their support. The British were able to suppress these actions with guns and *lathis* (metal-tipped wooden batons) and the arrest of the leaders. This setback cast a pall of disillusionment and demoralization over the nationalist cause.

Japanese agents, keenly aware of nationalist moods, chose this strategic moment to dangle alluring offers before the *Dobamma* leaders. They had had little difficulty in taking into camp the unscrupulous opportunists U Saw and Ba Maw. But the Japanese were particularly interested in the influential *Dobamma* and dangled before its leaders promises of extensive funds, a Japanese-equipped Burmese army, and immediate independence in return for collaboration in the coming war with Britain.

This offer was resisted by Thakin Soe, Than Tun, and other leftist leaders of the *Dobamma,* who claimed that independence could only be won by organized popular struggle. But their voices were silenced by their imprisonment by the British, and the decision to accept Japanese aid was carried by the faction headed by Aung San. Aung San was an intense young nationalist who had risen from leadership of the 1935 student movement to the position of general secretary of the *Dobamma.* He and his followers were too impatient to tolerate the setbacks and repression of 1938-39 and looked toward short cuts to freedom. In 1940 Aung San and thirty-one other nationalists arrived in Tokyo to accept Japanese terms and received military training. After a few months he returned to Rangoon, where under the very nose of the political police he recruited supporters to pave the way for the ejection of the British. After laying the groundwork he left Burma and marched back with the Japanese as a major general at the head of the Burma Independence Army.

The people of Burma, bitterly anti-British and misled as to Japanese intentions, hailed their Independence Army as "liberators" and helped them harass the bitter Anglo-American retreat. The Burmans spontaneously organized local self-government committees, and in some areas big landlords were forced to distribute uncultivated land among poor peasants.

But soon the Burmese realized the deception which had been perpetrated upon them. The Japanese, who had promised that independence would be granted immediately, now followed the footsteps of their British predecessors by saying, "Independence is impracticable now. Sometime after the war." The Burma Independence Army was cut down to the Burma Defense Army and denied arms previously agreed upon, while the nationalists never received even 1 per cent of the funds promised them by the Japanese. The Burmese middle class, a portion of which had hoped to preempt the position of the British, Indians, and Chinese, was completely squeezed out by Japanese *Zaibatsu* concerns, impoverished by Japanese-sponsored inflation, and looted by Japanese soldiery. The Japanese were unable to purchase Burma's rice or supply it with cloth and other consumers' goods. In some districts poverty-stricken peasants were forced to plow their fields stark naked, lying flat behind bushes to cover their shame if they heard the footsteps of strangers. Burmese morality was revolted by the sexual bestiality of the Japanese soldiers, who seemed to know only two sentences in Burmese: "The Japanese are fighting for Burmese freedom," and "Are there any young girls around here?"

As a result of this swelling torrent of anti-Japanese feeling the left-wing nationalists who had opposed the deal with the Japanese gained swiftly in popularity and influence. In 1942 Thakin Soe, Than Tun, and other leftists broke out of the jails, where the British had left them to the tender mercies of the Japanese, and began the building of an anti-Japanese underground variously called the Burma Patriotic Front or Anti-Fascist League. A leading young intellectual, Thein Pe, was sent to India to make contact with the British forces, but the government in exile of Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith refused any liaison.

When it became apparent that Major General Aung San had grown thoroughly disillusioned with the double-dealing Japanese, Thakin Soe—who before the split of 1939 had shared the leadership of the *Dobamma* with him—risked his life to meet him secretly and save him from complete demoralization. Thakin Soe convinced him that Burma's place was fighting alongside the Allies against Japanese military fascism. Won over, the impatient young General wanted to go into the hills to organize guerrilla activity. He was persuaded, however, that he could be more useful by utilizing his official position to convert the Burma Defense Army into an anti-Japanese army and simultaneously defend the people against Japanese atrocities.

This meeting inaugurated an incredible period in which, under the very nose of the Japanese *kempeitai* (secret service), the Burmese army and other organizations were converted into anti-Japanese centers. The army was particularly ripe for such a conversion, for it was made up for the most part of patriotic, if misguided, nationalist elements. General San began a hurricane campaign to rouse his army. He sent out secret circulars that no soldier should allow a Japanese to search him while carrying anti-Japanese publications without San's own permission. If the Jap persisted he was to shoot him and seek the protection of his commander. An increasing number of cases occurred in which Burmese soldiers killed Japanese molesting Burmese girls and were hidden or protected by army headquarters. Than Tun took the post of Minister of Agriculture as part of the plan of anti-Japanese mobilization and secured Japanese assent to the organization of peasant unions on the plea that they would be useful for increasing food production and labor recruitment. Actually they became important centers for the distribution of anti-Japanese literature, anti-hoarding campaigns, and the killing of small isolated groups of Japanese soldiers. The *Pongyis* (Buddhist monks) allowed their monasteries to be used as secret munition dumps, and in the Arakan a Buddhist priest, U Pinnyathaina ("Learned Lion"), led the anti-Japanese movement. Finally, in 1944, British headquarters gave its grudging and unpublicized recognition to the Burma Patriotic Front, with the consequence that guerrilla activities were coordinated with activities at the front.

When the British Fourteenth Army launched its Burma offensive last winter, synchronized guerrilla operations began, culminating in a general uprising by the Burma Defense Army under General Aung San's command. Japanese communications were harassed day and night, and the British forces enabled to advance at the rate of fifteen to twenty miles a day. Burma's capital, Rangoon, fell into the hands of the guerrillas two days before the British marched in to the plaudits of thankful Burmans.

Burma now confronts the British authorities as one of their thorniest colonial problems. The evidence indicates that the Burmans are ready for a rapid transition to independence. They have a unified nationalist leadership under young and virile but mature persons. The Burma Patriotic Front has 200,000 members embracing all the important patriotic groups and has deep roots in all sectors of the country. Its leader, General Aung San—who turned down a commission as major general in the British army—has emerged at thirty-one as a national leader of unprecedented popularity. Under the Patriotic Front's guidance, Burmese Buddhists and Christian Karens have learned to live and work together. Burma has the second highest literacy rate in the Orient, largely as a result of the efforts of Buddhist monks. And although two extensive military campaigns and three years of Japanese occupation have seriously injured the country's economy, the Patriotic Front has worked out a concrete and comprehensive restoration program which compares most favorably with the complementary British plan.

Thus in Burma the British have an unparalleled opportunity to make good their repeated promise to facilitate self-government. But virtually every action so far taken has underlined a *contrary* intention. Even the limited electoral participation enjoyed before the war has been suspended until 1948. The Patriotic Front has been badgered and harassed in every conceivable manner: its meetings have been suppressed, its buildings requisitioned, its paper stocks confiscated, its members maltreated and arrested. The press has been censored to eliminate all mention of its anti-Japanese exploits and its contacts with the Indian nationalist movement cut off. Instead of selecting proved anti-fascists, men who served the Japanese as informers and spies have been favored for civil-affairs posts. In Mandalay the British appointed as Deputy Commissioner the man who was responsible for the capture of the local anti-Japanese leader and his subsequent inhuman torture and death. And although on October 16 the British government announced that an advisory Executive Council would be appointed "as widely representative as possible of public opinion," Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith rejected the Patriotic Front's request for important posts on that body. All they have now is Sir Reginald's assurance that eventually they will receive "the same degree of freedom as Great Britain herself."

Perhaps it would be wise for Sir Reginald to recall what he said in October, 1943: "Politically minded Burmans will be wondering just what our intentions are. Do we really mean to lead them on to the goal of full self-government, or have we some reservations at the back of our minds which will mean that self-government will always be round the corner and never an accomplished fact? . . . Neither our word nor our intentions are trusted in that part of the globe. . . ."

Strategic Bombing—an Autopsy

BY ALAN BARTH

(*Of the staff of the Washington* Post)

Washington, November 15

IT IS unlikely that any military operation in history has been subjected to a more detached and searching review than the strategic-bombing campaign against Germany by the British and American air forces. General H. H. Arnold's final report as chief of the Army Air Forces, recently released, gives a detailed account of American air operations in the European theater. The effectiveness of these operations, and also of the R. A. F.'s, in carrying out the strategic purposes of the Allied command has been penetratingly analyzed in a report by an independent civilian committee composed of economists and experts in several industrial fields. Organized at the instance of President Roosevelt as the Strategic Bombing Survey, it was afforded every facility for investigation. It inspected hundreds of German plants and cities, examined masses of German statistical records, and interrogated thousands of Germans, including military and political leaders. Its members declare that they were free from any sort of army coercion or censorship, and, indeed, the candor of their criticism is testimony to their independence.

"Allied air power," their report concludes, "was decisive in the war in Western Europe." It liquidated the Luftwaffe—so completely that German air generals responsible for operations in France stated that on D-Day they had only eighty operational planes with which to oppose the invasion. In the months after D-Day it pulverized German industry to such an extent that by the time the end came that industry was incapable of supporting any major military effort. The R. A. F. and the U. S. A. A. F. between them dropped 2,697,473 tons of bombs in the course of the war. They killed about 305,000 German civilians and wounded some 780,000 more. The morale of the enemy, the will to war, was gradually sapped by this pounding; and although stringent police control kept the German people from any overt rebellion, widespread apathy, defeatism, and disillusionment contributed substantially to the ultimate collapse of the Reich.

These were the positive—and obvious—accomplishments of air power. The defects in our employment of it, less well known, form an interesting and useful part of the civilian strategic-bombing report. "We saw that mistakes had been made," General Arnold's report acknowledges. "Strategic bombing was a new military weapon, and we had to learn many things as we went along, but we took pride in the job as a whole." Whether air power alone could have forced the capitulation of Germany, as some enthusiasts contended, remains a matter for conjecture. It was never directed toward this end. Dominant in Allied strategy was the decision to invade the Continent in the spring of 1944, and all the air forces based on England were used to prepare the way for the invasion. Not until after it had taken place were the heavy bombers free to attack in full force the heart of the German war economy. Of the total tonnage of bombs dropped on Germany only 17 per cent fell before January, 1944, and only 28 per cent before July, 1944.

"The city attacks of the R. A. F. prior to the autumn of 1944," the civilian report notes, "did not substantially affect the course of German war production. German war production as a whole continued to increase." As for the vaunted precision bombing of our air forces, the same report discloses that "while accuracy improved during the war, in the over-all, only about 20 per cent of the bombs aimed at precision targets fell within this target area."

Some of the targets were ill-chosen. In selecting bombing objectives both the R. A. F. and the U. S. A. A. F. had the conviction that they ought to strike blows the impact of which could be immediately felt in the front lines. These blows would have been more effective, as was learned later, had they been aimed at more remote nerve centers. Attacks on submarine pens and constructions yards, for example, "accomplished little," according to the civilian survey. Although our raids on German aircraft plants inflicted much damage to the plants themselves, "production was not knocked out for long." General Arnold is somewhat at variance with the survey on this point. He says that Speer, the Reichsminister for Armaments and War Production, "estimated that he could have made 30 to 50 per cent more fighter planes" but for our bombing. However, it was in air combat, not in the factories, that the Luftwaffe's real strength was shattered. The great raids on Schweinfurt, planned to demolish the vital ball-bearing industry, had no "measurable effect on essential war production," declares the survey—and this despite terrible losses to our own planes and pilots.

Moreover, we overlooked objectives at which we should have struck. Because of inadequate or mistaken intelligence we assumed that the German electric-power system was so highly developed as to make raids upon it futile. In point of fact, however, it was in a precarious position, and highly vulnerable, from the very beginning of the war. Fears that its condition would be discovered were discussed and recorded in the minutes of the German Central Planning Committee. According to the survey report, "The destruction of 45 plants of 100,000 kilowatts or larger would have caused a loss of about 8,000,000 kilowatts, or almost 40 per cent.... Had electric generating plants and substations been made primary targets as soon as they could be brought within range of Allied attacks, the evidence indicates that their destruction would have had serious effects on Germany's war production."

The failure of intelligence here was due in good part, of course, to our lack of any comprehensive intelligence system during the pre-war years. We simply did not know the fundamental facts about the German economy. But it was also due to the army's failure to enlist the services of the ablest researchers and technicians available. More could have been deduced from the little that was known.

Before the blitzkrieg was unleashed, we underestimated German power, and afterward, spurred by hobgoblin reports like Lindbergh's, we grossly exaggerated it. The most striking finding of the strategic-bombing survey is that the German war effort was managed with almost incredible inefficiency. Germany's Maginot Line was a blind faith in blitzkrieg. So confident were the Nazi leaders of a quick victory that they never prepared in any real sense for total war. There is no doubt, says the report, "that until the defeat at Moscow German industry was incompletely mobilized, and that in fact Germany did not foresee the need for full economic mobilization. German arms production during 1940 and 1941 was generally below that of Britain. . . . Studies of German man-power utilization show that throughout the war a great deal of German industry was on a single-shift basis, relatively few German women—less than in the first war—were drawn into industry, and the average work week was below British standards."

Paradoxically, the weakness of the German war effort contributed to its strength. Because the German war economy was substantially undermobilized, it was resilient under air attack. As war plants were damaged, factories producing civilian goods could be converted to war production; plants and machinery were plentiful and incompletely used. No doubt this had a good deal to do with the failure of our strategic bombing to cut production figures until toward the end.

One sample of German inefficiency not disclosed by the survey is worth reporting. The Reich with its conquered territories had a steel-producing capacity of about 40,000,000 tons. It never achieved this capacity; the highest production reached in any year was 34,000,000 tons. But in the course of two years about 15,000,000 tons of fabricated steel was lost—through hoarding and padded inventories and faulty records. Had our own WPB been guilty of such fantastic incompetence, the tumbrils would surely have rattled through the streets of Washington.

In Germany there was no check on inefficiency. For there could be no criticism of those responsible for it. Not only was the press silenced, but in the hierarchy of the government no individual dared to blame his superior. The survey investigators found no memoranda in the German files which so much as suggested errors of judgment or of administration. Perhaps this is an elementary and ineradicable defect of dictatorships—that they leave no room for self-correction. Democracies may blunder; but they are not incapable of learning.

Once the Luftwaffe was knocked out of the air and the Allied bombers could strike at will, the cumulative effect became terrible. They hit the German synthetic oil plants and in short order brought the Wehrmacht to immobility. "The German experience suggests," the survey reports, "that even a first-class military power—rugged and resilient as Germany was—cannot live long under full-scale and free exploitation of air weapons over the heart of its territory."

But the air weapons employed in the European war were in no more than an adolescent stage of development. General Arnold predicts a future—not remote by any means—in which there will be rockets similar to the German V-2 with a speed of three thousand miles an hour and greatly improved range and accuracy, and space craft moving outside the earth's atmosphere to launch rockets loaded with atomic power. He recommends as our primary defense against such weapons the maintenance of air superiority, but that affords only the most dubious sort of security.

"No war will be started," says General Arnold in the concluding part of his report, "unless the aggressor considers that he has sufficient superiority in weapons to leave his adversaries in a state of ineffective warmaking capacity." The weakness in this hypothesis is that an aggressor has the advantage over a peaceful people—the advantage of devising weapons for the destruction of specific targets. There is not much assurance of superiority or security in abstract defense. Even inferior atomic bombs, moreover, might obliterate our cities before we could use our superior types to snuff out our enemies.

Among the defense measures which General Arnold suggests is to "redesign our country for minimum vulnerability to atomic-bomb attack." He notes, however, that "complete dispersal of our cities and moving vital industries underground on a sufficiently large scale would be overwhelmingly expensive." Merely to present this as a possibility is to illumine the dilemma with which air power, plus the bomb, has confronted us. Are we to seek escape from what we have created by burrowing beneath the surface of the earth? Do we no longer dare to live within sight and reach of our fellow-men? If air weapons now have just reached adolescence, there had better be control over their maturity.

Joe Ryan and His Kingdom

BY MAURICE ROSENBLATT

(Former editor of the City Reporter; *a special agent for the army's criminal-investigation department until his recent honorable discharge)*

[*The background of the recent dock strike was described in the preceding issue of* The Nation. *On New York's waterfront, kingdom of the leech and the thug, some 35,000 longshoremen walked out. They were rebelling against Joseph P. Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, charged with being the king-pin of a dictatorship which uses terror to exploit the men. Basic to this system is the shape-up method of hiring, a haphazard procedure which places an oversupply of casual labor at the mercy of the foreman. Ryan denounced the strike as a Communist plot; after eighteen days the men returned to work, their strike unwon, but their defiance has profoundly shaken the power of Ryan and his allies.*]

ON AN autumn night twenty-six years ago a lank, strong, red-faced man with fiery eyes shouldered through a crowd of Hoboken longshoremen in St. Mary's Parish Hall, his heavy fists whacking those who tried to bolt from the hall. It was a meeting of the rank and file of the International Longshoremen's Association, and Joseph P. Ryan, vice-president, was supporting the claims of T. V. O'Connor, president, who had appeared uninvited with his henchmen. The men were angry, for the meeting had been called in protest against O'Connor. The next day, under the headline "Vice-President of I. L. A. Held as Result of Riot," the Hoboken *Journal* reported that Joseph P. Ryan was held in $1,000 bail for inciting to riot.

In the following years his big fists and barking voice, and his unswerving loyalty to the ruling cliques of the waterfront, won Ryan steady advancement in the union's hierarchy. He still uses practically the same methods. Only the externals have become elegantly transformed for Joe Ryan. A Persian rug on top of a rose carpet covers the floor of the office where the president of the I. L. A. rules the affairs of his union's 90,000 members.

Joseph Patrick Ryan looks considerably younger than his sixty-two years. He was born in Babylon, Long Island. He left school at the age of twelve and moved to the Chelsea district of Manhattan—he is proud of being a "Chelsea boy." He got work papers at fourteen and became a stock boy, clerk, street-car conductor. He was a married man with a family when in 1912 he turned to work on the docks, six days a week for $18. Joining Local 791 of the I. L. A., he became its financial secretary in 1913, by which he earned one dollar a meeting. In 1916 the job became a full-time one at $30 a week. Ryan takes the attitude today that if people consider his present $20,000 a bit high they should not forget the lean years. Since he has been in the blue chips his family has lived appropriately; his three daughters are college graduates.

Ryan impresses one as a hardened veteran of the battle for possessions and power who will defend his gains with blunt defiance. In appearance he is the popular stereotype of the longshoreman—solid as a river barge, bull-necked, heavy-fisted. His red hair is close-cropped, sharply parted. His ruddy complexion suggests that he does not skip his rubdown at the New York Athletic Club; the useful hands are now carefully manicured. Here is conscious physical strength carefully draped in expensive clothes styled for the executive type. He admits a weakness for gaudy, painted ties.

More than anything else, Ryan enjoys expensive food and lots of it. "I like good food of all kinds and I think my longshoremen want me to have it," he told a reporter when rationing was at its height. He often goes to Cavanagh's restaurant, where some of the finest food in the city is served at de luxe prices. Surrounded by his aides and political henchmen, he can be seen there stowing away caviar and other delicacies. He once confided that his taste for rare food dated back to his days on the docks when crates of imports would crack open and the longshoremen would help themselves. He is reported to abstain from tobacco and liquor.

Besides the Athletic Club, Ryan is a member of the Knights of Columbus, the Elks, and the Holy Name Society, and he is a bountiful trustee of the Shrine Church of the Sea. Although he seems to scorn people who cannot make their way in life, he is open-handed, peeling off large denominations from the fist-sized roll he carries. He has not lost the common touch: he likes to walk along the waterfront in the morning when the shape-up is forming; sometimes he stops to talk with a longshoreman. Dinner time, however, will find Joe Ryan on the other side of the tracks. The presidents and vice-presidents of the ship companies have all met him socially and have commented that he seems to have the situation under control.

There is no Huey Long exuberance about Joe Ryan; nor has he a Napoleonic complex. Think of him more as a machine politician who believes he is helping his brother as well as himself. Alert, shrewd, pugnacious, with strenuous convictions and loyalties, Ryan does not forget a friend or an enemy. His speech is as flat as the New York sidewalk. He avoids the flowery oratory of other old-line union leaders, uses practical words, and gets his exact meaning across. He has a quick temper but nerves of steel—during the recent dock strike if he was at all perturbed he did not show it. Ryan is convinced that he only wants to help the men of his union when he hires ex-convicts, defends the shape-up, or is named president for life, but this conviction does not alter the fact that as the result of his acts the longshoremen and their families lead sordid, impoverished lives. Their union president is secure for life, but the men never know whether or not they will work tomorrow.

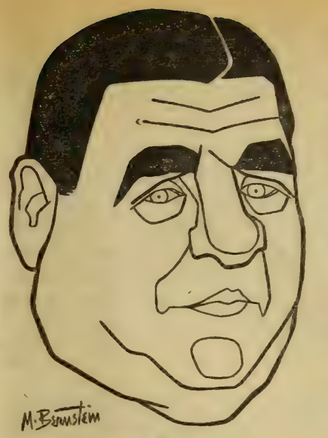
Ryan became the fourth international president of the I. L. A. in 1927. At the 1943 meeting he arranged to be named president for life at $400 a week. To give this procedure the proper democratic window-dressing, he had a Negro, George W. Millner, named vice-president for life. Their designations, Ryan said, would stand "as an object lesson to the entire labor movement that unity can be achieved . . . we're going to show that actions like ours can settle this serious problem of racial and color differences." He would not have accepted the life job, he added, if a Negro had not been accorded the same honor. The Negro vice-president was to be paid $75 a week.

A three-story building on West Eighteenth Street displays a brass plate—"Joseph P. Ryan Association." Here Ryan plays pinochle with his lieutenants, and here, away from the official headquarters of the I. L. A., the substance of waterfront policy is determined. The club is "private" and "social," and ordinary longshoremen are not observed going in there. An outgrowth of a Democratic political club, it has a considerable voice in choosing the Congressman from the district.

Ryan has long had easy access to the powerful figures of the Democratic Party and the shipping world. Ten-dollar-a-plate testimonial dinners in his honor have been attended by 2,500 people annually, the money going to the Joseph P. Ryan Association's charities. Notables such as Jim Farley and Sam Foley, the Bronx district attorney, are often in evidence. Always present are the multitude of lesser Tammany leaders and representatives of Mayor Hague's Jersey City machine. Their power in many cases hinges on a close working alliance with the waterfront boss. These politicians, like the shippers, want no new deal on the waterfront, and they have been able to protect the "loading racket" from any government interference.

On both the New York and New Jersey waterfronts the law has been on the side of the I. L. A. leadership. Members of the police force can be counted on to take a table at a Ryan dinner. During the October strike the police were openly hostile to the rank and file despite Mayor LaGuardia's order to avoid favoritism. They required the strikers to have a license to picket in the Chelsea district and fraternized with loyal Ryan men while menacing others. There has always been a close working agreement between the union's local officials and the neighborhood police captains; union members who have disputes, even peaceful ones, with officials have often found themselves in the police station.

Some disciplinary jobs cannot be turned over to the cooperating police. Ryan has been praised by port authorities for doing a public service by hiring ex-convicts; actually, these men are useful for "policing" inside the I. L. A. Two incidents may be cited to illustrate the role of the criminal element in the I. L. A. Cleveland Bisell, a writer for the *Shape-Up*, a rank-and-file paper campaigning against Ryan and racketeering, was assaulted by one Frank Savio. Ryan appeared in court as a character witness for Savio, who received a sixty-day suspended sentence. After this the union made Savio foreman on Pier 14; later he turned up on the police blotter as a loan shark extorting money from other longshoremen. Edward Kelly, a new hiring foreman on Pier 51, refused to "play ball" with the waterfront racketeers when picking his men from the shape-up. Kelly was severely beaten by John Dunn and Joseph Hughes. Dunn's record included three years in Sing Sing for robbery, and arrests for homicide, gun carrying, assault and robbery. He had then settled down to run the I. L. A. on the lower North River piers, though he was not even a member of the union. Testifying for him were Peter G. Hussey and Walter B. Holt, both vice-presidents of the I. L. A. Hughes, who assisted Dunn in the assault, was made the boss checker by the union on Pier 51. He had first brushed with the law in 1925, when a grand-larceny charge was dismissed. In succeeding years he had been arrested and discharged for homicide (1928), robbery (1928), carrying a gun (1933), felonious assault (1934), disorderly conduct (1934), safe-cracking (1938). In 1935 he served a prison term for possession of gas bombs and receiving a stolen car.



Joseph P. Ryan

In the 1930's Ryan waged ceaseless passionate war against the C. I. O. It was more than a matter of principle when, in 1934, Harry Bridges staged a successful revolt and took the entire West Coast away from the I. L. A. and into the C. I. O. Bridges, fighting against deportation on charges of being a Communist, became the symbol of everything Ryan hates. Today Ryan unhesitatingly brands anyone he does not like as a "red"; he firmly believes Communists control the C. I. O. and that the A. F. of L. will be doomed if it does not take swift, harsh measures. Ryan has dedicated himself to cleaning the Communists out of the labor movement, and his crusade makes him a popular and much-quoted labor leader with many newspapers. His warnings and denunciations have received careful and complete coverage, and he has been able to count on widespread press support—a decisive influence in the October strike.

In 1938 Ryan's pronouncements on politics were carefully examined by American nationalist and Coughlinite leaders seeking a public figure who was anti-British, isolationist, anti-Communist, and unmistakably identified with labor. At that time Merwin K. Hart, an energetic propagandist for Franco, was attempting to fuse the myriad anti-democratic, pro-fascist cells into a unified isolationist bloc, backed by vast political and financial resources. Hart established a liaison with Ryan, and on November 29, 1939, Ryan spoke for Hart in Madison Square Garden. On the program were the vigilante-minded George U. Harvey and Representative Martin Dies, whose topic was The Insidious Wiles of Foreign Influence. Subsequently the Christian Front increased its activities along the waterfront, and Coughlinite personalities appeared with I. L. A. membership cards. On the day before Pearl Harbor the sympathetic *Daily News* quoted Ryan as saying that he opposed "injecting the United States into wars of foreign countries."

With the war the scandal of New York's waterfront became no longer a secret. After the Normandie burned at its pier a *PM* reporter, Edmund Scott, revealed that he had purchased a bootlegged I. L. A. membership card and had been acting the role of saboteur for a week before the fire. Anyone could get on the docks, discover ship sailings and cargo contents, and commit acts of sabotage. The best aid to the saboteur and spy was the shape-up, which thwarted even the simplest security measures. Facts piled on facts. Crews discovered bad loading at sea; survivors brought word that U-boat captains knew what ships to expect and had detailed knowledge of their cargoes. Notorious pro-Nazis, including Baron von Wrangell, were employed as pier guards. Christian Mobilizer James Stewart was found in the I. L. A.

There was no single port authority to enforce security and efficiency. Neither local nor federal agencies nor any branch of the armed services had the final say. Clearly, the East Coast required a shipping coordinator similar to the shipping "czar" of the West Coast, Wayne Morse. Ryan and the shippers immediately realized that such an appointment would jeopardize the status quo of the waterfront; a coordinator would abolish the shape-up, the inefficient organization of loading, and all the other dismal but profitable features of the harbor jungle. On March 9, 1942, leading shippers, including John Franklin, president of the United States lines, and Roger Lapham of the American Hawaiian Steamship Company, met secretly with Ryan to plan their Washington lobby against a coordinator. A powerful, two-pronged attack on the proposal was to be launched by the shippers and the union. But in case the public demand should be overwhelming, they had a candidate of their own to suggest in Joseph P. Kennedy, ex-ambassador to Great Britain, whose isolationist-tinged sentiments, anti-C. I. O. record, and association with the big shipowners made him a "safe" choice.

Called upon to explain the condition of the waterfront by the New York Central Trade and Labor Council, Ryan replied, characteristically, that all public controversy on the matter should be prohibited for the duration since it only served to give information to the enemy. The shape-up, he declared, was more "efficient" than a central hiring hall. To the press he stormed that the clamor for a shipping coordinator was really a Communist-inspired campaign to smear the good name of the I. L. A.

Ultimately Ryan and the shipowners had their way, and the federal government never succeeded in setting up an over-all authority on the East Coast. The port muddled through under a patchwork of government agencies at an unknown cost in time, money, and lives. It was not until the eighteen-day strike in October that public attention was again focused on the waterfront.

At the present time the Shipping Association and Ryan are attempting to arbitrate a contract. William H. Davis, former chairman of the National War Labor Board, is the arbitrator, appointed by Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach. Ryan is basing his own proposals for the new contract on the demands of the rank and file—demands which provided the spark for the October strike and which Ryan then insisted could never be obtained. Unless the men's points, including the limitation of the sling load to 2,240 pounds, and the twenty-two-man loading gang, are considered favorably, acceptance of the arbitrator's findings by the membership cannot be guaranteed. However, no matter how favorable the new contract may prove for the longshoremen, the basic issue of the strike, the question of democracy inside the I. L. A., is beyond the scope of the present proceedings, and Joe Ryan will remain the man in possession of the waterfront.

Public indignation over conditions on the waterfront is not sufficient. Nothing resulted from the war-time protests and headlines demanding reform because Ryan, flanked by political and financial lobbies, made a deeper impression in Washington than did the public's alarm. It will take indignation plus organization to effect a clean-up.

Many citizens are rightfully concerned about the banner which will lead New York's 35,000 longshoremen to freedom; they fear lest the alternative to Ryan be extreme radicalism. Labor, like nature, abhors a vacuum, and obviously the longshoremen will adopt a slogan and a leader. The rank and file, since they are fighting against a well-established dictatorship, must have outside support to win. Being realistic, the men will follow whoever arms them for the fight with money, technical aid, community backing. As one rank-and-filer said: "I don't care who helps us so long as we are helped and can get rid of King Ryan."

This has ceased to be an intra-union dispute. The basic question is: Do the boundaries of the city of New York include the waterfront? If they do, constitutional rights, fair labor practices, and law and order should be upheld there. Otherwise, a broad perimeter along the 250-mile harbor frontage will be ruled in feudal style by a labor baron in conjunction with shipping companies, racketeers, and politicians. Both Dewey and O'Dwyer, when holding the office of District Attorney in New York and Brooklyn respectively, knew the facts. Mayors of the city have been filing surveys on shocking waterfront conditions since 1916. Hitherto public officials have been either too craven or too impotent to face the waterfront combine. The individual citizen remains, as in all things, ultimately responsible and powerful; it is he who must now recapture the waterfront. Clearly his first step should be to insist upon a straight declaration of policy from the new Mayor. Mr. O'Dwyer has stated that the city's most urgent problem is crime. He cannot do better than start his war against crime by attacking one of its citadels in New York.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Is America a "Have-not" Nation?

LAST week, in discussing Bernard M. Baruch's proposal for a national inventory, I referred to his fear that the United States was depleting its natural resources so rapidly as to endanger its national existence. So far as minerals are concerned, the situation has been documented by Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes in the December issue of the *American*. Mr. Ickes not only shares Mr. Baruch's fears but, as is his wont, shouts about them with all his lung-power. He declares:

> The prodigal harvest of minerals that we have reaped to win this war has bankrupted some of our most vital mineral resources. We no longer deserve to be listed with Russia and the British Empire as one of the "Have" nations of the world. We should be listed with the "Have-Nots" such as Germany and Japan. . . . To prevent the decline of the United States as a major military and industrial power, and to maintain our high standard of living, we must take immediate positive action to maintain our known mineral resources.

At this point I feel impelled to exclaim: "Steady, Harold! Let's look at this question calmly. You may rightly feel that the people need to be stirred up, but alarmist statements of this kind are dangerous grist for imperialist and nationalist mills."

Actually, the figures Mr. Ickes himself supplies indicate that the mineral position of this country is not yet desperate. For one thing the United States has hardly begun to use up its coal deposits, and although the cream has been skimmed from its original wealth of iron ore, there are still enormous quantities of medium-to-low-grade ore. True, this is more costly to utilize, but I don't know of any country in the world that has an inexhaustible supply of ore of the purity of the best Mesabi deposits. Britain, which must import a large proportion of its iron ore, has to get along with a much lower average grade than is used in this country, with the result that for each ton of steel smelted about 25 per cent more coal is required than for a ton of American steel.

How about oil, which is perhaps Mr. Ickes's chief worry? The United States has, he tells us, proved reserves of 20 billion barrels compared with a production last year, the wartime peak, of 1.7 billion. Thus even allowing for a considerable drop in consumption now that huge fleets of bombers no longer have to perform daily missions, it would appear that, without some major new discoveries, domestic supplies of oil will be running low in fifteen to twenty years. Nevertheless, the United States still has 36 per cent of the known oil reserves of the world—not too bad a share for a country with under 7 per cent of the world's population. Moreover, many oil authorities do not share Mr. Ickes's pessimism. They point out that American reserves today are higher than at the end of the last war. Domestic resources, according to the American Petroleum Institute, are "sufficient to meet the demands of this and the next generation of Americans."

Assuming, however, the wisdom of supplementing local production by imports as a conservation measure, this country is very fortunately placed. The most highly developed foreign oil fields lie in the Caribbean basin, in Mexico, and, more importantly, along the northern rim of South America. These fields are largely controlled by American corporations, they are accessible for cheap water haulage, and they lie within a zone where the strategic defenses of the United States cannot be easily penetrated. The position of this country in regard to copper, lead, and zinc, basic metals the domestic production of which is proving unequal to demand, is rather similar. Alternative sources of supply are available in this hemisphere and to a large extent under American financial control.

In painting his picture of the United States as a Cinderella, Mr. Ickes suggests that its sister great powers, Russia and Britain, are far better endowed by nature. We do not know much about new Soviet discoveries in the past few years or to what extent they compensate for mines ruined, some perhaps irretrievably, by the Nazis. The most recent study of Russian geography published in this country, "The Basis of Soviet Strength," by George B. Cressy,* states: "No other country has so great a variety of minerals, and only the United States is richer. At the same time it is well to note that among these many deposits are some low-grade ores, especially copper and aluminum, which have doubtful value if operated on the basis of strict capitalist accounting." Proved oil reserves in Russia are large, though not so large as this country's; coal and iron-ore deposits are plentiful and well spread through the vast expanses of the U. S. S. R.; among the non-metallic minerals, phosphate and potash are particularly abundant. On the other hand, Russian resources of nickel, tin, and certain other strategic minerals are very inadequate.

Mr. Ickes talks of the British Empire as a "have" nation in contrast to the United States, but it is rather misleading to treat the Empire as a unit. Britain itself is poor in every important mineral except coal, and even its coal occurs mainly in narrow seams which make production costly. Most of Britain's iron ore, practically all of its copper, lead, zinc, tin, mercury, manganese, and almost all other vital minerals must be imported from overseas. The Empire, of course, produces many of them, but the three richest mineral-producing areas —Canada, Australia, and South Africa—are fully independent dominions. Their products are just as available to the United States as they are to Britain; in time of war, in fact, Canada's very great resources form a magnificent reserve for this country. As for the mineral output of the colonies proper —Rhodesian copper, Malayan tin, New Guinea bauxite, for example—they can be purchased in time of peace by American consumers on exactly the same terms as by British consumers.

In the light of such facts, Mr. Ickes's picture of America's relative poverty seems to me rather overpainted and his sounding of the tocsin a little too vigorous. But as regards the need for conservation, I am with him entirely. Next week I hope to discuss his proposals for guarding and extending mineral resources and to take up a point he has omitted —the relation of conservation to the tariff system.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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* Whittlesey House, $8

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The People's Front

Mexico City, November 13

THE meeting of the Cortes has drawn a clear-cut line between those who are ready to make an all-out fight to reestablish the Republic and those who want a compromise. The two policies, which were in conflict during the last stage of the Spanish war, were again in conflict last week in Mexico. Two names, Juan Negrín and Indalecio Prieto, symbolize these two policies. It is false to say that Negrín represents a pro-Communist tendency and Prieto a genuine Socialist tendency. Negrín represents resistance, Prieto capitulation. It is time that the friends of the Spanish Republic in the United States should know this.

Between August 27, when the Giral government was formed, and November 7, when the Cortes met, many things happened that have not appeared in the American press. One of the most important was the change in the position of the Communists. They had refused to enter the Giral government, and for the same reasons that dictated the refusal of the parties grouped around Negrín—because they felt that a government headed by Giral lacked the qualities necessary to direct the fight against the fascist Spanish regime. A few weeks later the Communists opened negotiations to enter the Giral government. This did not involve a breach of faith since they notified the other opposition groups of their intention. It was a change of policy, nevertheless.

When the Cortes met, the Communists had already discovered that Giral now did not want them. The Cabinet had succeeded in bringing to Mexico City from France, England, and Latin America more than the number of deputies—one hundred—required for a quorum, and it felt sufficiently strong to get along without the Communist votes.

Thus the Cortes convened with the opposition forces aligned as they were at the time the Giral Cabinet was formed. Prieto saw in this situation an opportunity to overthrow the government. On the opening day our Socialist group, the Ruiz Funes Republicans, and the Communists declined to support the government but carefully phrased their statements so as not to cause any serious damage to Republican institutions. On the second day of the session Prieto delivered the most destructive and anti-Republican speech that has been heard on the Republican side since the end of the Spanish war. Put in a few words, Prieto declared that it was madness to expect anything from the Spanish people, in the grip of such a regime of terror as Franco's; that the nations that really have something to say about the Spanish question are not interested in the reestablishment of the Republic; that the situation in Spain must be brought to an end regardless; and that therefore it was a nuisance to have a President and a government of the Republic in exile. Prieto continued that he would vote to support the government but without engaging his group permanently. If it developed later that a less rigid institution than a government was better fitted to solve the Spanish problem, his group would consider itself free to act. It was manifest that what Prieto wanted was to overturn the government and restore his former Junta de Liberación. It was also clear that he was willing to compromise on the issue of the Republic itself.

The effect of the speech was terrific. All Prieto's taunts and imprecations against General Franco, delivered with emphatic gestures and in a voice that sounded like cannon-fire in the small meeting room of the old Palacio Municipal, failed to allay the general indignation. The president of the Cortes had to declare a recess for half an hour. Giral was seen to walk out on the balcony overlooking the beautiful Cathedral Square, and he remained there alone for some time in order not to be spoken to by anyone. He knew that it was only necessary for one of the leaders of the opposition to rise and address a question to the Prime Minister, and the government would immediately fall. At that moment its life was in Negrín's hands. Negrín walked over to speak to Giral and advised him not to reply to Prieto's challenge; he told him that when the session resumed we would declare that while we maintained all our reservations about the make-up of the government it could count on our support. The opposition saved the government. It may seem strange, but it was logical. Negrín was not going to take advantage of Prieto's attack to destroy everything he had done for the Republican cause since he came to Mexico City.

The situation changed after the meeting of the Cortes was adjourned. The Prieto group, which had publicly pronounced itself in favor of compromise and surrender, has two members in the government, one of them, Fernando de los Rios, holding the important position of Minister of Foreign Affairs. Furthermore, it is known that Prieto, although he did not specify in his speech with whom an agreement could be reached in Spain, does not exclude the possibility of a monarchist restoration. Confronted with such a grave situation, our Socialist parliamentary group on Tuesday presented to President Martínez Barrio a statement denouncing Prieto's policy of surrender and the monstrous fact that two members of his faction are retained in the government, informing the President that he would be held completely responsible for what might happen, and giving notice that if he did not act promptly we would fight for the liberation of Spain by all the means at our disposal.

The negotiations for the formation of a "Council of Resistance" have been resumed. Our future policy is quite clear. We shall continue to seek the recognition of the government by the United Nations, since recognition would mean acceptance of the Republic as an institution rather than approval of any particular leader or Cabinet. But since we have no confidence in the ability of the present government to overthrow Franco and reestablish the Republic, and no confidence even in the loyalty to the Republic of some members of this government, we shall also continue our fight. And either the Giral government will change some day or it will be left isolated and abandoned like the old Polish government in London.

DEL VAYO

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

I'M GLAD TO NOTE that La Liberté won out over Mush Mush at Jamaica last week, if only by a head. And I liked the description of La Liberté as a little filly which "had won three of four starts in sprint races, but whose breeding promised success over a route." This coincides almost exactly with Benedetto Croce's view—"History is the Story of Liberty"—and it is cheering to have a philosopher's theory confirmed, and so snappily paraphrased, by a racing reporter on the other side of the world. Especially at a time when, in spite of all the talk about liberation, liberty is winning very few races (and vice versa).

FASHION NOTE: On page 12 of the morning *Times* I read again that Britons may expect fewer clothes than ever. On page 3 is a glamorous advertisement of "Imported Suits from England" of fine Saxony wool. English women will wear trade balances this season.

THE CURRENT ISSUE of *Poetry* is mainly devoted to the poets and poetry of the Resistance in France. It includes an interesting account of the whole development, entitled The Conspiracy of the Poets, by Pierre Seghers. It was he who founded in 1939 *Poètes Casqués,* a publication edited by soldiers who were all poets. It was published, against greater and greater odds, throughout the occupation, and the best talents of France found expression in its pages.

Translations of fifteen poems are given, and while they appear to be passable, one keeps wishing to refer to the originals. I don't see why they could not have been included.

CULTURAL NOTE: "Get more out of life with good books," reads a leaflet from Woolworth's, and there follows a list of books which includes not only best-selling novels and thrillers but such aids to the good life as "The Joke Teller's Joke Book," "Astrology for Everyone," a cook book, and "The Home Book of Party Games." As far as I am concerned, however, the most intriguing item on the list is "The Complete Dream Book" and the accompanying blurb: "Discover the meaning of your dreams. Interpretations of over 1,500 dreams will help you avoid dangerous situations, pick your fortunate days, predict your luck in love." And all for 69 cents, which is a good deal less than the current rate for old-fashioned psychoanalysis.

IN THE ISSUE of November 5, P. I. Prentice, publisher of *Time,* took his readers into his confidence and explained the use of the word "KOMING" in the preparation of copy. "Every news writer," he said, "is likely to discover in mid-story that there are dozens of details about which he needs more information than he has on hand." A *Time* writer caught in this predicament merely types in the word KOMING, and "there are sometimes as many as twenty KOMINGS in the first draft of a story." "It once cost us $300," he continues with pride, "just to make sure that the highest price ever paid for a magazine article up to then was $30,000. . . ."

It's very impressive, and I was fascinated by the samples Mr. Prentice gave of the questions which are fed into *Time's* research mill by its correspondents in the field. I think I liked best the double query datelined Los Angeles, which reads as follows: "Rechecking length of atomic age according to Paramhansa Swami Yogananda. Is it 100 or 1,000 years? Also: Are fleas bad in all Southern California or just in some sections?" *Time's* fevered, passionate search for the Fact, which can only be compared in its intensity to an early Christian's search for the truth; its belief that all facts are created equal; its readiness to spare no expense in bringing a fact, however small, to bay—all are summed up in that conscientious query about Paramhansa Swami Yogananda and the distribution of fleas in Southern California.

CYRIL CONNOLLY thanks me for defending him against the sneers of Orville Prescott and informs me that he weighs exactly 180 pounds. From another source I hear that "The Unquiet Grave" has sold 20,000 copies in England in an inexpensive edition—which would seem to indicate that English readers at least are not outraged by French quotations in French.

SOME DISCHARGED SOLDIERS are still in uniform. It seems they "haven't a thing to wear."

The Forms of Liberalism

THE LIBERAL TRADITION. By William Aylott Orton. Yale University Press. $3.50.

THIS scholarly analysis of the history of the liberal tradition aroused in one reader at least a tremendous initial enthusiasm which was gradually dissipated as concluding chapters failed to maintain the profundity of insight promised in the earlier chapters. Professor Orton begins by distinguishing between the conservative and liberal political traditions. In the former there is reverence for the past, appreciation of organic forms, communal unity, and constitutional continuity; in the latter the emphasis is upon liberty and progress. One feels that he is not completely committed to the liberal tradition and that he is prepared to show that American liberalism might well borrow some of the virtues of true conservatism.

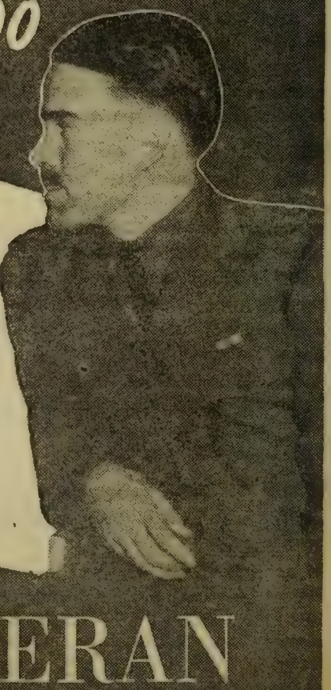
"In America," Professor Orton rightly observes, "the term liberal is being used to cover policies ranging from nineteenth-century laissez faire to dictatorial collectivism." One could go farther and say that in America what is known as conservatism is a decayed form of liberalism. It makes devotion to liberty a screen for a policy the real intent of which is to prevent economic power from coming under the control of political and communal restraint. The left, on the other hand, is inclined to espouse collectivist programs without recognizing the danger of totalitarianism in them. There is no true conservatism in this country, for no political group has a genuine understanding of the organic processes of history or a desire to guard them from the corrosive effect of the ever-increasing technical instruments of modern civilization.

Professor Orton seemed destined to make a new contribution to the assessment of these important political tendencies, first, because he is properly skeptical of the kind of "progress" which liberal theory presupposes to be a guarantor of increasing political virtue, and, secondly, because he understands that liberty alone is an inadequate goal in life. "Liberty," declared Lord Acton, "is not the means to a higher political end. It is itself the highest political end." "Liberalism," wrote Ramsay Muir, "is a belief in the value of human personality, and a conviction that the source of all progress lies in the free exercise of individual energy."

Professor Orton seems, in the earlier chapters of his work at least, not to accept this kind of individualism as adequate. "Liberty without community and community without liberty," he declares, "each is subhuman." He even understands that the individualism of bourgeois culture helped to lay the foundation for modern tyrannies by producing atomic individuals whose lives were not disciplined by any of the organic forms of social life and who therefore became rootless and aimless "masses" coerced by tyrants into an abortive communal unity. "We can now see," he declares, "why the theory and practice of individualism gave so great an impetus to the rise of a monistic and tyrannical form of social organization."

All these profounder elements in his analysis seem to be lost when he moves from diagnosis to prescription. He laments the decimation of the British Liberal Party without recognizing that its individualism had become irrelevant in a day in which an impoverished nation was bound to emphasize the interests of the whole community and could no longer believe with Ramsay Muir that the exercise of individual initiative would of itself guarantee social justice. It may be observed in passing that the political distance between the two major parties in Britain is less than that between our right and left because both parties in Britain accept, from different presuppositions, the idea that the community must manage the economic process and not depend upon its automatic harmonies. Our own right and left, on the other hand, represent different forms of liberalism which have little in common because the one does not understand the perils of injustice under a system of economic liberty and the other is not fully cognizant of the perils of tyranny in a program which ultimately compounds political and economic power.

Professor Orton's own, and it seems to me inadequate, solution for the problem is to deny the legitimacy of the laissez faire conception of liberalism on the ground that it did not make liberty the primary end of policy but regarded liberty "as a means to the end of economic progress" and then to go back to the "truer and older liberalism which held that liberty was the supreme political end-period." He thinks that this is a more spiritual and valid conception than the idea that freedom is pragmatically justified by its fruits. "Despite the most obvious clashes of interest, ordinary people," he writes, "believe that freedom of action will lead to so-



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We could list half a dozen more titles from the December MERCURY, all equally intriguing—yet there is nothing special about this issue. It is typical of those which MERCURY subscribers enjoy each month. It offers a fair sample of THE MERCURY's lively, penetrating, courageous and forward-looking discussions that range over the worlds of politics, economics, literature, the arts and sciences. But it can give you only an inkling of the nearly 300 stimulating articles, essays, stories, poems, reviews and biographical sketches that you can enjoy in a year of THE MERCURY.

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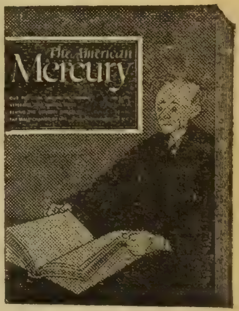

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Professor Orton's answer is too simply libertarian to be adequate for a problem the breadth of which he has profoundly illumined in his own thought.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Yenan

THE CHALLENGE OF RED CHINA. By Gunther Stein. Whittlesey House. $3.50.

WHEN I first saw Gunther Stein he was in the lobby of the plushy Hot Springs Hotel surrounded by an enthralled audience of delegates to the international conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. His listeners included some of the top Far Eastern experts in the Allied governments, men who had access to a wide range of highly confidential government reports. Yet they listened avidly and asked many questions, for Mr. Stein was able to give fresh and expert testimony on a subject which all present recognized as the touchstone of a stable Far Eastern peace.

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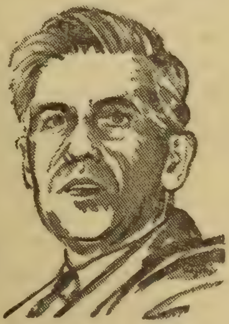

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JAMES GROSSMAN
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Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch*
Music *by B. H. Haggin*

A Selected List of the Books of 1945
will appear in the issue of December 8

NEXT WEEK
in
THE *Nation*

wealthy landlords, prosperous merchants, and Michael Lindsay, the young English non-Communist liberal who has spent four years in the Communist-held area. From this varied but converging testimony there emerges an authentic picture of the area and an explanation of why the Japanese were never able to conquer it and why Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek can overwhelm it only with the aid of a dozen American armored divisions.

The truth is that the Border Regions have the most popular, most nearly democratic administration yet attained in China. There is free suffrage, and the Communists limit themselves to one-third of the seats. There have been democratic agrarian reforms, but the rich landlord is satisfied because he has been more than compensated by infinitely lower taxes. Confident of the superiority of their own Marxist outlook, the Yenan authorities have permitted considerable freedom of thought and criticism. It is true that there is no organized competition, but that is because the Kuomintang has lost all influence as a result of its pro-Japanese policies in the area and its refusal to compete on a popular level.

The Chinese Communists were not always as enlightened as they are now. At one time their program was aimed almost exclusively at the poorest peasants, and they insisted on firm political control. But all trained observers agree that they have broadened and mellowed. It is true that their leadership is Marxist and their eventual aim communism, but it is also true that they are absolutely committed to the thesis that China cannot reach even socialism without a long intervening period of democratic capitalism. And one of the best guaranties against a resurgence of extremism and sectarianism is the fact that there has been a marked shift in the social composition of the Communist Party. Nine-tenths of its present 1,200,000 members joined after 1937, and most of them are moderate "middle peasants" who joined because they wished to support the struggle against the invader and the reforms of the "new democracy."

American ultra-conservatives, misled by Ambassador Hurley and blinded by their morbid fear of Russia, hope to wipe out even the moderate reforms of Yenan. Had they been genuinely interested in democracy and the well-being of China's four hundred millions, they could have insured against an extremist development by supporting and building up the democratic elements in the Left Kuomintang and the Democratic League. Instead, our military force has been placed at the disposal of the most corrupt, anti-popular, and feudal elements. It seems difficult to believe that the conscience of America—enlightened by such excellent studies as Stein's—can tolerate such an egregious development.

ANDREW ROTH

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BRIEFER COMMENT

Americana, South

THE UNIVERSITY PRESSES are giving us, with increasing frequency, volumes of regional history and biography which both entertain and, in the aggregate, add to our knowledge of the past. Three recent volumes dealing with life in the nineteenth-century South are illustrative.

In 1826, at the age of eighteen, Seargent S. Prentiss graduated from Bowdoin College. A year later he went to Natchez, Mississippi. From then until his death in 1850 he was prominent as a lawyer, an orator, and a public servant. Dallas C. Dickey has written a careful, competent biography of this transplanted Yankee who represented Mississippi in Congress and played a national role in the Presidential campaigns of 1840, 1844, and 1848. Its title is "Seargent S. Prentiss, Whig Orator of the Old South" (Louisiana State, $4).

Professor J. H. Easterby has given a scholar's attention to the many and varied accounts, letters, diaries, and miscellaneous papers of Robert Allston. "The South Carolina Rice Plantation—as Revealed in the Papers of Robert F. W. Allston" (Chicago, $5) is a fascinating and important contribution to our economic history, providing many illuminating sidelights on the political and social life of the half-century prior to 1868.

Kemp Plummer Battle, lawyer, statesman, business man, and educator, wrote on his eighty-first birthday, "I begin the writing of my memories. My ambition is to do more than chronicle my personal history. I wish to throw light on the history of the state during my time . . . and the changes in our institutions." Not quite completed at the time of his death, his autobiography has now been edited by his son, William James Battle—"Memories of an Old-Time Tar Heel" (North Carolina, $3). The former president of the University of North Carolina wrote even better than he had hoped; this book is a gold mine of social history, and is so completely charming as to be the despair of any reviewer who has to describe it briefly. RALPH ADAMS BROWN

Too, Too Superior

A. L. ROWSE, author of "The Spirit of English History" (Oxford, $2), says in his preface that he has written with two aims: "First, to make the story of our people *intelligible* . . . to make clear . . . the factors and forces which have made our history what it is. Second, within the very restricted confines at my disposal to include everything that is really *essential* to the understanding of that story" (his italics). To accomplish all this in 144 pages, to paint on so small a canvas an impressionistic version of the rich and varied tapestry of English history that would convey some sense of its color and meaning, requires a genius that Mr. Rowse manifestly does not possess. He cannot be blamed for that; but he has to his credit some excellent studies of the Tudor period, and had he taken more pains with this book, he might have ended up with something better than an epitome of the more commonplace English school textbooks.

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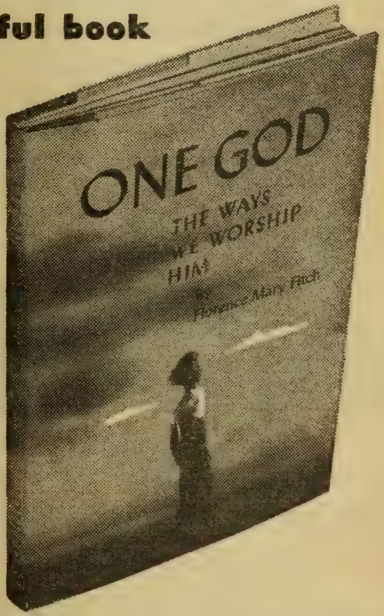

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In condensing his material Mr. Rowse all too often becomes a cataloguer expressing himself in clichés, and his interwoven generalizations and judgments are apt to be conventional to the point of triteness. Summing up nineteenth-century English poetry, for instance, he tells us: "The age had its representative poet in Tennyson, the laureate of the Victorians, superb craftsman and artist, a magician in words, a belated Merlin. Later Victorians found themselves more faithfully mirrored in Browning: the strain of the age, the breakdown of the older certainty movingly expressed in Arnold, the note of rebellion and defiance in Swinburne."

A believer in "progress," Mr. Rowse is one of those optimistic historians who find that nearly everything turns out for the best in the long run. And for a Cornishman, a Celt, he seems to have absorbed a fair share of the complacency usually supposed to be an Anglo-Saxon contribution to the character of John Bull. Writing of the "large class of landless laborers" created by the inclosures of the eighteenth century, he says: "Fortunately for them, the concurrent development of industry absorbed them, with some ups and downs of adjustment; so that a considerable internal migration from the country to the new industrial areas was an underlying feature of the new century." Some later references to the realities of the Industrial Revolution hardly redeem this smug dismissal of a long nightmare of human degradation from which Britain has not yet fully recovered.

Mr. Rowse's history was written at the request of the British Council, a semi-official organization devoted to the diffusion of British culture. It will not, I fear, prove an acceptable export. Its overtones of superiority, unconscious though they may be, are all too likely to irritate the foreign reader. For Americans, at any rate, "The Making of Modern Britain" by J. B. Brebner and Allan Nevins (Norton, 1943, $2.50) may be recommended as a more readable short history which achieves perspective despite the manifest affection of its authors for their subject.

KEITH HUTCHISON

One Small Question

THE PROBLEM of the atomic age is well stated in "Modern Man Is Obsolete," by Norman Cousins (Viking, $1): man is as ill-equipped to accept its potential blessings as he is to control its present dangers. The remedy is offered—a world government. The one small question is just *how* we are to bring about this world government. The answer is not satisfactory: where there is a will there is a way. The instinct for survival must be stimulated. We must convert National Man into World Man. How? How? I remain the "gloomy dean." With the atomic bomb in our hands, and a short space of time between survival and annihilation, we are asked to reeducate two billion people by crying to them, World Government or Death! And yet, what other solution is there than some form of world government?

BENJAMIN HARROW

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"THE RUGGED PATH" (Plymouth Theater) is Robert Sherwood's first play since "There Shall Be No Night." The latter, you may remember, concerned itself with the heroic fight for freedom put up by the Finns against the aggression of Soviet Russia. The new play, you will not be too surprised to hear, deals with the case of an honest editor who lost his job in the spring of 1940 because he insisted upon proclaiming the duty of our country to support these same Russians in a struggle which had somehow become not against but for liberty and democracy.

Mr. Sherwood is hardly to blame for either the rapidity with which events have moved or the confusions produced. If he changed his opinions he changed them with the nation, with *The Nation*, and, incidentally, with the present reviewer. But there is, nevertheless, something faintly ridiculous in the juxtaposition of two successive plays so downright and so incompatible. That something is, morever, relevant to the whole question of the playwright and his relation to times like these. It is so easy to argue that he must treat of our deepest concerns and that our deepest concerns are obviously political. But it is equally easy to see that recently at least none of his attempts to do so have been particularly happy.

Less than a decade ago when the world was not so grim as it is today Mr. Sherwood could solve the problem to the satisfaction of a practical playwright by making "Idiot's Delight" merely a good show. Essentially the solution achieved this season by, let us say, the authors of "Deep Are the Roots" is the same. But Mr. Sherwood is now too serious to be satisfied with nothing more than that kind of success, and "The Rugged Path" fails on its own level because, I think, it is merely more serious without really being serious enough.

A play as important as the author wants this one to be would have to be founded upon some conviction too fundamental to be shaken by local events possible in the near future, upon truths which could survive mere political realignments. It might, for example, concern itself with the problem of living in a world so at the mercy of violent and unpredictable events that it is perfectly possible for a man as intelligent and sincere as its author undoubtedly is to revise over night the deepest convictions he is able to articulate. The ultimate tragedy of our lives lies in the fact that such revisions are possible. But it is not with this tragedy that "The Rugged Path" deals. The play is, on the contrary, thoughtful only as a good editorial is thoughtful, and like a good editorial it might easily become any day as outmoded as "There Shall Be No Night" became at the moment when the events with which the new play deals began to unfold.

All criticism is to some extent impudent, and the ultimate in critical impudence is achieved when the critic undertakes to explain an author to himself. That impudence I must risk in order to declare my firm conviction that Mr. Sherwood's plays have always lagged one pace behind his own ever-increasing seriousness. By his own confession he wrote the highly diverting "Reunion in Vienna" in order not to think of certain things which troubled him. By the time he had got to "The Petrified Forest" and "Idiot's Delight" he could no longer wholly disregard them, and in "There Shall Be No Night" he thought that he had gone completely over to responsible seriousness. Actually, however, he has never permitted himself to go beyond journalism, and I risk the assertion that his present concern with specific political issues is as much an "escape" from deeper questions too puzzling and too painful to think about as "Reunion in Vienna" was an escape from the relatively more serious things even then struggling in his mind for recognition.

To say this seems to me more important than to say the obvious things about the play he has actually written, these obvious things being merely that an excellent performance by Spencer Tracy hardly succeeds in lifting it above its usually pedestrian level and that its effective passages, of which there are several, strike one as being rhetorical rather than poetic. Mr. Sherwood seems to be saying what he believes and what he believes the world ought to hear, but he also seems to be saying it with the sincerity of an honest publicist, which is very different from the sort of sincerity only to be achieved by the writer who is writing not off the top of his mind but out of its painful depths.

Few recent writers taking off from a contemporary problem have done more, and I can cite only Maxwell Anderson's "Key Largo" as even a half-successful attempt to get beyond journalism to some more than journalistic truth. But that does not change the fact that the real defect in almost all our so-called serious plays is simply that they are not in any dramatic, or poetic, or philosophical sense serious enough.

Films

JAMES AGEE

"THE LAST CHANCE" was made by Lazar Wechsler, in Switzerland, during the war. It is the story of the attempt of some derelict English and American soldiers to shepherd a polyglot group of refugees across the mountains from Italy into Switzerland. Most of the players are amateurs; some of them virtually reenact their living roles as refugees. With minor exceptions the performances, or the ways in which nonperformances are put to good use, are excellent. Some of the character conceptions, symbolizations, and melodramatic passages are over-obvious, high-flavored, and stagy, but none of the weaknesses of the film more than superficially vitiate its desperate courage, humaneness, and intensity, or its over-all eloquence. Nor does it strike me as dated: the world it tries to epitomize has changed, since the film was made, more for the worse than for the better. I am therefore more interested in Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's attempt to give it regular feature-film circulation; I only wish I could believe that it will please, and arouse, any sufficient part of the general American audience.

Glad as I am, in some respects, that Metro plans to put a number of European films into broad circulation, I feel it may turn out to be a mixed blessing. I don't know, but think it reasonable to assume, that the effort is being made as one part of breaking down European tendencies to lock theaters against American films. If this is so and the reciprocal circulation gets going at all strong, I am afraid we shall have to expect more harm than good; that American films will become, more than ever before, vapid, safe advertisements of our well-known way of life—even touched up or supervised, perhaps, by the State Department; and that European films will become more and more "American" in style and content; and that it will on the whole become harder than before, not only here but in Europe, to make films that are worth making. I agree with anyone who insists that movies can be international in style and content; but for every good foot of internationalization I would expect a hundred bad, and would expect it even if that were not the way the money is stacked. Moreover, since intimate specification is even less dispensable to most good art than generalization, I believe that most of the best films, like most of the best of any other art, are and would always have to be developed locally, and primarily for local audiences.

"My Name Is Julia Ross," a mouse-among-cats thriller, shows bewildered Nina Foch, who thought she was merely a new secretary, trying to escape from Dame May Whitty and George Macready, who insist that she is respectively their daughter-in-law and wife, and who do their best to drive her to madness and suicide. The film is well planned, mostly well played, well directed, and in a somewhat boom-happy way well photographed—all around, a likable, unpretentious, generally successful attempt to turn good trash into decently artful entertainment. I have to add that I was not scared or even excited nearly so often as it was obvious I should be; but I suspect the deficiency was not the film's, but was temporary, and my own.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE best of Victor's November releases are a number of operatic recordings on single discs; and one of the best of these is *Pace, pace, mio Dio* from "La Forza del Destino" sung by Zinka Milanov (11-8927; $1). This singer has one of the most beautiful soprano voices of today, but one that she hasn't always under control; so that I have heard her go through most of a performance of "Don Giovanni" with a terrific tremolo, and then in one of the scenes of the second act suddenly begin to produce the steady, clear tones that are so beautiful, and that are also exciting in the way they are controlled and manipulated into inflected phrases. In *Pace, pace* most of her singing is of this beautiful and exciting kind, with only a few tones clouded by tremolo. The orchestral accompaniment provided by Frieda Weissmann is good; and the performance is well-recorded. On the reverse side, unfortunately, is *Voi lo sapete* from "Cavalleria Rusticana."

Milanov's singing is excellent also in the *Mira, Norma* duet from "Norma" (11-8924; $1); and with a properly matched alto voice there would have been a performance to rival the Ponselle-Telva version. But instead of the blending of two lovely voices on the old record we get the clashing of the beauty of Milanov's voice with the harshness and tremolo of Margaret Harshaw's.

In the *Miserere* duet from "Il Trovatore" (11-8782; $1) we get an example of unpleasantly tremolo-ridden singing by Milanov; but Jan Peerce's singing is excellent, as it is in *Ai nostri monti* on the reverse side, in which Kerstin Thorborg's beautiful voice begins to sound a little worn from the tightness one hears in its production. Weissmann's accompaniments are good; and the performances are well-recorded.

As a matter of fact one is aware of strain in Peerce's singing too—not from tightness in production but from straining for volume. This is the only defect in his superb singing of *Parmi veder le lagrime* from "Rigoletto" and *De' miei bollenti spiriti* from "La Traviata." Sylvan Levin's accompaniments are outstanding in their dramatic vitality and sensitiveness to the vocal line; and the performances are well recorded (11-8926; $1).

But if Peerce forces, then what Leonard Warren does in the Toreador Song from "Carmen" (11-8744; $1) can be described only as bellowing; and it is made worse by brashly reverberant recording that also exaggerates the heavy insensitiveness of William Tarasch's accompaniment. There is something more like singing in *Largo al factotum* from "The Barber of Seville"—that is, some modeling of the tones for phraseological inflection; but also a very hammy imitation of a style which Warren has no real feeling for.

One singer whom Victor might have used with Milanov in the "Norma" duet is Blanche Thebom, whose fresh and luscious mezzo-soprano voice is heard in the beautiful luxuriance of Brangäne's Warning from "Tristan und Isolde" (11-8928; $1); and, on the reverse side, in two "bleeding chunks" torn out of the Fricka-Wotan argument in "Die Walküre," which I find it difficult to listen to. Weissmann's accompaniments are his best of the series; and the performances are well-recorded.

And finally Victor has put on a single disc (11-8925 ;$1) the two sides of the Farewell and Death of Boris from the "Boris Godunov" set that I reviewed a few months ago.

As for Victor's November sets, they haven't given me the pleasure I would have liked to get from them. Schumann's Piano Concerto is a work I am very fond of; and I would like the performance by Arrau with the Detroit Symphony under Krueger (Set 1009; $4.50) if the piano part were played with the simplicity of the clarinettist's statement of the lovely opening theme, instead of the mannered style of Arrau's repetition of the theme immediately afterward, and if, with all its affectation, his playing were not so graceless and his touch not so hard. Myra Hess's older recorded performance is in the same affected style; but her playing is that of a person basically sensitive to music and instrument in a way that Arrau is not. His performance of the third movement, however, is superior to hers; for he drops affectation to play the music straightforwardly and spiritedly, and therefore effectively, whereas she takes all the life out of it with her slow pace and flabby style. The over-all recorded sound of the new version is rich and spacious, but loses volume and brilliance near the ends of some sides; the balance of piano and orchestra is excel-

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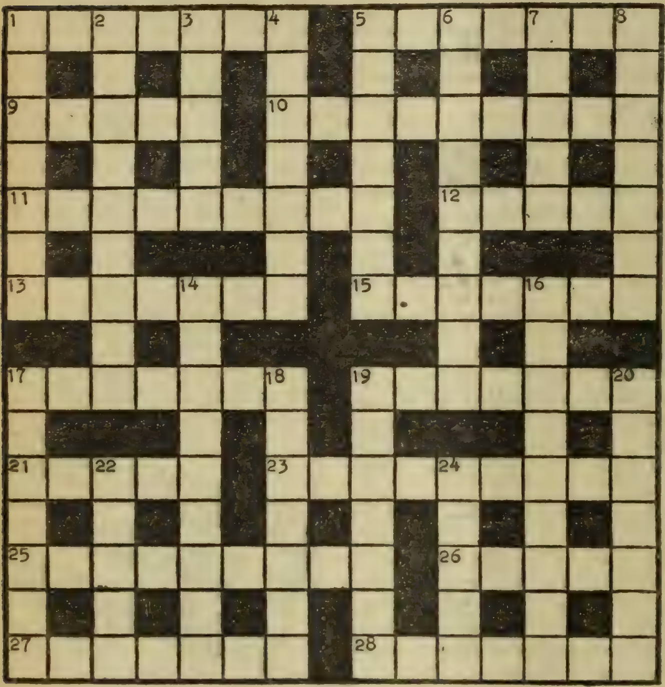
Crossword Puzzle No. 136

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Gone bad (anag.)
5 Explain
9 A rat in anger
10 Stare at us (anag.)
11 Has he something profitable to tell, or is he merely contradictory?
12 The right cereal for the police?
13 "We are such stuff As dreams are made on; and our little life Is ------- with a sleep"
15 This Shakespearean character is unlike his master, who is charming
17 Tool that is observed to worry
19 Rolling out the barrel is no treat for them
21 There's a boy in the clearing
23 Suitable headgear for a chaplain to a labor battalion? (two words, 6 & 3)
25 Known as the Virgin Queen, and as a queen was a success
26 Urban? Far from it
27 Gland that's been concerned in quite a bit of monkey business
28 She is in the money

DOWN

1 The wealthy widow begs us to have a gamble
2 Thanks, that expresses it
3 Remains of a he-ass, apparently
4 Tried a simple composition to start with
5 Otherwise typhoid
6 It might contain documents of interest to the harbor master
7 This with most is extreme
8 Rescind (anag.)
14 E. O. Despard reforms, but not for the better
16 American consul who spent most of his time in Glasgow writing Western stories (two words, 4 & 5)
17 To suggest that fruit's intended is a pure invention
18 London's fashionable part (two words, 4 & 3)
19 The outer man's principal need
20 Pays for the seats
22 Want friendship? See Amy about it!
24 Very strange

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 135

ACROSS:—1 ARTHUR; 5 WARSAW; 9 SOYBEAN; 11 ESTEEM; 12 TIRADE; 13 RAPHAEL; 14 TRES; 17 CELL; 19 SARTORIAL; 22 TODAY; 23 OLDER; 25 SALAAM; 26 MEDDLE; 27 DEMON; 29 SCOOP; 31 NONENTITY; 34 AKIN; 36 ERSE; 37 POOR MAN; 39 ARCHER; 40 DARTER; 41 RED DEER; 42 AENEID; 43 SYDNEY.

DOWN:—1 AVERTS; 2 TOTTER; 3 USER; 4 ROMAN ROAD; 5 WATER; 6 ANIL; 7 SCALED; 8 WEEKLY; 10 BEHEAD; 15 RANSACK; 16 STILTON; 17 CORDITE; 18 LAMENTS; 20 ILMEN; 21 LEMON; 24 RENEGADES; 28 MOORED; 29 SAHARA; 30 OILCAN; 32 IRETON; 33 YEARLY; 35 GORED; 37 PERI; 38 NARY.

---

lent, but the woodwinds, though audible, are weak in relation to the rest.

My even greater dislike of what Artur Rubinstein does with—or to—Beethoven's Sonata Opus 57 ("Appassionata") (Set 1018; $3.50) will, I am sure, count for very little in his mind as against the thunderous approval of the hundreds of thousands of people who packed his concerts for this display of virtuoso temperament and technique that tears apart the first movement and rips through the finale. I don't know whether the recording or the piano itself is responsible for its peculiar sound on the records; and I suppose a clear recording of what Rubinstein does in the finale would be impossible.

As for the set (1014; $4.50) of Schubert's Symphony No. 6, it gave me some pleasure with the beautiful playing of the London Philharmonic under Beecham, and with a recorded orchestral sound characteristic of English practice in the way it is clearly and cleanly defined in live but unreverberant quiet (but characteristic also in its heavy bass); but the work is one of Schubert's early, immature, and ramblingly inconsequential copies of the external forms of his predecessors. On the eighth side is the finale of Mozart's "Eine kleine Nachtmusik," which Beecham makes almost unrecognizable with one of the insanely slow tempos he goes in for now and then—for example in the first movement of Mozart's Symphony K. 201 and the minuet movement of the "Jupiter" Symphony.

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The Shape of Things

IN HIS IMPRESSIVE OPENING ADDRESS, THE American prosecutor, Robert H. Jackson, described the Nürnberg trial as "one of the most magnificent tributes that power ever has paid to reason." This set the keynote of the affair, and it strikes us as a false one. The Nazis on trial are criminals who planned and committed their crimes in broad daylight, proclaimed them, and rubbed the world's nose in them. They should be punished, and perhaps in the process it is well to dramatize their guilt by spreading on the record the documented story of their monstrous conspiracy of terror—lest the world grow forgetful or indifferent. This is good propaganda. But propaganda is not law; and the trial is riddled through with specious pretenses that the prosecutor's appeal to "reason" only accentuated. For it is not a fact that the Nazi leaders are being given "their day in court." They are being given the trappings of legality with little of its essence. This is unfortunate; first, because it presents the defendants with a broad target for technical rebuttal; second, because it brings law itself into contempt by converting a justifiable political procedure into a dubious legal one. If Germany had carried through a revolution after its defeat, punishment of the fascist "élite" would have been accomplished promptly and by political action. Since this did not happen, the criminals fell into the hands of the invading armies, and the International Military Tribunal was the result. In our opinion the proper procedure for this body would have been to identify the prisoners, read off their crimes with as much supporting data as seemed useful, pass judgment upon them quickly, and carry out the judgment without any delay whatever. We agree with Dr. Vambery's analysis of the trial printed on another page of this issue: when political acts are disguised as law, both politics and law are vitiated.

✣

THE ATTEMPT TO TURN THE PEARL HARBOR hearings into a Republican holiday has miserably failed. President Roosevelt could not answer the grotesque suggestion that he had deliberately baited the Japanese into attacking so that he could force this country into the European war. But the evidence itself refuted the slander, and the tables were completely turned when former Secretary of State Hull and former Under Secretary Welles took the stand. The story they told was the familiar one of patient negotiations, long-continued appeasement, repeated efforts to find compromise solutions acceptable to Japan, and along with these a modest show of strength intended to warn the Japanese militarists that our forbearance had limits. Keeping the fleet at Hawaii was the major part of that show. The two letters from Mr. Churchill to Mr. Roosevelt clearly indicate that he thought the President too hesitant and too conciliatory in dealing with Japan; while Matsuoka's amazing conversation with Hitler—published at Nürnberg—reveals his cold-blooded determination to precipitate war with the West in order to accomplish the last item in Japan's expansionist program. Indeed, as the record unfolds, the Republican charges appear more and more preposterous. By the time the hearings end, a contrary verdict may well have been reached and the Administration found guilty not of goading an unwilling Japan into war but rather of exercising excessive caution, which had the inevitable effect of inflating Japanese demands and multiplying Japanese aggressions.

*

WITH THE GREAT MILITARY VICTORY WON IT IS fitting that the chief architects of victory should step down, to be replaced by younger leaders who achieved stature on the battlefield. Yet one can hardly see General Marshall and Admiral King leave office without sensing a loss, or without feeling a profound sense of gratitude and respect for the intellectual grasp, the single-mindedness, the energy, and the devotion they brought to their duties. Marshall in particular is assured a high place in history. He has been called one of the finest soldiers the United States army ever produced; more likely he will stand as the finest soldier who ever produced a United States army. General Marshall's distinguished successor marked his elevation to the top of his profession by giving the American Legion convention in Chicago the most sensible and realistic arguments for universal military training that we have heard. General Eisenhower is too honest to pretend that another war will be fought as the last one was; he has the vision to call for "machinery by which the world may settle its difficulties legally and peaceably"; he is realistic enough to demand a United States strong enough to fight another war if that machinery should fail in conception or execution. The same newspaper that carried Eisenhower's speech brought news of United States submarines being armed with rocket guns right now, with the "distinct probability" of a future development in which atomic-explosive rockets will be fired from a submerged submarine. General Eisenhower knows the shape of future war. He wants universal training because in a time of "sudden and devastating raids" it would be better to have "trained and disciplined men ready to fight the conflagration, to rescue the wounded, and to rally instantly behind their leaders." In other words the army will train several hundred thousand disaster experts annually. One may disagree with the proposition, but it is refreshing to have it stated so bluntly.

*

NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, THAT PRICKLY RELIC of an age of wars, has come in for some rough handling during the last few weeks. The Truman-Attlee-King statement, for all its wooliness, delivered the sacred doctrine a few pointed jabs. If a United Nations authority is to have power to inspect and poke around for concealed atomic weapons in any nation then national security has ceased to be a private affair. Last week, the Tory Eden and the Laborite Bevin had their turn. The first suggested that because "every succeeding scientific discovery makes greater nonsense of the old-time conception of sovereignty" big nations had better be prepared to give up their veto rights on the Security Council. The second talked of a radical reconstitution of the United Nations Assembly to make it a directly-elected body with the Security Council responsible to it. Perhaps these English voices echo an awareness that Britain is no longer to be numbered with the great powers and consequently must press, along with the middle and smaller powers, for greater equality between nations and more authority vested in the international body. Perhaps behind them are more sinister motives. Perhaps they simply show that England has reached a political maturity that this country and Russia have not yet achieved. For the giants, misled by the more obvious manifestations of strength, view all suggestions of international understanding with suspicion and resist an authority that might curb their sovereign arrogance. Indeed, the urgent practical problem between now and January when the United Nations Assembly meets is to discover the means whereby the two greatest powers can be brought to a common ground of honest discussion and understanding. No effort must be spared to effect this. For at the United Nations meeting the test will come: it will not be a test for the survival of Russian or American or British sovereignty but the first of a series of tests for the survival of our civilization.

*

THE FRENCH POLITICAL CRISIS WAS OVERCOME by an ingenious compromise which leaves General de Gaulle's position substantially intact, but provides the Communists with the letter of their demands. De Gaulle's first attempt to form a Cabinet, after the Assembly had elected him interim President of the Republic, broke down when he refused to allot the Communists one of the three key ministries—Foreign Affairs, Interior, or War. Now he has abolished the last of these offices and made himself Chief of the Armies, which, in effect, means Minister of Defense. However, the Communists are satisfied by the appointment of one of their deputies to the new position of Minister of Armaments even though this office will be under the direct supervision of the President. In addition they have obtained one of the four new Ministries of State, whose holders are to serve as coordinators rather than administrators, together with the portfolios of National Economy, Industrial Production, and Labor. Thus they will be in a favorable position to influence the transformation of the French economic system and will bear a heavy responsibility for the tempo of industrial reconstruction. The other positions in the government are mainly divided between the Socialists and the Popular Republicans. Among the former we welcome the inclusion as Minister of Public Works and Transport of our contributor Jules Moch. At its first meeting, the new Cabinet gave a favorable reception to De Gaulle's program, which emphasized administrative and economic reform. By calling for the preparation of plans to nationalize banking and electrical power, De Gaulle pleased the three major parties, all of which have advocated such measures. But despite a smooth beginning the government is likely to run into stormy weather, particularly on questions of foreign policy and finance. The first test may come on the budget, which

M. Pleven, Minister of Finance, proposes to submit to the Assembly immediately.

✶

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS urging prompt action on a program to safeguard the health of the American people deserves far more attention than it has received. Citing the appallingly high rejection rate of the army and navy as evidence that large sections of our population lack the medical and dental services which this country is technically able to provide, the President called attention to the uneven distribution of doctors and hospitals, the inadequacy of existing public-health facilities, the need for far more intensive research than is now being carried on, and the present excessive cost of medical care. Many of the detailed provisions of a broad federal health program were not included in his message, but Mr. Truman pulled no punches in aligning the Administration behind the general principles of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. He indorsed an inclusive medical-insurance plan covering all types of medical and dental care, that would apply to the whole population. He also called for the extensive use of federal funds to aid in hospital construction and the expansion of public-health, maternal, and child-health services. Unfortunately the President did not make his health program a "must" for 1945. Certainly no item on the calendar, with the possible excepiton of the full-employment bill, is more important.

G. M. Strike, '46 Model

IN THE good old days, strikes, like everything else in life, were simpler. The union posed a demand for better wages, hours, and working conditions. The management made a reply, and if the gap was too great both sides slugged it out until one or the other or both were hurt enough to agree to a solution. In the General Motors strike, the forerunner and prototype of many more to come during the transition period, neither the issues nor the contestants are so uncomplicated.

On the one hand, the C. I. O. United Automobile Workers are asking not merely for a wage increase, but for acceptance of a program with new and startling implications concerning prices, a theory of national economics, the workers' alternate role as consumer, and the notion that a great corporation's finances can no longer be considered a private matter, that, indeed, its operations are affected with a public interest. In making these demands, the protagonist is not the union alone; it is the great non-corporate mass of Americans. On the other hand, the opponent is not merely G. M., but a federation of America's big business enterprises. While they are combating wage increases, they are also fighting the government which supports Reuther's economic policy, and the one agency of that government, the OPA, which most effectively gores their ox. And they are further struggling to prevent two alarming innovations. The first is the idea of making public for inspection the secrets of their finances, earnings, and expenses. The second is the closing of an avenue of escape they formerly employed when a union got too strong for them—conspiring with the union to take wage increases out of the hides of the consumers.

Developments during the G. M. wage negotiations and during the first few days of the strike illustrate the new kind of battle and reveal the new issues and conflicts which will be seen in the disputes coming up in the next weeks or months.

Walter P. Reuther, U. A. W. vice-president in charge of G. M. negotiations, began discussions which proved that the old-fashioned bargaining methods of breast-beating, arm-waving, oath-taking, and tub-thumping had given way to something more adult. He began by presenting a remarkably well-written and tightly argued series of economic briefs, crammed with such compelling facts and figures that G. M. ducked most of them and the answer it made to the rest could be knocked down by a sophomore economics student. Next, and even more terrifying to the company, Reuther firmly insisted that wage increases were not to be charged to the automobile purchaser. His argument that workers are consumers, even his broader argument for the necessity of nationally increased purchasing power, were not world-shaking economic novelties, but they were pronouncements to make G. M. and American industry generally shake in their boots. Unions may have advanced the arguments before, but never so adamantly. And, finally, Reuther raised the sixty-four-dollar question, or more accurately, considering its effect on all American business, the sixty-four-million-dollar question: In settling the dispute, whether by direct negotiations, fact-finding, or arbitration, would G. M. open its books?

G. M. said no, not merely because it is afraid of the facts its books would show, but because of the principle involved. It is noteworthy that in rejecting the arbitration offer, or in failing simply to agree to arbitration in principle with criteria to be worked out later—a reply which almost certainly would have been acceptable to the union—G. M. could not make up its mind within the twenty-four-hour deadline set by the union. It does not take an unusually cynical mind to suspect that G. M. needed more time in order to do some consulting. This suspicion is strengthened by the language used in turning down the offer: "The union proposed that G. M. relinquish its right to manage its own business," and the proposal meant that "an arbitration board would assume the responsibilities of management." That such a reply is obviously ridiculous in the light of the history of arbitration is not the point. Its significance lies in the fact that the words are almost identical with those used by Sewell Avery a few days before when he rejected a union proposal for arbitration in the Montgomery Ward dispute. They echo what has been implicit in the Greyhound Bus Lines' refusal to arbitrate its strike. It is evident that in regard to arbitration, that golden solution business always extolled for the other fellow's company and for all unions, there is a meeting of minds among industrial leaders.

In General Motors, as in the rest of strike-threatened American industry, much greater issues are at stake for the employers than hourly wage increases to maintain take-home pay. Management is out to scotch the deadly heresy that prices and profits are the public's business. It is in a peculiarly strong battling position. First, the repeal of the excess-profits tax makes strikes from now until the first of next year relatively inexpensive. G. M. is in a slightly less fortunate position because of the competitive necessity to reconvert quickly, but even so the strike was ill-timed from the union's standpoint. Second, industry can count for a while at least on Congress playing its game. Although legislation may ultimately be passed that will restrict business as much as labor, Congress at the moment is anti-union. Third, industry is gambling on the new man in the White House and drawing enormous comfort from the fact that the President's closest adviser is John W. Snyder, whose instincts and acts are predictable, consistent, and conservative.

By resisting higher wages, enforced publicity of its books, and a post-war economic philosophy, industry also hopes to knock off another foe, the OPA. Its plan of campaign is based on the expectation that when the strike situation becomes sufficiently desperate and reconversion sufficiently jeopardized, the Administration will have no alternative but to lift price ceilings to the point where the OPA must collapse. Or if the Administration refuses, Congress itself will seize the long-awaited excuse to exterminate the OPA. Ben Fairless of U. S. Steel has already sounded the battle cry, stating in almost so many words that collective bargaining could be resumed if OPA were out of the picture. G. M.'s position amounts to the same thing.

In taking a stand against higher prices, Reuther is fighting the government's battle and the consumers' battle. When American consumers realize that he and like-minded unionists are working for them more effectively and intelligently than anyone since Leon Henderson and Chester Bowles, the current wave of strikes will be settled quickly and the right way.

Economics in the Atomic Age

SINCE Hiroshima there has been a tremendous outpouring of words, written and oral, on the subject of atomic energy, of which perhaps 1 per cent has been devoted to the benefits mankind might derive from this truly Promethean advance in knowledge. There are, unfortunately, all too good reasons for concentration on the evil aspects of this new fruit of the tree of knowledge, for the only practical use to which it has so far been put is destruction. And its potentialities for that purpose are so terrific that our immediate, overwhelming concern must be to prevent its use in global suicide.

Consequently, while the central problem created by the atom bomb—discussed in the last two issues of *The Nation* by Freda Kirchwey and King Gordon—remains unsolved, it may seem a little futile to speculate about the economic consequences of atomic fission. If means cannot be found to control the use of atomic weapons, if we are doomed to a new armament race, then research in nuclear physics will be directed toward military rather than industrial ends. Moreover, in this situation security will demand the maintenance of an iron curtain of secrecy. Freedom of scientific communication will be curtailed inside each country, and internationally it will be lost altogether. With science confined in the kind of concentration camp provided for it by the May-Johnson bill, its progress will be seriously slowed down if it is not entirely stalled.

Another consequence of failure to institute international controls for the military use of atomic energy will be that any discoveries made in its industrial utilization will be maintained as national monopolies instead of being made available for the common benefit of mankind. Thus economically as well as politically the policy of the "sacred" but exclusive trust must sharpen national rivalries and enhance national jealousies. Yet if the world could be freed from its preoccupation with the military aspects of atomic power so that scientists everywhere could cooperate in developing its peaceful uses, there would be a real prospect of easing the economic pressures which have so often proved the root causes of war.

Much needs to be done before atomic fission can be safely harnessed for industrial purposes, but potentially it offers us an inexhaustible supply of energy at a very low cost in terms of human labor. Properly applied, this energy could overcome the abysmal poverty in which the greater part of mankind stagnates today. It could be used to produce cheap fertilizer on a tremendous scale for the restoration of exhausted soils which now provide a bare means of subsistence for Asia's masses. Used for irrigation, it could make deserts fit for human habitation and so create outlets for surplus populations. By making possible cheap air-conditioning in the tropics and large scale space-heating in cold countries, it could reduce the handicaps imposed on many peoples by climatic extremes.

From the American point of view, however, the promise of increased human productivity has its ambiguous aspects. For it appears to intensify problems of overproduction and technological unemployment which are already deeply disturbing. If atomic energy adds to our capacity for producing goods, can we raise consumption to an equal extent, or will this new tool simply throw more men out of work? Dr. Abba P. Lerner has pointed out in *Common Sense* that there is a vital connection between the answers found to these questions and the problem of war prevention. According to Marxist dogmas, capitalist societies cannot solve the unemployment problem, since their pattern of distribution generates insufficient domestic consuming power to absorb capacity production. Consequently they are forced to attempt to solve their production problems by resorting to the outlets furnished by imperialism and war. Until America, therefore, proves its ability to combine full employment and private enterprise, Russian policy is likely to be based on the need for preparedness against eventual capitalist aggression.

We may or may not consider this thesis grotesque, but it can hardly be denied that a failure by the United States to solve its employment problem, a repetition of the boom-and-bust cycle of the inter-war years, would produce new and acute tensions, internal and external. Left to itself, private enterprise is all too likely to suffer a crisis of confidence with or without atomic assistance. Yet atomic energy could prove the *deus ex machina*, giving us more time to grapple with the contradictions of our economic system, if its development offered a new outlet for surplus savings and it thus filled the historical role created by steam power and later taken over by electricity and the internal-combustion engine.

To play this part, however, the exploitation of atomic energy must be freed from military trammels and kept out of the hands of private monopolies. Since the primary objective of the May-Johnson bill is security, it is a fair assumption that the control commission it sets up would be dominated by the army. Further, the logic of security would call for the stifling of independent scientific investigations and encourage concentration of research in the more easily controlled laboratories of the big corporations, which always enjoy an inside track to the Pentagon. The result would be that decisions on the industrial application of discoveries in the atomic field would be left largely in the hands of those whose interests are often best served by the suppression or restriction of inventions which threaten existing capital values.

The conclusion is inescapable. Oak Ridge, Hanford, and Los Alamos and the "know-how" they incorporate are the fruit of an investment of public funds and must remain public property. The government need not monopolize the preparation and utilization of fissionable materials, but it should make sure that no one else does so, by continuing to finance research and by undertaking whatever "yardstick" industrial operations the results of that research justify.

[*This is the last of a series of editorials on certain aspects of atomic control which will be discussed at the conference called by The Nation Associates at the Hotel Astor in New York on December 1–3.*]

The Two Nuernbergs

BY PETER DE MENDELSSOHN

(The Nation's *special correspondent at the war trials*]

Nürnberg, November 21 (by cable)

THERE are two Nürnbergs in this town, enshrouded in wintry mists and drizzling rain: one, all but forgotten by the world, is a stark, fearful reality to the citizens, who gaze on it with uncomprehending eyes; the other, now in the world's limelight, means little or nothing to the people. There is more than outward significance in the fact that two miles separate the medieval walled city, reduced to a heap of rubble by Allied air attacks, from the vast, rambling courthouse on the outskirts of the town, where under the majestic flags of four victorious powers the Allied Military Tribunal now hears an overwhelming array of evidence against twenty Nazi criminals. To one who visits both, their distance apart seems not only a matter of miles but of centuries; the difference is that of two of the world's ages. Indeed, looking down from the press gallery on Julius Streicher, square-jawed, short, bald-headed, and insignificant, resembling a suburban grocer, one finds it hard to believe that this is the man who only a short while ago ruled this town with a riding whip in his hand and a revolver in his belt and who reduced ancient and populous Jewish communities to a few pitiful souls now cared for, oddly enough, by the friendly Dr. Nürnberger. Here side by side are the beginning and the end of the story. The overcrowded tram cars which take one from the old town to the courthouse seem to rumble purposelessly through a strange, oppressive historical vacuum.

The old town lies quiet, as if it had died a hundred years ago, seemingly forgetful of its former splendor, no longer caring what flattened it to ash and rubble. I have seen most of the destroyed cities of Germany, and Nürnberg is different from all the others. I shall never forget my first view of it as I wandered through its abandoned ruins on a cold, only occasionally sunlit Sunday morning. This town breathed history while it lived, and it still manages fleetingly to suggest—in an occasional wondrous flash—the fact of its antiquity. It is perhaps a callous thing to say, but there is charm and even beauty in its ravaged face. Destroyed Nürnberg somehow isn't hideous, like other bombed cities; one doesn't associate its death with the war. It looks like a medieval walled town razed by a gigantic catastrophe, a great fire or an earthquake.

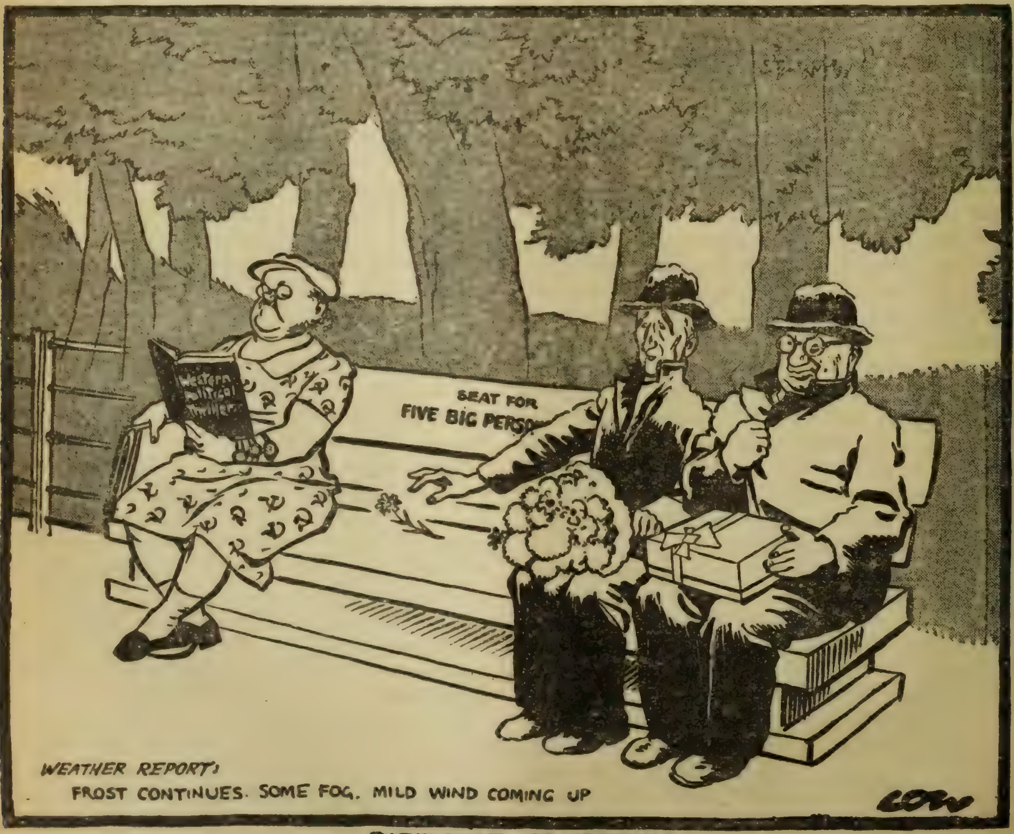
Against the immeasurable agony they caused, the twenty shabby men who sit on hard wooden benches in the courthouse facing the eight just men of the tribunal seem almost out of proportion. (They face also in the press gallery old "friends" like Shirer, Howard Smith, Louis Lochner, and Fred Oechsner, whom Göring and Ribbentrop recognized with an uncomfortable look.) Clearly, they do not measure up to the tremendous significance of the trial. One can't help feeling one would have liked to see bigger men—bigger in every sense—answer for the calamity which will be unfolded by the evidence laid before the tribunal. These are very little men, and that is perhaps what makes their conspiracy the outrageous thing it was.

Hitler, of course, isn't there. Those who are there are a ragged, spiritless, motley crew of second-rate characters. The light, if ever it shone in them, has certainly gone out. What was that light? Was it Hitler? Something undoubtedly held the group together. What the trial would have been like if Hitler had been taken alive it is difficult to imagine. In trying twenty of his closest friends and associates is the tribunal also trying him? It doesn't seem so. He seems far removed from it all. One can't help feeling that in a way the tribunal is trying the bulb and not the light, an empty cartridge and not the explosive that fired it. But the course of the trial may change that impression. It may or may not place Hitler finally in history, reveal him as he really was.

Looking at them now in the harsh glare of big searchlight lamps suspended from the ceiling, one perceives not even the dull reflection of his dynamism in the faces of these gray, tired, uninspired men. On the first day, when the long indictment was read, they apparently took things rather easily. They chatted, smiled, exchanged supercilious and facetious looks. On the second day, which began with the tribunal's rejection of an absurd and impertinent motion offered by defense counsel and ended with Jackson's hard-hitting, closely argued, and masterfully delivered address, their faces grew long and serious. But even in their littleness they are not a homogeneous group. Frick sits in the dock like a dismissed school teacher; Funk suggests a traveling salesman fallen on hard times. Schacht is clearly in a class by himself. He keeps a demonstrative distance from the others, sitting stiffly in a corner as if to indicate he is there by mistake and if the court doesn't realize that, so much the worse for the court. Papen and Neurath, white-haired and bronzed, evidently conceive of themselves as the gentlemen of the party; Seyss-Inquart, looking the second-rate suburban lawyer that he was, obviously isn't admitted to their select circle. Doenitz and Raeder, the two admirals, look like a couple of discharged street-car conductors on the dole—one can't believe that these two miserable tramps knew the first thing about naval strategy. Ribbentrop, Hess, and Göring sit together; both Ribbentrop and Göring apparently take a friendly interest in the haggard, hollow-eyed erstwhile Deputy Führer, who most of the time has his arms crossed squarely over his chest, as one remembers him sitting in the front row of the big party rallies. Hess makes the utterly lonely and God-forsaken impression of a complete cipher, but the prison psychiatrist says he is intelligent, alert, and logical in conversation. One wouldn't be surprised suddenly to find he was dead and nobody had noticed it. The once flashing Ribbentrop has aged considerably; he looks frail, his hair is thin and gray; he has a loose stooping gait which accentuates his rundown appearance.

It is Göring, in a strange light-gray uniform with shining brass buttons that looks like a cinema usher's coat, who is the star of the performance. He has the star's seat at the beginning of the front row, where he is clearly visible from all sides—except when an American guard plants himself in front of him and stares him intently in the face; this does not bother Göring at all—he stares back interestedly at the soldier's uniform. He is composed, sure of himself, behaves as if he were at home. Yet he is never supercilious or facetious like, for instance, Frank, who is far and away the unpleasantest of the lot. Göring follows the proceedings intently. To him the trial obviously isn't a good proposition, but he seems determined to see what he can make of it through civility, manners, and adult behavior. Judge Lawrence's sharp rebuff on the second day, when he tried to read the statement instead of answering guilty or not guilty, did not upset him. If given a chance, he will try again.

Wandering back to the dark, dead town at the close of the session, one still finds it hard to convince oneself of the reality of the whole affair. But it is true. Twenty little wretches who mean nothing and terrify nobody are sitting in the dock. This is the last instalment of a serial that has run twelve years too long.


Western Political Thrillers
SEAT FOR FIVE BIG PERSO
WEATHER REPORT:
FROST CONTINUES. SOME FOG. MILD WIND COMING UP
LOW

DIFFICULT COURTSHIP

"Negative" Socialism in Britain

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

(The Nation's *London correspondent)*

London, November 8

FIRM in the Faith, G. K. Chesterton wrote consolingly, " 'Neath no world terror's wing, apples forget to grow on apple trees." Conscious that their endeavors may all be nullified by one big bang unless the present tangle surrounding the atomic bomb is unraveled, the British Labor government conscientiously continues the cultivation of its domestic orchard—with restless Socialist back-benchers quizzing critically the sparseness, so far, of the crop. The mutineers who threatened to force a resolution in favor of an immediate increase of old-age pensions have so far been kept "below decks" by Mr. Morrison, brandishing a disciplinary pistol from the ministerial poop, but they are by no means subdued. And this week there has been a new revolt. Irritated by the discovery that legislation on big issues like the financing of housing and the nationalization of coal is not ready—so that the time of Parliament has had to be devoted during the past fortnight to a series of petty bills mostly inherited from the Coalition—Labor members have relieved their feelings by improving, in committee, the government's measure providing for a new system of compensation for industrial injuries. Mr. Griffiths, Minister of National Insurance, pleaded in vain for "loyalty" from the rebels. They stood their ground, and a number of other back-bench amendments raising the rates and "humanizing" the conditions of benefit are due for discussion.

Trivial enough in themselves, these incidents are symptomatic of a growing rift between the Ministers and their supporters *in Parliament.* I emphasize the last two words because in the electorate as a whole Labor voters, as witness the big Labor gains in last week's municipal elections, are still staunch in their party faith and allegiance. Parliament is peculiar in that whereas the Cabinet consists of elderly men strongly influenced in some cases by their upbringing in the trade-union movement, the Parliamentary party is definitely "intellectual" in its composition; it contains a number of relatively young men with university degrees and a keen insight into the implications of demi-semi-socialism. Their headache is not so much the months of gestation apparently required by the Cabinet before delivery of a concerted legislative plan for full employment, settlement of post-war wages, and, above all, production of houses and coal. What makes them profoundly uneasy about the present trend is the fear that we are getting a sort of *negative* socialism which will neither work nor let capitalism work. In other words, the emphasis at the moment is all on preventing the private entrepreneur from canalizing our limited resources in directions which would be contrary to the general interest. Thus "controlled" and disciplined, the private entrepreneur sits back and does nothing. And nothing has yet been put productively in his place.

The result is most painfully obvious in the matter of housing. Here the government's policy is rooted in the decision *not* to nationalize the building industry, made up as it is of a few large and a host of small contractors. Instead, the industry is held in apron strings by very stringent indirect controls. All building is subject to license, and no license is now being issued for a house costing more than $4,800. This means that middle-class building is "out." Quite properly, since the working-class need of houses to rent is infinitely greater and deserves priority. But no building contractor will of his own initiative construct a $4,800 dwelling for a working-class tenant to rent. To begin with, a contractor is so uncertain of his future costs—with building operatives agitating vehemently for a big, immediate rise in pay—that his profit on such a house, which must conform to an approved specification of materials and size, would be dubious even if he sold it on completion. And if he were to let it, he could not count on getting anything like its true economic rent.

Given the existing average level of working-class earnings, nearly half the real rent of the approved-size house, if built with capital obtained at current commercial rates, must be made good out of Treasury subsidies; and these are not available to the private entrepreneur. So he keeps his workmen, quite profitably, busy doing leisurely repairs to blitzed dwellings, and waits for the local authorities to place contracts with him to build new houses.

On the disabilities of the local authorities, the shortage of architects, surveyors, and skilled draftsmen, your correspondent has already reported. These account in part for the fact that their housing programs have still not begun to materialize. But there are additional obstacles. The local authorities do not yet know what rate of interest they will have to pay on capital borrowed for housing from the Exchequer; they do not know what form of subsidy they are to draw—or from what source they are to draw it—to make up the difference between "obtainable" and "economic" rentals; and they do not know what system they will be required to operate, fixed-price contract or "cost plus a percentage," to check the cupidity of the contractors with whom they deal.

In short, it is once more being demonstrated, as it was in the case of many war contracts, that it is much more difficult and more productive of inefficiency to place private undertakings under control than to socialize them outright. Aneurin Bevan may yet be compelled to set up a National Building Corporation—in other words, to nationalize a big slice of the building industry. So far, his "controls," right and proper as they are in intention, have merely paralyzed the building industry by removing the normal capitalist incentive.

The discovery of a substitute for that incentive in a planned economy subject to partial public control is going to become Britain's chief problem. Linked to it is another awkward question—the relationship between management and labor in non-profit-making public corporations, the type of agency which the government has chosen to develop British civil airways, external and internal, which it will probably select to run the railways under state ownership, and which most members of the Cabinet favor as a mechanism to smooth the transition from capitalism to socialism. The possibility of grave disharmony within such corporations has been illustrated uncomfortably this week by the refusal of the London bus crews to obey the fiat of the London Passenger Transport Board that standing passengers up to a dozen must still be carried in rush hours and up to eight in the "off-peak" period. The crews contended that continuance of this wartime expedient was "inefficient": it meant that fares simply could not be collected by fatigued conductors, half of them girls, in overcrowded buses. The board's attitude was that the making of running rules was *their* function, not to be usurped by the employees. Stranded passengers wanted to know whether this sort of conflict, at the consumer-user's expense, was to be expected in every undertaking handed over to a public corporation.

There is considerable head-shaking, too, over the fact that the dockers' strike—broken by the government with the unlimited use of troops to work cargoes—was directed against employers who in many cases were public corporations operating ports.

As I have previously emphasized in this correspondence, a government which considers that its mandate is to socialize only a small sector of the national economy is bound to be up against the problem of incentives when it tries to achieve "planning," whether it be by imposing indirect controls or by converting the directors of a private monopoly into the management of a statutory but semi-autonomous public corporation. Mr. Dalton's autumn preview of next year's budget showed that he, at least, does not ignore the need for incentives in the form of increased spending power in return for effort. Though the risk of inflation in a time of acute commodity shortage prevented him from lowering materially the onerous, and deliberately restrictive, level of indirect taxation, his modest cut of 10 per cent in the standard rate of income tax and his partial restoration of the pre-war scales of tax-free "allowances" free two million people in the lower brackets from direct taxes on their pay packets, and represent quite an encouraging relief for all incomes up to $10,000 a year. (Why he made these concessions apply even to unearned income is something of a mystery; and his failure to restore the tax-free "earned-income allowance" up to a maximum of £300 has been so criticized as a departure from the principle of "more incentives" that he will probably incorporate this further relief in the budget when it is finally presented next April.)

But can a little lightening of what is bound to be for many years a terrific burden really provide the energizing principle? The mystique of the nineteenth-century British Socialists—brotherhood, social service, "each for all and all for each"—would have an old-fashioned, high-falutin' ring in the ears of British Labor today. The worker, by and large, is out for his "rights," whether the "boss" is a public corporation or a private employer, and he expects a Labor government to see that he gets them. The entrepreneur sees too many obstacles for his liking in the way of profitable activity; like the vanished prehistoric animals he is failing to adjust himself to his new environment. And the professional administrators, Mr. Burnham's "managerial class," in the big corporations and the higher grades of the bureaucracy have been left too tired by the war to wonder whether or not history is giving them omnipotence.

In time, one trusts, the Labor government will evolve a positive plan for Socialist action to fill the vacuum which at present exists. It is not very encouraging to learn that the promised National Investment Board, whose establishment was to follow the nationalization of the Bank of England, is likely to take the form of yet another "negative" control designed to withhold capital—by a licensing system imposed on new issues—from "unessential" undertakings. But, then, this Parliament is still young; ultimately the absolute necessity of fulfilling the promise of full employment will force the government to move with greater intrepidity along the road to "positive" socialism.

The question which overshadows all these immediate domestic perplexities is the problem of the bomb. This week's debate on it in the Commons was a bitter disappointment. Applauded by the Tories, Mr. Bevin struck despair into the hearts of the Labor back benches. He did not, it is true, go all the way with Mr. Churchill, who seemed to imagine that peace could be permanently imposed by an Anglo-American alliance—provided that the United States never lost its lead in the manufacture of bigger and better bombs, sold some to Britain, and persuaded the minor countries to eschew atomic weapons and trust in the wise, kind English-speaking policeman. To that counsel of despair, which would mean the confirmation of Russia's worst suspicions and the jettisoning of the whole work done at San Francisco, Mr. Bevin did not quite lend himself. He stressed his desire to see the authority of the World Security Council gradually strengthened and his disapproval of power politics, and he disclaimed any intention of planning action "detrimental" to the U. S. S. R. in Eastern Europe. But his references to Russia—seeking to "get right across the throat of the British Commonwealth" —were undisguisedly hostile; he indorsed the view that there should be no sharing of atomic knowledge—as if there were any real "secret" left to keep—until the international relations had been improved by "time and conciliation"; and he made it plain that he was just as determined as President Truman to retain powerful national armed forces of all kinds.

Appalled by this Palmerstonian speech, to which Mr. Attlee listened in silence, Labor members were left wondering whether it led to any conclusion really different from Mr. Churchill's Anglo-American alliance against Russia, whose determination not to be left behind in the atomic race Mr. Molotov had just emphasized. For is there much future for a World Authority if two of its principal members claim the right to outdo the rest in striking power? Is there much scope for "time and conciliation" to work if an ideological line-up against one great power is already evident?

Law and Legalism

BY RUSTEM VAMBERY

(Professor of criminal law and former dean of the Law School at the University of Budapest)

JURISTS may still be wrangling over their concept of law, as Immanuel Kant accused them of doing nearly two centuries ago. There are, nevertheless, some established principles governing these allegedly indefinable rules of conduct. *"Blut ist ein ganz besonderer Saft,"* wrote Goethe; and law, which circulates in the veins of the body politic, is a particular kind of precept. It is not merely a variety of prose divided into articles and sections. No lawmaker can afford to disregard the fundamental principles of law and jurisprudence. If he does, the enforced rules will be law only in name, as were the so-called laws issued by Mussolini and Hitler. Civilized nations have evolved these principles at the cost of millions of human lives, sacrificed in the struggle against tyranny, and no change in the substance of law should ignore them, for they are constituent parts of man's Bill of Rights and of our Western civilization.

There can be no difference of opinion about the necessity of exterminating the monsters who were responsible for the unspeakable horrors in Europe and Japan. That the Nazi and fascist leaders should be shot or hanged by the military or political power goes without saying, but has nothing to do with law. The selection of the culprits is the business of the political or military machinery. Application of a legal procedure in dealing with an unsuccessful revolution is not adequate, for, as a familiar couplet puts it:

> Treason can never prosper—What's the reason?
> If it does prosper none dare call it treason.

If an attempt is made to apply the law of a stable society to the atrocities of revolution and war in a world turned topsy-turvy, the narrow frame of law will burst without restoring the desirable order.

However, it was in defense of law and justice that the Allied forces fought and died—unless we use these terms as a euphemism cloaking imperialist interests. The law was not Polish or Dutch or French or Czechoslovak law, but the fundamental principles which are common to all civilization and which the authoritarian revolutions had flouted. Judges guided by "sound popular feeling," introduction of the principle of retroactivity, the presumption of future guilt, the collective responsibility of a racial or political group, the denial of protection to the individual against the arbitrariness of the state, the revival of tribal revenge, and the most atrocious cruelty were salient features of what Hitler's Germany understood by law. Anyone familiar with the history of criminal law knows how many centuries or rather millennia it took before the exact opposite of this Nazi theory and practice became generally recognized as an integral part of law and justice.

This historical development should not be ignored by the Allies in their endeavor to restore pre-Nazi law. Thus far the trial of "war criminals" in France and elsewhere has revealed little respect for pre-war legal principles. Unfortunately, the Indictment of the leading war criminals filed with the International Military Tribunal also exhibits characteristics reminiscent of Hitlerian jurisprudence. Of course the United Nations War Crimes Commission would not confess to the application of such homeopathic methods, but the fact seems clear. The Indictment is partly a succinct account of the events of World War II, partly a summary of the horrors perpetrated by Germans in occupied areas and in Germany itself. However, when it declares without any supporting evidence that "about" four million persons were exterminated in Auschwitz and one million tortured in Rovno and does not say who committed these unprecedented crimes, it must be regarded as an explanation of why the Allies waged the war rather than as a legal document.

In his report to the President Justice Jackson warned against the danger that the trials would become enmeshed in "doctrinal disputes, which are part of a lawyer's paraphernalia." It appears from the Indictment itself, which repeatedly refers (Sections VIII and X) to "the general principles of criminal law as derived from the criminal law of civilized nations," that the fundamental principles of jurisprudence are not merely whimsies of pettifogging lawyers or, as Lord Wright has put it, "pseudo-legal or legalistic rules having no basis in the common conscience of mankind." Observance of these principles is not merely the craft of the legal guild; the doctrine of law is not a professional artifice but the guaranty of the freedom of all the citizens.

It is regrettable that the Indictment, which conforms neither to the principles of law in general nor to the principles of international or criminal law in particular, as these are "derived from the criminal law of all civilized nations," should not be in accordance with the first principle of all justice—impartiality and disinterestedness. Prior to Hugo Grotius the victors had the "right" to punish the vanquished, but in our age it seems strange that an International Court composed exclusively of the victor powers should pass judgment on the war criminals of the vanquished. It is true, however, that one of the judges, Professor Donnedieu de Vabres, may be considered impartial, since he insisted in one of his books that the democratic states should accept the criminal policy of the authoritarian governments!

Moreover, it is the charter establishing this International Military Tribunal which "defines" the crimes for which the war criminals are going to be tried—if the words "other inhuman acts committed against any civilian population, before [how long before?] or during the war" can be termed a definition at all. According to the late Elihu Root, "If the law of nations is to be respected, the theory upon which the criminal law is founded must be adopted in respect to offenses against international law."

Thus far no authoritative attempt has been made, in custom or in general practice, to extend the precepts of international law—the sources of which are listed in Article 38 of the Statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice—to cover the condemned and forbidden conduct of individuals. After the assassinations at Marseilles the French government suggested that the League of Nations set up an International Criminal Court, but to no avail; and as one of the greatest American authorities, Manley O. Hudson, has said ("International Tribunals," 1944, p. 186), "The time is hardly ripe for the extension of international law to include judicial process for condemning and punishing acts either of states or individuals." The jurisdiction of the International Military Tribunal can therefore scarcely be said to rest on a firm basis, since its charter, like all rules of international law, requires acceptance by the customs of all civilized nations. Even if we agree with Viscount Simon, former Lord Chancellor of England, who said on March 20 last in the House of Lords that a "properly constituted military court has jurisdiction in an occupied country to deal with war crimes," the competence of such a court with regard to "crimes against peace and humanity" is doubtful. There is no reason whatever why a German who murdered or enslaved anyone in Germany should not be tried by a German court. Lord Wright, one of the judges at Nürnberg, wrote: "We are proud that we live under the rule of law and of the legal machinery for enforcing it." I wonder whether we should be proud of the rules of procedure which the prosecutors appointed by the victor powers have agreed upon.

Even more contrary to the principles of criminal law and as unprecedented in the non-authoritarian part of the world is the determination of what should be considered "crime" by the victors, that is, by the prosecutors, as it appears from the report of Justice Jackson to the President and the definition of the "crimes" in the charter. A liberal German scholar, Franz von Liszt, termed the penal code the Magna Charta of the criminal; certainly it is the Magna Charta of the honest citizen, whom it protects against the arbitrariness of the authorities. A fundamental principle of law is that the law should decide the punishment and define as precisely as possible the acts constituting the punishable crime. But the charter not only leaves to the tribunal, as Viscount Simon expressed it, "the prodigious responsibility to select the punishment" but defines the crimes in a legally inexact, indeed in an appallingly vague, manner. Article 6, Point C, of the charter speaks of "crimes against humanity," namely, murder, extermination, enslavement, etc. Murder, which by the law is no crime against humanity but against human life, is defined very differently in the English Common Law and in the French Penal Code. Who is going to decide what was an "inhumane act" twenty years before the war? If the International Military Tribunal does so, what differentiates it from Hitler's law courts, where the judge passed sentence according to the "sound sense of the people"?

Count I of the Indictment is a "common plan or conspiracy to commit crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity." Leaders and accomplices are "individually responsible for their own acts and for all acts committed by any persons in the execution of such plan or conspiracy." In plain language, the collective responsibility that prevailed in the tribal age of mankind is restored, in spite of the principle, recognized even by Roman law, that "a society cannot commit crimes." It took a long time for the recognition of responsibility for criminal guilt to become "the basic principle of the judicial and legal system of Western civilization in the last century" (Sutherland, "Principles of Criminology," 1939, p. 352). In violation of this fundamental principle all participants of the conspiracy are being indicted not only for their own acts but for those of other conspirators, no matter whether they knew of them or not. This is all the more reprehensible as the crime termed "common plan or conspiracy" embraces also all crimes against peace, all war crimes, and crimes against humanity.

This means, for example, that Gustav Krupp von Bohlen—or perhaps his son, who has become a criminal according to the rules of the Pentateuch, which visit the sins of the fathers upon their sons—having helped the Nazis to power and used labor for the conduct of an aggressive war, is supposed to be responsible for all murders and other horrors perpetrated by any Gestapo or S. A. man, even if he is unaware where, when, and by whom these crimes were committed.

Collective responsibility hinges on the crime against peace, which is "defined" as planning, preparing, or waging a war of aggression or participating in the planning of such war. We are not told exactly what constitutes an "aggressive war," but the facts substantiating this crime are all political and military events that occurred after the foundation of the Nazi Party in 1920. We may take it for granted that the outrageous deeds of the Nazi regime, as a report to the President assumed, offended the conscience of the American people, who "viewed the Nazis as a band of brigands." However, the United States maintained diplomatic relations with this "band of brigands" up to Pearl Harbor without, apparently, preventing the execution of "the Nazi master plan."

We are told that only acts should be punished "which have been regarded as criminal since the time of Cain." Many despots, tyrants, and dictators have indeed committed atrocities which from time immemorial have been considered crimes. But in no country has the planning or waging of aggressive war ever been tried by a law court.

Autant pis, some people may say. If aggressive war thus far has been no crime, it is certainly desirable that it should be made punishable. Whether the charter has the authority to fill this *lacuna* is doubtful. But such legislation cannot be made retroactive anyway—not only because Article 9 of the Constitution of the United States interdicts ex post facto laws but because all tyrants from Nero to Hitler have used retroactivity, as Professor Lauterpacht puts it, "for cloaking arbitrariness in the garb of law." But this is exactly what the Indictment is doing. One of its authors, Justice Jackson, asserts the contrary and as evidence refers to the Briand-Kellogg pact of 1928, which outlawed war, and to the Geneva Protocol of 1924 and the Resolution of the Pan-American Conference of 1928, both of which declared that war of aggression is an international crime. This argument, however, is fallacious in two ways. The Nazi Party and its subsidiary organizations, founded in 1920, became "the instrument of cohesion among the defendants and their co-conspirators" (Indictment, Count I, 4, A). In other words, the accusation refers in part to action predating the above-quoted international conventions, which declared aggressive war to be an "international crime."

Assuming, however, that the conspiracy to wage an aggressive war continued after such a war had been declared a crime. It still cannot be ignored that "a conspiracy to commit a crime is a different offense from the crime that is the object of conspiracy" (W. Mack–W. B. Hale: "Corpus Juris," Vol. XII, p. 542). Now, crime is "a wrong directly or indirectly affecting the public to which the state has annexed certain punishments" ("Corpus Juris," Vol. XVI, p. 51), and the "guilty knowledge of the act done by the conspirators is a necessary element without proof of which there can be no conviction" ("Corpus Juris," Vol. XII, p. 552). Moreover, it is generally accepted that "a law providing punishment for an act which was criminal when done but for which no punishment was provided is ex post facto as to that act" ("Corpus Juris Secundum," W. Mack and D. J. Kiser, Vol. XVI, p. 8892). Can it be sanely assumed that all members of the Nazi Party "with knowledge of its aims and purposes became an accessory," to the murder of all the four million persons exterminated in Maidanek? After all, no crime can exist without the combination of a criminal act and criminal intent ("Judicial and Statutory Definition of Words and Phrases," Third Series, II, p. 694). To be made responsible for all the war crimes and crimes against humanity specified in Counts III and IV, the knowledge of the aims and ends of the party, the Gestapo, and the S. A. or S. S. is scarcely sufficient, since to be an accomplice, an accessory, or an abettor the knowledge in each and every case of when, where, and by whom the crime was committed is an irremissible element unless we accept the Hitlerian principle of presuming a future guilt.

There are other principles of law and jurisprudence with which the Indictment is at variance, but the violation of non-retroactivity sets the most dangerous example. Patrick Gordon Walker, speaking over the B. B. C., acknowledged that the acts which the defendants are accused of were not deemed crimes, but he thought the Indictment contained not an infringement but the establishment of a rule of law. However, no law can be established by violating the elementary principles on which both law and human civilization rest. It is not a lawyer's crotchet to insist on these principles. Recklessly to disregard them is to threaten the very foundation of our social life. Maintenance of law is of permanent interest; revolutions are transitory episodes in the history of human society. In liquidating revolutions legal means are unfit instruments unless they help to restore pre-revolutionary law and order. Observing legal formalities while ignoring the essence of legal principles necessarily results in atrocities against justice itself.

In Kipling's poem, "Norman and Saxon, A.D. 1100," we have been told:

> The Saxon is not like us Normans.
> His manners are not so polite.
> But he never means anything serious
> Till he talks about justice and right.

Is the Nürnberg trial going to dispute this statement?

The People's Front

[Last week Mr. del Vayo described the sudden attack on the Spanish Republican government launched in the Cortes by Indalecio Prieto, the man chiefly responsible for the composition of the Cabinet. The opposition, led by Dr. Negrin, promptly protested his action in a message addressed to the President of the Republic. This dispatch discusses the further consequences of the Prieto maneuver.]

Mexico City, November 23

THE parliamentary opposition gave President Martínez Barrio a week's grace in which to reply to its message, after which the text was published. Although respectful in tone, it amounts to a severe criticism of the government's policy, which in the three months since Giral's appointment as Premier has been increasingly feeble. The tables have been turned. Each day the government becomes weaker and the opposition stronger. But the opposition itself has been inhibited in action by its fear of causing damage to the Republic. The opposition would like to see the Cabinet either strengthened or replaced, but it does not want it to fall as a result of the maneuver of *"los liquidadores"* (the Prieto faction). The message presented to President Martínez Barrio is a last appeal from the opposition to the men who, under the constitution, can change the present course. It says: "Faced with a grave reality which is contrary to our most fervent hopes, it is our duty to inform Your Excellency that up to November 8 [the day Prieto delivered his speech in the Cortes] we believed we might be wrong in our judgment, and even hoped so. Since that date, it has been impossible to go on juggling fear with hope, sentiment with anguish, lest failure and even disloyalty bring down the Republic in collapse or subject Republican institutions to ridicule, and also place in an awkward position the nations which have recognized us. We cannot and will not participate in this. It is the prerogative of Your Excellency to prevent this havoc. In exercising that prerogative, we wish you success. If no move to save the situation is taken, it is our unalterable decision to regain our freedom of action and to defend the Republic and its institutions by whatever means are within our reach."

This document was presented to the President on November 13. Today the answer finally came, and it proved a vague and disappointing one, containing no hint that any immediate action was contemplated but criticizing the opposition for not having fought harder in the Cortes—an amusing reproach coming from that source. Actually the only solution would be to remove from the Cabinet the two Ministers who represent Prieto's faction. That is the very minimum that must be done, especially since Prieto, not satisfied with his speech in the Cortes, repeated the other day in an interview in the newspaper *Excelsior* that the moment an alternative to the Republican government in exile presented itself, his group would consider itself free to withdraw its support from the government. Surely, Prieto would proclaim himself the first and best of the Republicans; but it should be noted that even among some of his own followers his speech was very badly received. They are anti-Communists, and they hate Negrín because Prieto hates him, but they are Socialists and do not want the Socialist Party identified with a policy of capitulation. They fear an agreement between Negrín and Largo Caballero, the old Socialist leader, who only six months ago was the idol of the *New Leader* and Matthew Woll, and who now is in imminent danger of being called a fellow-traveler. Last Saturday, at a meeting of the Prieto group here, it was said, although still in very respectful and cordial terms, that since Caballero had been in a German concentration camp for three years, he "must have lost his contact with the reality of the Spanish situation." Caballero's position regarding the Communists is coming closer to that of the Negrín group. He believes that until the liberation of Spain is achieved, all the anti-fascist forces which fought during the Spanish war must be kept together.

In the *Excelsior* interview, more specifically than in the Cortes, Prieto advocated a plebiscite under the control of the Latin American republics and suggested that a proposal to this effect be presented at the next Pan-American conference.

The plebiscite idea is not new to Prieto. He presented it in a speech in Havana in July, 1942, and during the past three years he has revived it several times amid a tempest of protests from the Spanish emigration. The idea is wrapped in a sophisticated argument designed to keep us quiet. "What kind of Republicans are they who doubt the outcome of a plebiscite?" asks Prieto. But the rest of us know that such a plebiscite would only help the Monarchists and the fascist successors of Franco. For almost ten years in a great part of Spain and for more than six years in all of Spain the people have lived under terror. Hundreds of thousands of Spaniards have died, physically or morally, or have been twisted by the worst kind of totalitarian propaganda—propaganda full of slander and lies against the Republic and its men. A plebiscite taken before the Republic is restored and the fascist organization destroyed, before the Spaniards are reintegrated in a normal civil and political life, would be, in the words of a Republican friend, a "grotesque proposition." A plebiscite taking place under the supervision of other nations—even though they are close to us in sentiment and culture as are the Latin American countries—is unacceptable to us. Spain is not a country to accept tutelage, any more than are her sister republics of South America, which would also decline our tutelage in solving their internal disputes. It is a further question whether all the Latin American countries have been so free from dictatorial influence in the last two decades that they could be set up as arbiters of a war between the Spanish people and fascism—a war which is yet to be ended and won. "I denounce," Negrín has said, "this plebiscite proposal as the continuation of that defeatism which nullified the efforts of our brave fighters, of that policy of capitulation which brought our war to an ignoble end and sacrificed the Spanish people, of that conformism which is equally ready to accept the republic or the monarchy. . . . I call attention to a treachery which might overwhelm Spain—as it did France." The acclamation with which his words were received was really a plebiscite against the *liquidadores.*

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Scarce Minerals and Tariffs

BELIEVING that the mineral resources of the United States have become so depleted that national military strength and economic standards are both endangered, Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes urges in the December issue of the *American* the necessity of a broad conservation program. "We must begin at once," he says:

> To stockpile minerals;
>
> To explore our country more intensively than ever before;
>
> To hunt for better methods of recovering metal from scrap;
>
> To have access, in common with other peacefully disposed nations, to minerals in lands that have been conquered in the recent war, for from now on we shall be increasingly dependent on imports for our minerals.

To take the last point first, I feel Mr. Ickes should have been a little more explicit. The chief countries conquered in the war are Germany and Japan, which, as he notes elsewhere in his article, are "have-not" nations so far as minerals are concerned. Other foreign resources are not in any way barred to American consumers though they, in common with all consumers, have sometimes been forced to pay a hold-up price by monopolies and cartels. In the case, however, of copper, lead, zinc, tungsten, and manganese, all vitally important metals in peace or war, the chief obstacle to imports is the American tariff, imposed for the protection of high-cost American producers of these minerals.

Economically, as Professor Percy W. Bidwell has pointed out in the October issue of *Foreign Affairs*, it is very hard to justify tariff duties on the products of extractive industries. It is not possible to urge, as it is in the case of "an infant industry," that given temporary shelter a mine will expand and increase its efficiency. No amount of protection can turn low-grade ore into high-grade, but by adding to profits it encourages mine owners to work their best seams while the going is good. It does, of course, also enable some low-grade operations which might not have been undertaken at all to be carried on, but it does this at the expense of the metal-using industries, which, by and large, are America's most efficient producers and the ones giving the highest return to the nation per man-hour of labor. Free trade in metals, which would enable such industries to obtain their raw materials at competitive world prices, would mean more economical use of our total resources. It would involve, naturally, the closing of mines whose costs of production were above world prices, but that, in turn, would preserve underground a stock of marginal and submarginal ores for use in an emergency.

In his magazine article, the Secretary of the Interior does not mention the tariff though he asserts that we shall have to import copper, lead, zinc, and other metals "in larger and larger quantities" if our chromium-plated civilization is to be preserved. However, he declares that conservation by closing mines would be wasteful because it would make impossible the recovery of much ore already developed. Moreover, the social cost involved in the collapse of many mining communities would also be very high. Since the abolition of the tariff would have such effects in many cases, Mr. Ickes must either favor its maintenance or support the alternative method of insuring his objective—a continuance of the war-time subsidy system.

If uneconomic mining operations are considered vital to the national interest, their direct support by the taxpayers is preferable to their indirect support through tariffs. For one thing, subsidies can be graduated, as they have been during the war, so as to encourage the use of low-grade ores without offering bonanza profits to cheap producers. Thus during the past few years some 75 per cent of the domestic copper mined has been raised without subsidy and profitably sold at the ceiling price of 12 cents a pound. But the production of the marginal 25 per cent, which could not be spared when war requirements called for every possible ounce of the metal, would not have been forthcoming without additional incentive payments. If the problem of including extra production had been left to the forces of supply and demand, as it was in World War I, the price of copper might easily have risen to 30 cents, making a large addition to total war costs. Thanks to subsidies, the average cost to the government was under 14 cents a pound.

Mr. Ickes does not directly advocate subsidies though he does say that private industry should be given government aid to enable it to carry on exploration and research. His stockpile scheme might also be linked to a subsidy program, as he proposes that a large national inventory of metals be built up by purchases in times of depression. This would help to stabilize both prices and employment. During the war the government has accumulated such a stockpile, which could form the nucleus of a permanent reserve.

The question arises: Should such a reserve be held inviolate, for use in emergency only, or should it be operated on an "ever-normal-granary" basis? That is to say, should its managers release metals for the market when supplies were tight and prices booming, as well as absorb them when commercial demand was weak and prices falling? In a nationally planned economy we would certainly need to take some such action in order to stabilize the mining industry, but managed metal prices are not going to be popular with business in general or mine operators in particular. Moreover, the United States is on record as strongly opposed to foreign attempts to hold prices at a profitable level by such means.

I have raised such points not in criticism of Mr. Ickes but in the hope that in some future article he will go into the subject more thoroughly. Particularly I would like to see him review it on an international rather than a national basis. For the problem of declining mineral resources is one for all peoples. America's reserves have shrunk more rapidly than those of some other nations mainly because its standard of living calls for a per capita consumption of metals enormously greater than that of any other country. But if, as we hope, average standards throughout the world are raised within the next generation to even as little as a quarter of the American level, the question of the adequacy of global reserves may well become a burning one. KEITH HUTCHISON

The Education of Evans Carlson

BY CAREY MC WILLIAMS

(A contributing editor of The Nation*)*

Los Angeles, November 21

ON SEPTEMBER 28, 1945, California newspapers carried an inconspicuous paragraph announcing that the Point Loma Democratic Club of San Diego had gone on record as urging Colonel Evans Fordyce Carlson, of Carlson's Raiders fame, "to make himself available for the position of United States Senator from California in 1946." Other Democratic clubs in San Diego promptly echoed the resolution. While Colonel Carlson has not agreed to run, he has expressed "a very real sense of obligation to work in the post-war years for the full realization of the objectives for which we fought the recent global war," and he has said that he expects to be released from active service as soon as his present hospitalization at the San Diego Naval Hospital is completed. This has proved sufficient encouragement for the San Diego Democrats, and a Carlson-for-Senator movement is now under way in California.

The "talk about Carlson" in California politics has an interesting genesis. On his release from the Marine Corps, Michael Blankfort, the Hollywood screen writer and novelist—at present engaged on a biography of Colonel Carlson—wrote several letters to Robert Walker Kenny, Attorney General of California, calling attention to the great political possibilities of Carlson. Though accustomed to discount such suggestions, Kenny met Blankfort at the California Club in Los Angeles and was apparently convinced without too great difficulty that Carlson was "a great guy." By midnight they were both on the telephone rousing Hollywood liberals from their sleep to announce the new political discovery. Since then the "talk about Carlson" has been persistent and increasingly enthusiastic. Recently I drove down to Escondido to spend a Sunday with Colonel Carlson, with the intention of finding out, if possible, how a professional soldier had managed to acquire a democratic social, economic, and political philosophy.

A NEW KIND OF DEMOCRAT

Colonel Carlson is not the easiest person in the world to interview. Since he is still in the service, he cannot take part in political activity, and he scrupulously respects this restriction. But he is quite willing, painfully modest man that he is, to talk about his experience with people in China and Nicaragua. Ironically, the education of Evans Carlson in democracy has taken place outside the United States. I am convinced that this education has been unusually thorough and that his unique experience has revealed to him a basic weakness in our conception of democracy. Should he run for the Senate, as I believe he will, he will represent a new kind of democrat in American politics. To understand his point of view, it is necessary to know something about his career—about his education in realism.

Although Colonel Carlson was born in Vermont, a distinct handicap in California politics, he has his roots deep in California. His father was "the first white child born in Alpine County, California"—Native Sons and Daughters please note—and was christened Thomas *Alpine* Carlson. Still living, the father is a retired minister of the Congregational faith. That Colonel Carlson is the son of a minister provides, I believe, the first clue to an understanding of the man. Point Loma Democrats have stressed his "moral integrity" and his "ethical qualifications for public leadership," and these are the qualities one first notices in him. One gathers, however, that Colonel Carlson at an early age became dissatisfied with some of the answers given by his father to his questions about matters of faith, for at sixteen he ran away from home and enlisted in the army.

He served as a private with a field-artillery unit in the Philippines and Hawaii from 1912 to 1915. When his period of enlistment was up, he was advised to apply for a commission, but was rejected when, for the first time, he revealed his true age. After working for a year or so as an engineer with the Highway Commission in Riverside, California, he reentered the army in 1916 for service on the Mexican border. Commissioned a second lieutenant in 1917, he was later promoted to first lieutenant and then to captain, served in France with the Eighty-seventh Division, and for a time was Assistant Adjutant General of the Third Army (the army of occupation). In 1919 he resigned his commission and got a job in California. A few years later he entered the Marine Corps, becoming a captain in 1935. It was in the Marine Corps that his real education began.

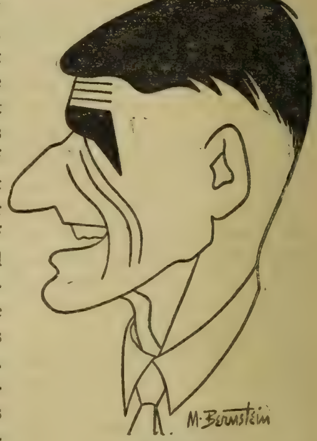
SHANGHAI AND NICARAGUA

Attached to the staff of Major (now General) Vandergrift, Carlson accompanied the Third Battalion, Fourth Marines, to Shanghai in 1927, and served as regimental intelligence officer there until 1929. As an intelligence officer, he believed that it was incumbent upon him to know something about China—its people, its customs, its politics, and its culture. This first assignment in China was therefore really a freshman course in Far Eastern affairs.

In 1930 Carlson applied for service with the Guardia Nacional in Nicaragua, giving as his reason a desire to work with native peoples. His experience in Nicaragua supplied the second chapter of his socio-economic education. Among his assignments was a term as chief of police of a Nicaraguan town. Since the agreement under which the marines were in Nicaragua stipulated that the courts were not under our control, the judges reflected the prevailing anti-Yankee sentiment of the people and Carlson found it extremely difficult to secure convictions. Realizing that the courts would not cooperate, he decided to take the problem of law enforcement directly to the people. First of all he sought to win their confidence by demonstrating that the rich and well-born were not immune from arrest—something of a novelty in Nicaraguan life. He also set about establishing direct, personal contact with the people, and to this end proceeded to teach himself the language.

"YOU CAN TRUST THE PEOPLE"

Before his term of office was over, he was functioning as chief dispenser of justice and personal adviser to the people. It was in Nicaragua that he first got a pervading sense of confidence in the people and in the workings of the democratic process; he learned, he says, that "you can trust 'the people.'" When he left Nicaragua, he was awarded the medal of Merit by the President for his relief work after the earthquake of March 31, 1931, and the Medal of Distinction as a token of the esteem in which he was held by the people. Listening to him recount his experiences with all sorts and conditions of people in Nicaragua, one realizes that for him Nicaragua was a fine training school in the techniques of democratic leadership.



Colonel Carlson

Returning to China in 1933, Carlson resumed his post as intelligence officer at Shanghai. During his previous assignment in China (1927-29) he had closely studied the Kuomintang government then being established in Nanking. Now he requested a transfer to Peking so that he might have a better opportunity to study the Chinese language and the cultural and historical background of the Chinese people. From 1933 to 1935 he served as adjutant of the guard at the Peking legation. One might assume that such an experience would tend to make a man an authoritarian, but for Carlson, who carried a well-worn edition of Emerson's "Essays" on all his travels, these were particularly fruitful years.

When he first went to Peking, the marines spent most of their leisure hours carousing and pushing Chinese "coolies" off the street. Carlson thought it would be a good idea to cultivate their interest in China and thereby improve their morals. With the assistance of his old friend, Edgar Snow, he organized a forum program for the marines which soon became a popular adult-education center. He even induced the men to learn a little Chinese. Once the marines were assigned the task of digging a deep excavation for an installation. Knowing that the site had archaeological interest, Carlson got the men interested in what they might discover. As the excavation proceeded, they found and carefully preserved numerous coins, artifacts, ceramics fragments, and the like. All these items were laid aside, catalogued by experts in the presence of the men, and later shown as a special Marine Corps exhibit. For Carlson, these years in Peking were a kind of post-graduate course in Chinese history and culture. Among his personal acquisitions was an expert knowledge of Chinese ceramics.

Back in America in 1935 Carlson served as aide-de-camp to General Charles H. Lyman at Quantico and got permission to attend night classes at George Washington University in international law and politics, with special emphasis on the Far East. As part of his studies he wrote a thesis on Japanese expansion which concluded with a prediction that in the near future Japan would attack the United States. In November of 1935 Carlson became commander of the Marine detachment assigned to guard President Roosevelt at Warm Springs. It was there that he got to know the President as a friend. Although it is not generally known, Carlson served the President as a special intelligence officer on Far Eastern affairs when he returned to China in 1937, reporting directly to the White House.

THE LESSON OF YENAN

During this third assignment in China Carlson was an observer with the Chinese armies at the battles of Nanking and Hankow. On his own initiative he covered more than 2,500 miles with the Chinese Communist forces behind the Japanese lines in North China and Mongolia, the first foreign military observer to study the tactics and training methods of these famous guerrilla fighters. His experience was graphically described in his book "Twin Stars of China," published by Dodd, Mead in 1940. Of particular interest are his accounts of his interviews with such leaders as Chu Teh, Mao Tse-tung, and Chow En-lai. From his experience in North China, superimposed on his Nicaraguan experience, Carlson got the ideas about democratic indoctrination and training that he put to such effective use in his Marine Raider Battalion.

Carlson resigned from the service in 1938 to join the American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression—the Stimson committee—which was trying to mobilize American opinion to demand an embargo on the shipment of scrap iron and war materials to Japan. In a speech before the Foreign Policy Association in Boston on March 2, 1940, he warned against "a surprise attack from the air," which he characterized as "more imminent than a surprise attack through any other medium," urged an ethical indoctrination of our military personnel, and called for a foreign policy "designed to convince other nations of our desire to meet them on terms of equality, which will assure them of our integrity, of our sense of justice, and of our good-will toward all nations."

In July, 1940, he returned to China to make a four-thousand-mile tour of the Chinese industrial cooperatives with Rewi Alley. He interviewed Chiang Kai-shek at Chungking and continued to report directly to President Roosevelt on Chinese affairs. Early in 1941 he hastened back to America convinced that Japan intended to strike soon for Singapore. Commissioned a major in the Marine Corps in April, 1941, he later organized the famous Second Marine Raider Battalion of Gung-ho fame. He landed with the Second Marine Division at Tarawa, accompanied the assault units in the Marshall Islands operations, and took part in the battle for Saipan, where he was wounded. He has received about all the decorations the services have to offer—the Navy Cross (three times), the Legion of Merit, two Purple Hearts, and three Presidential Unit Citations, for Guadalcanal, Tarawa, and Saipan.

UNIQUE QUALIFICATIONS FOR SENATOR

It is apparent that Colonel Carlson would bring to the United States Senate some unique qualifications—an expert knowledge of Far Eastern and Central American affairs and of the people of those areas, an expert knowledge of our military establishment together with some ideas about the necessity for democratizing the services, a realistic knowledge of the kind of world we live in, a profound faith in democracy, and great skill, based on wide experience, in the techniques of democratic leadership. After Hiram Johnson, James Phelan, and Samuel Shortridge, who did so much to undermine American prestige in Asia, California might well take pride in a Senator who actually understood the peoples of the Far East. (A Senator who speaks both Chinese and Spanish would be, I take it, a rather exceptional figure on the hill.)

In the course of our conversation Colonel Carlson said that the American people must renounce the "success myth," with its emphasis on individual achievement, and acquire something that they now seem to lack, namely, a sense of identification with the democratic process. By this he means not merely the formal identification expressed by going to the polls at stated intervals to cast a ballot but a living, creative, participating identification with democratic processes in personal and family relationships and social conduct. He constantly emphasizes the necessity for self-discipline in a democracy, the kind of self-discipline that he found in the Eighth Route Army. Essentially, his concept of democracy is that of John Collier—"democracy livingly, immanently experienced." Both men apparently acquired this concept of democracy from their experience with non-industrial, or rather pre-industrial, peoples; Collier from his life among American Indians, Carlson in Nicaragua and China. It is a concept of democracy that industrialism has damagingly corroded in the Western democracies and that only the vigorous self-discipline advocated by Colonel Carlson seems able to restore.

Recently I asked Staff Sergeant Willard D. Darling for his impressions of the Colonel. In reply he wrote: "I find that words are of no use to me. When the Colonel is mentioned you don't think, you feel things inside of you that you were not aware of, that become a part of your life while you are with him. There was never a man who left his outfit who did not grit his teeth to keep the tears back, and some couldn't. He is the kind of man you would go to hell for should he tell you to, and never ask the reason why." A man who can inspire this feeling in those he commands has demonstrated his capacity for democratic leadership. Colonel Carlson frequently quotes these words from a speech which President Roosevelt was prevented by death from delivering: "Today we are faced with the preeminent fact that if civilization is to survive we must cultivate the science of human relationships—the ability of all peoples, of all kinds, to live together and work together in the same world, at peace." Our problem, in other words, is to create a real democracy based upon individual self-discipline and cooperative effort.

Houghton Mifflin Company's

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Best Seller Fan	Jennifer's House The Far Away Music The World, the Flesh, and Father Smith The Birth of Mischief	Looking for a Bluebird Outside Eden Suds in Your Eye High Time Country Mouse	Leave Her to Heaven	Thomas Jefferson Against These Three	Gumbo Ya-Ya The Great Answer	The Practical Cogitator
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Man of 1960	Pecos Bill Don Coyote The Little House Jack Tales	Anybody at Home? Feed the Animals Where's My Baby? The Little Red Hen	Katie and the Big Snow The Big Fire	Little History of the United States	Ilenka Little Georg What Makes it Tick?	Prayer for Little Things Very Young Verses Anthology of Children's Literature

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

PILOTS, MAN YOUR PLANES

BY RANDALL JARRELL

(A Jill is a Japanese torpedo-plane)

Dawn; and the jew's-harp's sawing seesaw song
Plucks at the starlight where the planes are folded
At the lee of their blank, wind-whipped, hunting road—
A road in air, the road to nowhere
Turreted and bucketed with guns, long undermined
With the thousand necessary deaths that breathe
Like fire beside a thousand men, who sleep
Hunched in the punk of Death: slow, dreaming sparks
That burrow through the block-long, light-split gloom
Of their great hangar underground and oversea
Into the great tanks, dark forever; past the steam
Of turbines, laundries—under rockets,
Bakeries, war-heads, the steel watch-like fish,
To the hull's last plates and atmosphere:
The sea sways with the dazed, blind, groping sway
Of the raw soul drugged with sleep, the chancy life
Troubling with dreams its wars, its own earned sea
That stretches year on year, death after death,
And hemisphere on blind black hemisphere
Into the stubborn corners of its earth.
Here in the poor, bleak, guessing haze of dawn
The giant's jew's-harp screeches its two notes
Over and over, over and over; from the roar
Of the fighters waved into the blazing clouds
The lookout lifts his scrubbed tetanic stare
Into the East of light, the empty day.
But on the tubes the raiders oscillate
A mile in every nine or thirteen seconds
To the target's first premonitory bursts;
To the boy with a ball of coffee in his stomach,
Snapping the great light buckles on his groin,
Shifting his raft's hot-water-bottle weight
As he breasts the currents of the bellowing deck
And, locked at last into the bubble, Hope,
Is borne along the foaming windy road
To the air where he alone is still
Above the world's cold, absent, searching roll.
The carrier meshed in its white whirling wake,
The gray ship sparkling from the blue-black sea,
The little carrier—erupts in flak,
One hammering, hysterical, tremendous fire.
Flickering through flashes, the stained rolling clouds,
The air jarred like water tilted in a bowl,
The red wriggling tracers—colonies
Whose instant life annexes the whole sky—
Hunt out the one end they have being for,
Are metamorphosed into one pure smear
Of flame, and die
In the maniacal convulsive spin
Of the raider with a wing snapped off, the plane
Trailing its flaming kite's-tail to the wave.
A miss's near, near bloom, a hill of foam,
Is bulged skyward, crashes back; crest after crest
Patterns the ships' cat's-cradle wakes, the racing
Swells that hiss outward from a plane's quenched flame:
There is traced in the thousand meetings of the grave
Of matter and of matter, man and man,
The print of the running feet upon the waves. . . .
The Jill threads her long, blind, unbearable
Way into fire (the waves lick past her, her whole sky
Is tracer and the dirt of flak, the fire
Flung from the muzzles riddling sea and sky),
Comes on, comes on, comes on; and the fighter flames to her
Through his own flak, the hammering guns
Stitch one long line along his wing, his gear
Falls, his dive staggers as his tracer strikes,
And he breaks off and somersaults into the sea.
Under the canopy's dark strangling green,
The darkening canopy, he struggles free
To float into the choking white, to breathe—
His huge leg floating and immovable,
His goggles blackened with his own bright blood—
On the yellow raft, to see his carrier
Still firing, but itself a fire, its planes
Flung up like matches from the stern's white burst.
Now rockets arch above the deck's great blaze,
Shells break from it, trail after trail; its steel
Melts in steam into the sea, its tanks explode
In one last overwhelming sound; and silently
The ship, a flame, sinks home into the sea.
The pilot holds his striped head patiently
Up out of the dancing smother of the sea
And weeps with hatred, longing, agony—
The sea rises and settles; and the ship is gone.

The planes fly off looking for a carrier,
Destroyers curve in their long hunting arcs
Through the dead of the carrier: the dazed, vomiting,
Oil-blackened and fire-blistered, saved or dying men
Cling with cramped shaking fingers to the lines
Lowered from their old life: the pilot,
Drugged in a blanket, straining up to gulp
From the mug that scrapes like chalk against his mouth,
Knows, knows at last; he yawns the chattering yawn
Of effort and anguish, of hurt hating helplessness—
Yawns sobbingly, his head falls back, he sleeps.

RANDALL JARRELL

THE PORTRAIT OF NEW ENGLAND

BY LOUISE BOGAN

THE BOSTONIANS. By Henry James. With an Introduction by Philip Rahv. The Dial Press. $3.

"THE BOSTONIANS," evidently written sometime between James's fortieth and forty-second year, serialized in the *Century Magazine* in 1885, published in both England and America in 1886, has never until now been reprinted in an American edition. Its non-appearance in the Collected Edition (Scribner's, 1907-17) has raised various questions, chiefly concerned with James's apparent later squeamishness toward the frank insight of his early work. Whatever the reason, James never rewrote the book, as he did some others. It stands, therefore, as perfect "early James." That it has not become, and will never become, a "period piece"—a novel irremediably of its time, an outmoded lump of costume drama—can be put down to the fact that James, in his early forties, "knew the world." "The Bostonians" is shot through with the lights of humor, with the satire of a detached, experienced, disabused, civilized intelligence. Far out of the milieu he presented, James drew the picture of Boston in the '70's with the greatest variety of detail, the utmost vivacity of presentation. He is grinding no ax, shedding no tears, driving through points without fanaticism. His separation from his material gives him a freedom that is almost the freedom of an expert in some sport; James often, here, plays a wide, high, and handsome kind of game. The underlying tone of the book is gay—the tone of high comedy.

The title is not to be applied to the inhabitants of Boston in the large. James makes it clear that his "Bostonians" are two young women—Olive Chancellor, of a certain position and means, "a spinster, as Shelley was a lyric poet or as the month of August is sultry," living on the water side of Charles Street; and Verena Tarrant, the daughter of a mesmerist and all-round charlatan, who lives in a wooden cottage "with a little naked piazza," on an unpaved "place" in Cambridge. Verena has a "gift"—the gift of eloquence. She is able to move audiences, speaking inanities in a voice that James compares to both silver and gold. She is, that is, a kind of *reductio ad absurdum* of that influential American figure the platform orator. Got up in a costume resembling that of a circus rider, she opens her pretty mouth and exerts her fresh and genuine charm upon a variety of audiences in the cause of women's rights. Olive is, by contrast, a far more complicated character. A woman of distinction (James insists on this throughout), no fool, completely in earnest in her desire to establish some contact with "the toilers"—the workers who, she senses, touch reality beyond and "beneath" the layer of middle-class vulgarians she despises, Olive is yet sterilized by an aridity of spirit, baffled by genteel prejudices, and warped by a nervous constitution. Set against James's portrait of a woman reformer of an earlier period—the warm-hearted, eccentric, but touching Miss Birdseye—Olive Chancellor is a rather terrifying resultant of Puritanism gone to seed, a female organism driven by a masculine will, without the saving graces of masculine intelligence or feminine tenderness and insight.

These two young women move in a tepid atmosphere of post-Abolition idealism. It is an atmosphere still peopled by the cranks, faddists, cultists, evangelists, revolutionaries, and dogmatists so usual in America in the forties and fifties—the intellectual and emotional débris of the breakdown of faith, the beginning of the "scientific view," of the general ethos of still crude industrial and moral revolutions. James knew these visionaries, of all shades of sincerity and sanity, well; his father's New York home had been a sort of clearing-house for them. It is James's background of plain experience and accurate youthful observation which makes the revolutionaries in "The Princess Casamassima" so modernly recognizable and the cranks of "The Bostonians" so sharply alive. In these two books, written almost concurrently, James pays these characters his clear-sighted and ironic *devoirs,* and leaves them for good.

The "outside observer" in "The Bostonians" is, insolently and cleverly enough, a young man from the recently "conquered" South. Of first-rate intelligence, completely "unreconstructed," holding "unprogressive" ideals of manliness, courage, and chivalry, Basil Ransom, introduced into the midst of these, to him, vaporous ideas expressed by these decaying, except for Verena, personalities, has a civilized set of principles to fall back upon—principles that seem "medieval" to his cousin Olive and her "set." James's artistic and moral courage in setting, at the time, Ransom's "prejudices," Ransom's humorous and "feeling" nature, Ransom's underlying flexibility of outlook against the eerie and run-down New England prophets of "progress" and "change" cannot be underestimated. James had, it is true, Turgenev's example. Turgenev, earlier, had bent an artist's eye on the follies committed in the name of "progress" by the romantic Russian reformers and their allies in the middle class (he invented the term "nihilist"). "The Bostonians" loses nothing by being read along with "On the Eve" and "Rudin"; and Verena Tarrant often resembles a Turgenev heroine. But James, in describing her surroundings and giving her motives, is triumphantly on his own ground.

Ransom's pin-point sharpness of eye results in a sort of continual sparkle in the first part of the book. The young Mississippian does not hesitate to put a name to things; he sorts out the real from the artificial instantly. He spots the self-sufficient sincerity of the little woman doctor with the same swiftness with which he puts down Verena's father as a "carpet-bagger" and a "varlet." He sees through the pretentiousness of Mrs. Luna; and he does not fail to see true discrimination and an actual passion for justice in Olive, in spite of his quick recognition of her manias. James succeeds in keeping Ransom free from a romantic emphasis. As Philip Rahv, in his preface to this edition, says, "In the figure of Ransom [James] created with remarkable prescience a type of intellectual who has only in the last few decades come to the fore in the English-speaking world . . . a type, ex-

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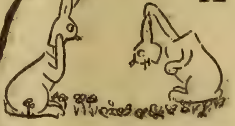

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Nor does he scamp the scene's décor and backdrop. Note the poignant description of the period's American bleakness, seen in "the red sunsets of winter" from Olive's drawing-room windows. Remark the details of another Boston dusk, as Ransom walks the Boston streets before Verena's "big" lecture. Consider the exquisite description of the Cape—the background James sets behind the bitter struggle between Ransom and Olive for the "possession" of Verena. One sentence, beginning, "There were certain afternoons in August, long, beautiful, and terrible, when one felt that the summer was rounding its curve," can be set, for sheer power of evocation, against anything in Emily Dickinson.

I have always associated the little "square," Union Park, in Boston, with "The Bostonians." Set between two busy and now run-down avenues, it takes the form of a flattened oval—that shape dear to the nineteenth century. Great trees shade it, around a grass plot running its length, decorated by two small cast-iron fountains. The red brick houses, with their "salient" bulging fronts running from top to bottom of the façades, exemplify the first Boston architecture purely American nineteenth-century in character. The naive assumption, usual at the beginning of technological, political, and generally materialist triumphs, that anything sufficiently bold and powerful must last forever is built into these "fronts" along with their brick and mortar. It was in such a house that Miss Birdseye lived, and that Ransom first saw Verena. But things change. Today—and for the last forty years or so—these houses have been shabby boarding-houses or "light-housekeeping" rooms. The roomers, armed with their paper bags of food and their milk bottles, return to them at night under the shadow of the gracious trees, mount the steps

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beside the flourish of scrolled iron railings, and enter the big doors under obsolete, elaborate "gasoliers." The materialist spirit that thought to build enduring mansions built, instead, the most solid and dismal furnished lodgings.

In "The Bostonians" James fixes the crudities and misapprehensions of that spirit. Far from identifying himself with Ransom, he yet uses this character to throw uncompromising light on a humanitarianism itself grown harsh, proud, and aggressive, cut off from the humility and the realism which must be charity's true base. He shows us perfectionists blind to their own imperfections, liberals neutralized by their "liberality," radicals bound by unyielding dogma to callousness and sadism; as well as the "moist, emotional" yearners and the hysterics of both sexes, unconsciously seeking a ritual and a master that they consciously reject. "The Bostonians" fills a gap in our literature. It is important that it is again in print, available to those who have overlooked one of the greatest of American novels, which has existed, as it were, in the shadow of the very culture upon which it sheds light, since 1886.

BERTRAND RUSSELL AMONG THE SAGES

BY SIDNEY HOOK

A HISTORY OF WESTERN PHILOSOPHY. By Bertrand Russell. Simon and Schuster. $5.

BERTRAND RUSSELL'S history of philosophy is perhaps an event of the first importance in the intellectual history of Bertrand Russell. But it is not likely to be regarded as of comparable importance in the history of the history of philosophy. Reading this book, I was continually reminded of George Henry Lewes's "Biographical History of Philosophy." Under the inspiration of Comte and positivist doctrine Lewes undertook to write a history of philosophy exposing the pretensions of philosophy to knowledge. He pointed up his history to show that philosophy could not stake a valid claim for itself as constituting either a distinctive subject matter or a distinctive method. The conclusion was an eloquent plea that philosophical speculation be abandoned for scientific inquiry, especially in psychology. None the less, Lewes wrote such a lively and captivating account of the errors of philosophy that few readers completed it without a strengthened interest in the subject. In my own case it was one of the books that turned me to a closer study of philosophy.

Russell's aim is not as iconoclastic as Lewes's. For him the problems of philosophy, in so far as they are soluble, are problems of logical analysis, not psychology; in so far as they are not soluble they are simply not problems of knowledge. Although his temper is ironical rather than crusading, he conveys a profounder impression of the futility of philosophy than Lewes was able to do. Where Lewes, openly hostile to philosophy, makes the reader feel that it is of exciting concern to every reflective person, Russell, with a greater show of sympathy, fails to establish any good reason for thinking philosophy of the slightest practical importance except in getting rid of a few metaphysical bugbears. This failure is bound up with the weakness of his book as history and the unclarity of his conception of the nature of philosophy and what it can do. Despite this, the book has several merits which make it decidedly worth reading, and I shall discuss these first.

Russell is one of the great prose stylists in the English language. Reading him is a delight even when he says puckishly untrue things about his predecessors and contemporaries from Socrates to Dewey. Much of philosophic discourse must be technical; but there is also much that is needlessly so. Russell trims the verbiage to a minimum. What stands out in his style is its clarity, which has a deceptive simplicity for the unwary, a sensitiveness to logical form, and a graceful wit, often deflected by flippancy but sometimes sure and deadly. These qualities give Russell's work a buoyancy that floats the reader through almost nine hundred pages. He translates jargon into more familiar language. The account of Kant does *not* contain the phrase "the transcendental unity of apperception." There is an effort to make philosophers sound plausible even when it is obvious that Russell thinks they are talking nonsense. Sometimes they are even given the benefit of good arguments they *could* have used. In this way Russell succeeds in making almost all philosophers seem clear, usually clearer than they are. He is always on the lookout for the central nerve of argument, which he probes in an expert way. A dry humor gives added force to his criticism. Watching him brings to mind the swordsman in Thurber's famous cartoon who cuts off his opponent's head with one neat stroke and murmurs, "Touché!" All of these qualities are very unusual in other histories of philosophy.

But they have the defects of their virtues. Russell writes history like a mathematician: the complexity, the sense of depth and richness in the history of ideas and events are not communicated. This is true not only when he treats of religious heresies but also when he treats of the influence of scientific movements like Darwinism on philosophy. His approach is psychologically thin; he does not make plausible the compulsive "reasons" which have led philosophers to embrace doctrines that seem absurd or paradoxical. And sometimes the man whose head he cuts off isn't there!

The strongest merit of Russell's history is its emphasis on problems. It gets away from exposition for its own sake, from that dreary retelling of what philosophers have said in language that differs little from paraphrase. Russell's approach suggests that after allowance is made for the varying historical idioms in which problems are put, there are certain perennial problems that always emerge when men consider the foundations of knowledge and belief. Wherever he runs across them, Russell steps out of the historical frame and offers to solve them. The solutions may be moot, but the procedure gives life and a dimension of contemporaneity

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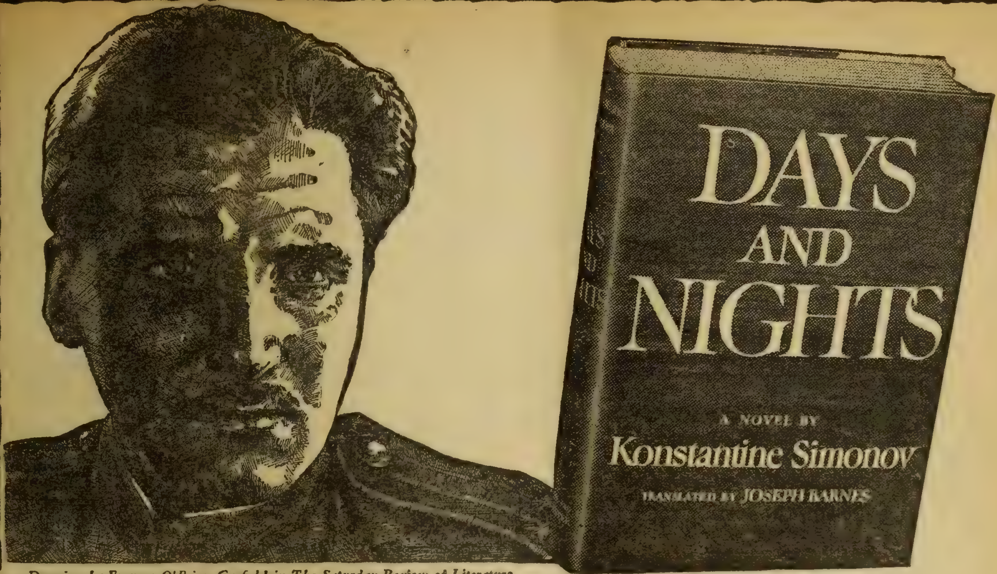
to material that lies dead in the pages of conventional historians.

While his emphasis is on problems, Russell does not neglect cultural and political history. The book is bravely dedicated in its subtitle to a study of philosophy in its "connection with political and social circumstances." Although the connection is, so to speak, side by side rather than in and out, a great quantity of political and social history is presented in narrative form, so that the reader is aware that philosophers are men and live in definite social and political climates of opinion even when the philosophers themselves show no awareness of this. The treatment of the social and political history of the medieval period is unusually extensive for a history of philosophy.

Finally, flashing through the pages, are Russell's insights on men and issues challenging the pieties of the stuffed tradition with simple truths, simply put. Speaking of the long history enjoyed by the idea of the gentleman in philosophical and educational theory, he writes: "The gentleman is to be defined as one of a society of equals who live on slave labor." After a frank evaluation of the Socratic dialectic, he comments on Socrates: "As a man we may believe him admitted to the community of saints: but as a philosopher he needs a long residence in a scientific purgatory." Platonism, when analyzed, "is found to be in essence Pythagoreanism." Of Aristotle's metaphysics: "Roughly speaking [it] may be described as Plato diluted by common sense. He is difficult because Plato and common sense do not mix easily." Rational mystics like Plotinus and Spinoza are treated gently; romantics like Rousseau, Schopenhauer, and Nietszche with devastating irony. Leibnitz is treated as a supreme intellect and as a supreme prig. Russell seems always intent upon appraising the I. Q. of philosophers. It is almost as if he were matching himself against them—and was satisfied with the result. This, too, makes for a certain freshness.

None the less, the work as a whole is very disappointing. It will not influence historical writing on philosophy, nor will it help Russell's reputation. It fails first of all to achieve what it set out to do. The connection between most philosophical ideas and their social and political circumstances is not established. In places this connection is interpreted in terms of the narrow economic interests of the class to which the philosophers belong, according to the fashion of "vulgar" historical materialism. This can never explain why Aristotle and Plato differ in their views on property and other subjects. One need only contrast Russell's treatment of philosophy in Greek culture with Dewey's to see how extrinsic it is. In his discussion of the late medieval controversy between realism and nominalism he overlooks its connection with important social issues, like opposition to a universal church and the rise of individualism.

Russell divides philosophy into what is scientific and what is ultimately personal opinion. The first is treated independently of culture, the second almost exclusively in terms of it. This simple division is irrelevant to exploring the hypothesis that philosophy and culture are integral to each other. Granted that the logical validity of scientific philosophy is independent of its social origins, the problem is: Why do these ideas, true or false, arise and spread in some social periods and not others; what influences the change in scien-



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tific world outlooks? On the other hand, even if the rest of philosophy is defined as "an organic whole of extra-rational decisions," is it so obvious that these decisions and related ideas are overwhelmingly determined by social and political motives? Russell feels himself to be in substantial agreement with Marx, but Marx does not equate economic conditions with economic self-interest. To say, as Russell does, in discussing usury, that "the views of philosophers, with few exceptions, have coincided with the pecuniary interest of their class"—and there are suggestions that he believes this is true of many of their views on other things, too—is closer to Bentham than to Marx.

Russell fails once more in presenting a rounded account of the technical philosophical systems of the great philosophers. He relies too much on secondary sources and, where not, gives a running commentary on one or two of the philosophers' works without setting forth the philosophy whole. He lacks the sympathetic imagination of a good historian. One has long since given up expecting him to be even fair in his exposition of Dewey. In criticizing for the fourth time Dewey's definition of inquiry he overlooks for the fourth time Dewey's explicit statement that "discourse through the use of symbols is intrinsic to inquiry," and thereby convicts Dewey of believing that drill sergeants and bricklayers are masters of inquiry. It is amusing to observe Russell's complete rejection of Hegel, whose pan-rationalism is legitimately criticized, when he is himself using in this very history—however inadequately—a cultural approach we owe to Hegel.

Last, and strangest of all, Russell fails to give even a coherent account of the meaning of philosophy and its uses. He begins by defining philosophy as a field of opinion intermediate between science, which possesses definite knowledge, and theology, which entertains dogmas about what is beyond knowledge. He ends by identifying the method of philosophy with the method of logical analysis, which is able to reach conclusions both definite and valid. This would make philosophy a part of science. Throughout the volume we are constantly assured that all questions of value are merely questions of taste, that reason, argument, scientific evidence are essentially irrelevant to judgments of value. But his very last words maintain that the philosophy of logical analysis can "suggest" and "inspire" a way of life, that it can be "extended to the whole sphere of human activity," with beneficent results. Among these results are "a lessening of fanaticism with an increasing capacity of sympathy and mutual understanding." But if the grounds of our valuation have nothing to do with scientific method, why should he believe that the extension of the habits of scientific inquiry and logical analysis will not only affect our moral judgment but *improve* it?

Like every other historian of philosophy Russell has a philosophy of history, too. It is suspiciously like Spengler's. All important cultures inevitably develop from a stage in which the social system is tyrannical, superstitious, but stably organized to a stage in which, as a consequence of brilliant intellectual achievements and the spread of *rationalism*, traditional social bonds are dissolved, resulting in anarchy. This is followed by a new authoritarianism that goes through the same cycle. Russell pleads for the philosophy of liberalism as an escape from this "endless oscillation." The distinctive feature of liberalism is "an attempt to secure a social order not based on irrational dogma." But if Russell were logically consistent in *his* value theory, he would have to admit that liberalism is just as much an irrational dogma, since no reasons can inform it, as Hitlerism and Stalinism. By all means let us build a social system based on *rational* dogma. But if it is truly rational, how does it differ from a truth or from a conclusion believed true in virtue of the scientific method used in its discovery?

Russell's moral skepticism, as well as his scientific skepticism, defeats itself in the literal sense that he finds himself incapable of believing what is entailed by his theoretical position. It is possible that his theory is sound and he himself not strong enough to live up to its blinding truth. Before reaching this conclusion, it would be well to explore other positions according to which it is his theory that is weak and his moral judgments sound.

The Dream from Which No One Wakes

LITTLE FRIEND, LITTLE FRIEND. By Randall Jarrell. Dial Press. $2.

IT IS an open secret, and a pity, that Randall Jarrell is known chiefly as the author of overwhelming wisecracks about other poets. Jarrell is not entirely innocent of responsibility for this reputation, nor is the reader: both are perhaps too eager to forget everything for the sake of a good laugh. But only the reader who forgets the jokes and remembers Jarrell's first two books will be prepared for the extraordinary growth in this new book. In his first two books many of the poems were weakened by a thinness and abstractness of texture and reference; it was as if the poet saw his subjects through opera glasses. One was forced to remember Eliot's observation that "the great poets give us real men, talking; set up before us real events, moving." For all the genuineness of the poems, the net result resembled the dim and ghastly negative which has to be held up to the light, and not the developed photograph full of daylight and defined objects. And it was impossible not to think of Jarrell's critical prose and to guess that if only the wit might be part of the verse, what a modernist Pope we might have.

The wit remains absent and the abstractness is not entirely dissolved. But in this new book Jarrell has a much closer, much more intimate grasp of his subject, perhaps because he has actually lived through the war with which his first poems were also concerned, but concerned in terms of intuition and premonition, not of the event and the aftermath. From the start Jarrell's sensibility has been avid, ravenous to know, to take in what really exists, to stay awake and to stare at the dark as well as the light. In "Little Friend, Little Friend" this quality of mind, this passion to be aware and awake and alive, comes up against the immense, international, and yet muffled, scattered, masked terror of war, precisely the kind of phenomenon to make such a mind most articulate, as Shakespearean heroes are most eloquent and full of insight when they are dying. Instead of general affirmation or re-

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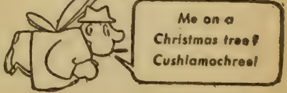
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jection of the war, Jarrell takes the particular part of the dead. In poem after poem the dead soldier says, *"Why did I die?"* And that is the end of the poem. The bombers can't land in the fog, the child does not know why he is in the refugee ship, the prisoners load trucks like automata, the halfwit can accept his mother's death and the drafting of his sister, he can accept everything but that "They took my cat for the Army Corps," "And I cried, and I cried, I wanted to die." Indeed, the obsessive symbols of the cat, the child, and the dream emerge through most of the book, forced by the pressure of the emotions of hopelessness, helplessness, animal terror and animal tenderness, senseless death, and shrieking over-all perplexity at the fact that men kill each other.

These emotions show their effect in the development of Jarrell's versification. His personal rhythm is now both clear and various. To the ignorant or inattentive reader, who looks in poetry only for the sensational imagery and obvious chanting, Jarrell's writing may seem slack and loose when it is exactly the contrary. By means of justified repetition, hurried anapests, and a caesura fixed by alliteration Jarrell gets a wonderfully expressive syncopation of movement, a tone which insists, like a passionate stammer, and reiterates nervously because the whole being is compelled by anxiety and guilt:

> They lived, they died. "I am what I am,"
> Someone heard Swift stammer: he was crazy.
> Beethoven, dying, learned to multiply.
> What does it mean? Why, nothing.
> Nothing? . . . How well we all die!

New defects occur also as a result of the poet's growth. In some poems he writes like a *nouveau riche* in ideas, crudely brandishing and flourishing Marxist ideas and permitting himself such a line as "But soon all the *chimneys* were hidden with *contracts*," a mixture of the visual and the abstract which tries to and cannot become a genuine—which is to say, *seen*—image. An effort is made to versify Marx baldly, to go from statements about trade and credit to a perception of mines and mills. Consequently the poem collapses. Twice, and strangely for an author like Jarrell, he permits his emotions about the war to become an anger against books and the university. The thesis of Archibald MacLeish is renewed when Jarrell attempts to say that if knowledge and scholarship were not actually the causes of war, they ought somehow to have been able to transform capitalist society and prevent war. This banal and sentimental view arrives at hideous absurdity in the poem in which the climax is the burning of the university. Two opposed quotations bear directly on this kind of hysteria: "The letter killeth but the spirit giveth life"; "The spirit killeth, but the letter giveth life." It ought to be possible to remember both of these maxims, for both were spoken with authority and both may be useful pieces of knowledge.

For the most part, however, the motives of honesty, courage, and inconsolable love of life are here submitted to the conditions of poetry and fulfilled in them. If, as one poem declares, this life is a dream from which no one wakes, the dreamer has refused to deceive himself, to let himself go, and to forget what he believes and loves.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

A Biographical Dictionary of Ancient, Medieval, and Modern Freethinkers

By Joseph McCabe. 60,000 words, in our larger format, pages 5½x8½ inches in size. 75c, prepaid.

McCabe's list of Freethinkers is so large that the result is sure to impress even Freethinkers. A study of the numerous dates in this encyclopedic work shows that skepticism or freethinking grows in all ages in exact proportion to the grant of freedom of expression and the diffusion of knowledge, and that this skepticism, beginning with a challenge of the prevailing religious form, deepens into Atheism.

This fine book's list includes almost 50 monarchs and heads of states, more than a score of the world's greatest musicians and artists, and hundreds of famous scholars and writers. It also includes less illustrious names that will prove of interest to the reader. In our opinion, the best advertisement for this book is a list of the Freethinkers who are given biographical treatment by McCabe. There are almost 500 biographical sketches in this book. Here is a partial list:

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At any rate, in writing of the decade that followed the Peace of Amiens Mr. Bryant seems to have had constantly in mind its many parallels with more recent events, though he never makes actual comparisons. Of course, the basic strategic and political situations were similar. Europe in 1802 was dominated by a dictator whose unbounded ambitions were blocked as long as Britain commanded the seas. When Britain was isolated, partly as a result of its attempts at appeasement, he planned to invade the island, massing troops and barges in the ports of the Pas de Calais. All he needed was three days of good weather with the British navy out of the way, for England had only a handful of trained troops to oppose a landing. But the British navy could not be disposed of by either force or trickery, and Napoleon, like Hitler, turned in disgust to new Continental aggressions which eventually raised all Europe against him. In the end Russia's armies played a big part in his defeat, but at times Russia's policies may have seemed as enigmatic to Pitt and his successors as they did to Churchill. Disgusted with Britain, the Czar Alexander embraced Napoleon at Tilsit, but "while France remained untamed, the ultimate interests of Britain and Russia remained the same."

Not only the plots of the two periods but their dramatis personae offer striking analogies. In retrospect Napoleon appears of greater stature than Hitler, and Mr. Bryant may be a little unjust in summarizing his plans in typical Hitlerian phraseology. But he gives samples of Napoleonic propaganda which one could swear were authentic Goebbels. He also etches an acid portrait of Addington, the Prime Minister who procured a "peace in our time" at Amiens which endured just about as many months as peace lasted after Munich. Addington's forcible-feeble protests against French aggressions recall the speeches of Neville Chamberlain as readily as those of Pitt remind us of Churchill.

Mr. Bryant has told his story well except for occasional lapses into patriotic rhetoric. Drawing copiously on the abundant memoirs and diaries of the time, he gives a lively picture of the home front. His account of the complicated naval strategy of the war is excellent, and he does a good job in sustaining interest in the Peninsular War, reports of which usually make rather dreary reading for all but students of military history. At the same time scholarship has not been sacrificed to entertainment; Mr. Bryant's researches appear to have been extensive, and I cannot detect any serious inaccuracies in regard to facts.

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These are some of the book's merits. Its chief fault is the product of its author's ingrained assumption of British superiority. I can understand that Mr. Bryant during the past crucial years found it difficult to be detached about an earlier era of crisis for his country. Patriotic pride is no sin, but it does not excuse the moral chauvinism that infects so much historical writing in all countries. In this book we see it in the contemptuous epithets constantly applied to the Spaniards who fought with Wellington against Napoleon's best legions. The regular Spanish forces, it is true, were for the most part badly led and often proved undependable, but again and again uprisings of guerrillas drew off the French when the British army was hard pressed. Mr. Bryant concedes the courage of this resistance movement but hardly gives it the credit it deserves for the final French débâcle in Spain.

Again we find Mr. Bryant explaining French atrocities by reference to national characteristics and the legacy of revolution. Looting, rape, and massacre of civilians are reported in detail as proof that Napoleon's veterans "under the shock of defeat . . . had reverted to type" and gone back to "the shambles of the Terror." The similar behavior of British troops under similar circumstances is also condemned. But it is not used as a text for racial moralizing except to the extent that Irish recruits are held responsible!

KEITH HUTCHISON

The Trollopes at Home and Abroad

THE TROLLOPES. By Lucy Poate Stebbins and Richard Poate Stebbins. Columbia University Press. $4.

FRANCES TROLLOPE came to America in 1827 with a muddle of purposes—she was fleeing from her husband's financial ruin and trying to repair it, she wanted to live in a communist colony for Negroes and whites in Tennessee and to make a fortune in the dry-goods business in Cincinnati—and returned to England in 1831 with one unintended achievement, the witty and still readable "Domestic Manners of the Americans." The writing she began at fifty, by chance, continued from necessity for twenty-six years, during which she turned out 114 volumes and drove her two sons to follow her trade, Thomas Adolphus by encouragement and love, Anthony by contempt and neglect.

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Session Saturday, December 1—9:30 A. M.

I. IS SECURITY POSSIBLE?
  - a. Opening of Conference.
  - b. Can there be any defense against the atomic bomb?
  - c. What value, if any, in secrecy?

Speakers and Discussants: Freda Kirchwey, Prof. Henry DeWolf Smyth, Prof. Ivan A. Getting.

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Session Saturday, December 1—2 P. M.

II. WHAT IS OUR REAL ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION?
  - a. Are we preparing for war against the Soviet Union?
  - b. Should we give the secret of the bomb to the Soviet Union immediately?

Speakers and Discussants: Helen Gahagan Douglas, M. J. Coldwell, Walter Millis.

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Session Sunday, December 2—9:30 A. M.

III. WHO SHOULD CONTROL THE ATOMIC BOMB?
  - a. *Domestically*
    - 1. Government vs. Big Business.
    - 2. What is the role of Labor?
  - b. What atomic energy may mean for the welfare of mankind
  - c. *Internationally*
    - 1. Big powers and small ones.
    - 2. The United Nations Organization.
    - 3. An international control commission.

Speakers and Discussants: Thurman Arnold, James B. Carey, Boris Pregel, Stuart Chase, Jerome Frank, Edgar A. Mowrer, Prof. L. N. Ridenour.

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Session Sunday, December 2—2 P. M.

IV. IS WORLD GOVERNMENT THE ANSWER?
  - a. Can the United Nations Organization be preserved?
  - b. Is World Government possible in immediate future?

Speakers and Discussants: Thomas K. Finletter, Charles G. Bolte, Lt. Kingman Brewster, Lt. Cord Meyer, Jr.

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DINNER FORUM — DECEMBER 3

Speakers: Dr. Herbert Vere Evatt, Professor Harold Laski, Dr. Leo Szilard, Dr. E. U. Condon, Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Freda Kirchwey, Leon Henderson, Chairman.

---

judgments (he didn't—he confirmed many of them), and not content with the magnificent social history in the Barsetshire and parliamentary novels, undertook by his studies of Caesar and Cicero to rival his brother as a historian.

Family rivalry stirred Anthony not only to his prodigious effort but also, as the Stebbinses point out acutely, to the creation of his greatest characters. He was forever going over the old struggles between his irrepressible mother and his morose unsuccessful father, testing how they would have come out if their lines had fallen in other places. Proportioned exactly to his changed circumstances, his father becomes in turn the impoverished curate Crawley, the hero of "The Last Chronicle of Barset," and Plantagenet Palliser, the upright duke and prime minister who is the hero of the parliamentary novels; but his mother, with equal justness in her change, as Palliser's wife, the boundlessly alive Glencora, triumphs over her husband in fiction as she did in life.

"The Trollopes" is scholarly, pleasantly written, full of well arranged facts and at the same time so full of firm opinions that the captious reader can quarrel at will. The Stebbinses are always restrained; they are never swept away by their material and never attempt to sweep it along to some predestined end. If they have not exploited their subject fully—an unreasonable demand but one we are always justified in making—they have also never exploited it cheaply and have never spoiled the fascinating story of the great Philistine artist.

JAMES GROSSMAN

Unamuno—Last Essays

PERPLEXITIES AND PARADOXES. By Miguel Unamuno. Philosophical Library. $2.50.

MIGUEL UNAMUNO died during the complex struggle which is still called the Spanish civil war, and under circumstances which are still less than clear. The great objector of Spanish philosophy, his objections touched the political scene at a time and in a place where questions were not welcome. He who, under the republic as under the monarchy, had been fearless in criticism found his criticism exploited by the republic's enemies for their own side. His last days were spent in Salamanca under the aegis of the rebel generals. Never over-respectful of any government, he reserved the right to exercise his barbed technique of analysis on this newest one as he had on the old ones. It was common gossip that the Franco forces were so glad to see his tongue stilled that they might have hastened its quieting.

Crusty, intolerant of sham, coruscating in his comments, passionate in his insistence on the search for truth at all costs, he was at once the pride and the scourge of intelligent Spaniards. Since his death in the last months of the Spanish war he has grown in stature as the great incorruptible, and among a divided people in daily need of contemporary symbols of greatness he looms even larger than he did in life.

For these reasons among many others the appearance of a new book by Unamuno is potentially a literary event of the first order. This one has been published simultaneously in Spanish and in English by publishing houses in Mexico and the United States. Its essays, collected by Unamuno's nephew in Buenos Aires and translated by Professor Stuart Gross of

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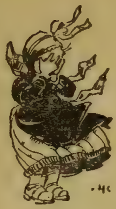

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Hofstra College, are fragmentary and uneven. They reveal no new facets of the master's thinking; they give no direct evidence of his reactions to Franco and the Falange. Their value lies chiefly in the indirect light they shed on the disintegration that was taking place in Spanish life during the last days of the republic and the first years of the Franco "purification." They are fragments, but happily some of them carry the old fire. It would have been of material aid had they been dated and placed. As it is, one has only internal evidence by which to guess approximately when they were written, and where—in Spain or in a Latin American country—they might have seen first publication.

Whether he is discussing Kierkegaard or obscenity, Unamuno is always interesting. When he dissects the effect of Hispanic envy on Spain's children in the Peninsula and the New World, when he casts a bored glance at Don Juan Tonorio, when he justifies his liking for the superrealism of carved Spanish Christs or mourns over the increase of licentiousness, which he finds "due to the absence of high, fecund ideals, to the lack of religious interest, to the non-existence of deep spiritual preoccupations," and to "false pseudo-paganism"—at such moments he is the puritan Basque, castigating the evils that surround him. When he praises Barcelona at the expense of Madrid he is the impish thorn in the proud Castilian flesh.

In this translation the famous Unamuno style loses sparkle and the gift for paradox goes dim. But the echo is still there. Of this people, who pride themselves on their spiritual ascendancy, he says, "What ruins Spanish-speaking people—I have said it many times and in many ways, and I shall repeat it many more times and in new ways—what ruins them is their materialism disguised as practicalism." Those who accuse him of playing too much with paradox he calls lazy-minded. His intent, he says, "has been, is, and will continue to be, that those who read my works shall think and meditate upon fundamental problems, and has never been to hand them completed thoughts. I have always sought to agitate, and, even better, to stimulate, rather than to instruct. Neither do I sell bread, nor is it bread, but yeast or ferment."

There is every reason for collecting and publishing the bubbles of ferment in this volume. But to enjoy their full flavor one must still go to Unamuno's "Life of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza," and to that book whose title haunts our present world, "The Tragic Sense of Life." Compared to them, this book comes as an extended footnote.

MILDRED ADAMS

Psychiatry and the Soldier

MEN UNDER STRESS. By Lieutenant Colonel Roy R. Grinker and Major John P. Spiegel, M. C., A. A. F. The Blakiston Company. $5.

PSYCHIATRY IN MODERN WARFARE. By Edward A. Strecker and Kenneth E. Appel. The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

THE war is over, that is, V-E and V-J Day have come and gone. Demobilization has already slipped from the front page, though well over half the armed forces are still in uniform. The two books under review may seem, therefore, to be as dated as yesterday's headlines. Yet a careful reading of these 500 pages, written by four doctors, would provide the intelligent, socially responsible layman with sufficient sympathetic insight and knowledge to enable him to help wisely in the readjustment of disabled veterans, particularly those whose scars do not show.

The two books could profitably be read in sequence. Strecker and Appel have written an essay, substantially documented, about the state of psychiatry in two world wars. They have described the problems of the psychoneurotic and psychotic soldier from 1914 through 1945, and the treatment accorded to him. The slim volume is not always easy to read, but all of it is clear, including the valuable second part on "demobilization and the return to civilian life." Strecker, who won his spurs in the First World War, held the outstanding civilian psychiatric assignment in World War II.

"Men Under Stress" may well turn out to be the most important psychiatric summary of World War II. It is written about the men of the Air Forces, but its authors had extensive experience with the infantry and other ground forces during the North African campaign. (Their volume on that campaign is still "restricted.") This book is divided into five parts. Part I briefly describes the selection and background of the men making up the combat team. Then it carefully builds up the picture—the environment of combat, the reactions to combat, the reactions after combat, and possible civilian applications. The meaning of its scientific vocabulary is made clear by the generous use of real cases as illustra-

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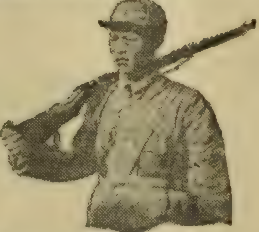

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For 12 years Asia correspondent
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tions. The method of treatment and its implication for civilian psychiatry are discussed in some detail.

The amazing thing about the psychiatrists in this war—in contrast to the psychologists—is their complete though not always mentioned acceptance of Freudian psychodynamics. Using adaptations of the techniques of hypnosis, uncovering drugs, sedation, shock therapy, ordinary reassurance, and, above all, where possible, patience in establishing *rapport* with the soldier, almost every one of them based his approach on the relation of personality to the trauma of war. Personality in this context is regarded as a composite of its Freudian descriptions—id, ego, and super-ego, or variations of that vocabulary. Moreover, the fact that these psychiatrists in many instances have held posts of high civilian responsibility as neurologists—Grinker was chairman of the Department of Neuropsychiatry at Michael Reese Hospital in Chicago—lends an undergirding of sound laboratory science to Freudian analysis.

This combination gives to "Men Under Stress" much of its value. If its approach gains wide acceptance we may hope that in the future emotionally disabled civilians who are not wealthy enough to afford a long analysis or poor enough to be treated as free clinic patients may get the necessary attention at a cost within their means.

I might end this review with a quotation from Strecker: "War, which of necessity is largely destructive, has some scientific and humane by-products." One such by-product is found in these two volumes. For they offer the promise of psychiatry's future aid for an as yet indifferent public.

FRANK N. TRAGER

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In Short

"The Rebuilding of Italy," by M. H. Macartney (Macmillan, $1.25). A brief review of the tasks facing the Italian people in restoring their democracy. The author's approach is sympathetic, and he urges the need for outside help in relieving the pressure of population and making possible the attainment of a secure, if modest, standard of living for Italy. On such burning issues as the monarchy and relations with the Vatican, Mr. Macartney sums up very, very judicially, leaving his jury or readers to form their own conclusions.

"Ourselves Inc. The Story of Consumer Free Enterprise," by Leo R. Ward (Harper, $2.50). Father Ward of Notre Dame University reports with enthusiasm on a round of visits to consumer cooperatives in the Middle West. In a final chapter he calls for "a marriage between cooperation and religion" as a way of salvation for a world "going out of the frying-pan of individualism into the fire of collectivism."

"Economic Reconstruction," edited by Seymour E. Harris (McGraw-Hill, $3.75). Based largely on a series of lectures delivered at the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration, this volume includes papers on a wide variety of post-war economic problems, domestic and international. Included in a distinguished list of contributors are Alvin H. Hansen, Mordecai Ezekiel, Gerhard Colm, S. Morris Livingstone, Gottfried Haberler, and Eveline M. Burns.

"Journey Underground," by Flight Officer David G. Prosser (Dutton, $2.75). Parachuting out of a bomber, the author landed near Paris and was nursed, sheltered, fed, and eventually smuggled into Spain by members of the French resistance. Flight Officer Prosser gives a straightforward account of his experiences, but in his anxiety not "to shoot a line," as they say in the R. A. F., he has adopted a style that tends to flatten out some of the excitement of the story.

"Socialism Looks Forward," by John Strachey (Philosophical Library, $2). John Strachey, who is now a junior member of His Majesty's Government, writes of "things as they were" in pre-war Britain and of the way to produce a better social order. A tract for the unsophisticated, written in words of one syllable and rather over-simple in its treatment of some of the problems which are going to prove troublesome for Britain under any economic system.

CONTRIBUTORS

LOUISE BOGAN is Poetry Consultant of the Library of Congress. Her most recent book is "Poems and New Poems."

SIDNEY HOOK, head of the department of philosophy at New York University, is the author of "Reason, Social Myths, and Democracy" and "The Hero in History."

DELMORE SCHWARTZ is the author of "Shenandoah," "In Dreams Begin Responsibilities," and other books.

JAMES GROSSMAN, a New York lawyer, has contributed to *The Nation* and *Partisan Review*.

MILDRED ADAMS has been for many years a close student of Spanish literature.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON found the farce "High Life Below Stairs" very amusing on the stage. Later, he was amazed to discover that one could read it "without being aware that one was reading anything at all." He would, I think, have much the same experience with the new smash hit by Lindsay and Crouse, which was once called "I'd Rather Be Left" but is now somewhat more portentously entitled "State of the Union" (Hudson Theater). The piece is a wisecracking political comedy, a sort of "Of Thee I Sing" without any singing, and it makes a sufficiently diverting evening chiefly for two reasons. In the first place, there is an extraordinarily slick production, plus one very fine performance contributed by Ruth Hussey in the role of the fall guy's knowing wife. In the second place, there is a rapid succession of lines which somehow manage to seem both new and witty despite the fact that they are almost never both and are very frequently neither.

The two authors have put themselves squarely on the side of the angels—much more unequivocally so than the authors of "Of Thee I Sing" did, even though that was written in the days before one of them woke up to find himself in the right-thinking higher brackets. Indeed, the last big speech of "State of the Union," delivered passionately by Miss Hussey, sounds really eloquent either because it is written with deeper conviction than most of the play or, possibly, because the actress manages to put great feeling into it. Moreover, and even during the less inspired passages of comic writing-with-a-purpose, it is pleasant to hear enlightened sentiments getting the kind of response from the audience which used to be reserved exclusively for anti-Roosevelt jokes. Whether this means that a different spirit is abroad in the world or whether it means merely that news of the play's tendency had got out in advance to its predestined audience, I do not know. Gloomily I suspect that the latter possibility is the actuality, for it has been my observation that sentiments in a play get applauded for precisely the same reason that sentiments get applauded at most political rallies, which are, as a matter of course, attended by few except those who already know which way they are going to vote. However, "State of the Union" will doubtedly serve to hearten our side, and I am all for it.

But I still cannot pretend to think either that the wit is very scintillating or that the dramaturgy is of a very advanced sort. The curtain lines of the second act are: "What *is* the difference between the Republicans and the Democrats?" "They're in and we are out"; the final curtain comes down with the heroine squarely facing the audience and registering delight at a slap on the behind from her husband—the fact that he had stopped administering such playful chastisement at the same time that he had stopped sharing her bed having been carefully planted a little earlier in the evening. If the wisecrack just quoted and given the traditional place of honor in the play's structure is brilliant, if the bit of business which concludes the whole is an example of high dramaturgy, then I will vote America First at the next election.

During the course of the evening I jotted down some of the most effective lines and I shall now cite a few of them, not in order to rub in what I have already said, but merely to protect myself against the charge of unfairness by spreading the evidence on the record. When one character asks another why governors always snore, that other convulses everybody by asserting, "It is an occupational disease"; when the heroine gets drunk at her own party and thereby gains courage to tell her guests where to get off, she lets us in on the secret of her condition by boasting, "I'm a very thick quinker." "I'd rather be tight than President" is another specimen of what sounds like wit but isn't, and "Just because I don't trust him is no reason why he shouldn't trust me" is another. There is, to be sure, one really witty line uttered as an obiter dictum when it is learned that the candidate's estranged wife will accompany him on a speaking tour: "Politics makes strange bedfellows." But in New York, at least, that crack was well circulated during the Presidential campaign of 1940.

"Are You with It?" (Century Theater) is a lively musical show which got extremely good notices and has probably settled down to a long run. In order that prospective customers may know what they are in for they should be informed that though the show is unquestionably entertaining in its own way, the entertainment is of a now rather old-fashioned sort—lots of noise, lots of speed, lots of tap dancing, and nothing in the least bit novel or "smart" by the standards of the moment.

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THE second annual "Portrait of America" exhibition is now functioning, under the aegis of the Pepsi-Cola Company, at the International Building, Rockefeller Center (through December 15). Here are 150 paintings by living American artists which were selected by a jury of fellow-artists from 3,270 items submitted in open competition from all over the country. The jury was divided into a "traditional" and a "modern" panel, and the entrants were asked to specify under which category they wished their work to be judged. Of the pictures finally hung, twenty were awarded prizes by a jury composed of a museum director, an art critic, and three painters. As it happened, all the prize-winning canvases were entered as either "modern" or both "modern" and "traditional," none being entered simply as "traditional."

This procedure of selection, with its unabashed assertion that two different yardsticks were needed for the fair evaluation of contemporary art, augured the worst. And the worst came about. Four-fifths of the pictures shown are rampantly bad—to say they are mediocre would give an incorrect impression. What is shocking is that so many of the artists present do not seem to possess even a journeyman's control of their craft, much less an artist's. There are passages in not a few canvases that would not have been allowed to go unwiped in any decent elementary art school; let art lovers take a good look at Paul Burlin's "Soda Jerker," which won the first prize of $2,500.

Contemporary American painting at its best is not one-quarter as bad as this monstrous show makes it out to be. For the discrepancy the jurors, I suppose, must be held responsible—unless, as is possible, our better painters did not bother to submit their work. Abstract art is gingerly represented, in very bad examples. The School of Paris is admitted in its fourth-hand forms. It is perhaps because the title of the exhibition was taken literally that it abounds so in raw landscapes and street scenes. America apparently is not people but what you see from the window—not that it makes much difference. But the fact that the hues of the American scene are not held to be as soft and harmonious as those of the European is no excuse for coarse brushwork and muddy color.

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The mass of art in any period is mediocre, but it is not often that a prevailing style is founded on a misconception. The curious thing about many of the pictures at the "Portrait of America" show is that they are not conceived with a banality equal to that of their execution. In many cases they were thought through with fair success in terms of the values of dark and light; complete disaster ensued only when color was laid on in the modern unvalued manner. The explanation for this lies in the unpublished fact that most American painters of the present period are more academic by instinct than they admit to themselves; their art has nothing to do essentially with anything later than Manet's first period; and they think and feel in the language of values—of darks and lights—rather than of color. Yet they insist on superimposing color, in the manner of Cézanne, Gauguin, or Utrillo, upon a framework that calls for glazes, half-tones, gradual transitions.

There are, of course, two or three mildly successful pictures present: for one, Max Weber's still life, which won the second prize—and which demonstrates again that Weber should leave landscape and the human figure alone from now on. But taken together with the calamitous Whitney Annuals, the National Academy of Design's fliers into modern art, and the recent Critics' Show at the Armory on Park Avenue—all of them, aesthetically speaking, of a supreme squalor—the "Portrait of America" exhibition makes the situation really grave. We are in danger of having a new kind of official art foisted on us—official "modern" art. It is being done by well-intentioned people like the Pepsi-Cola Company who fail to realize that to be for something uncritically does more harm in the end than being against it. For while official art, when it was thoroughly academic, furnished at least a sort of challenge, official "modern" art of this type will confuse, discourage, and dissuade the true creator.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

TOVEY'S "Beethoven" (Oxford, $3) is an uncompleted first draft, of which he revised only a few pages. "There is," says the editor, "only internal evidence that the unfinished chapter was the last in the plan"; but that internal evidence is the amount of ground the book has covered before it breaks off. The ground is strictly musical: "While admitting that 'the style is the man,'" Tovey writes, "I refuse to involve the reader in vulgar entanglements between the art and the artist's private or official life"; also, "the task of dealing with the music as music is more than enough for me; and, even now that an intelligent interest in music is more widely distributed than the music-lovers of last century could ever have dreamt of as possible, there is crying need for a clearer understanding of the nature of music itself . . . the humble and professional facts of rhythm, melody, counterpoint, harmony, and tonality." The book, then, is a statement of Tovey's ideas about these elements as they are used in musical forms, illustrated chiefly by examples of Beethoven's practice, but with side-references to the practices of other composers.

"My professional terminology," he observes, "is rigorously confined to generalizations from the behavior of musical compositions." So are his ideas; and to be understood they must be re-derived by the reader from his own first-hand experience of that behavior. He must, that is, turn to each passage of music that Tovey mentions to discover in it the meaning of what Tovey says about it. That makes the reading of the book a long process (I have been able only to glance through it), and really possible only for someone who can do the reading of music it requires. It is, then, a book for the person with at least the amount of musical education this presumes; and even a musically educated person will have difficulty with some of the ideas, or with Tovey's statement of them.

A rereading of his "Integrity of Music," "Musical Textures," and a couple of other lectures, last summer, sharpened into conviction what had been a vague impression—that Tovey's epigrammatic style is one of his strengths when it succeeds but a weakness when it fails: in the one case the compression brings the elements of the idea into wonderfully illuminated relations; in the other it presents them with their relations obscured.

There is a great deal of this obscurity when Tovey is making general observations; very little of it when he is pointing out the detailed behavior of a musical composition. And it was while I happened to be rereading his marvelous expositions of Haydn's symphonies, in "Essays in Musical Analysis," that I received the program notes for the Boston Symphony's first New York concerts, with an article by Ernest Newman in which I discovered that he too has "long wanted to do something to try to help the obviously increasing number of people who . . . are now beginning to realize what pleasure great music can give them," and that his help was to advise them to give up their idea of "a sort of ordnance highway to musical appreciation" to which they can be directed by "a musical traffic policeman. No amount . . . of charting of 'sonata form'—which, by the way, is largely an abstraction, a myth created by the nineteenth-century pedagogues—will *of itself* enable you in the least to sense the difference between a good first movement and a poor one. . . . A symphonic first movement . . . may reproduce the 'form,' the procedure of the great first movement of the Eroica down to the minutest detail, and yet not be worth, as music, the paper it is written on. The vitality of the great work, the quality that makes it Beethoven's . . . must therefore reside elsewhere than in its 'form,' its 'technique.' . . . What you have to do is to discover that life for yourself and make it yours; and the only way to do it is by listening to great works until the composer's thought has become part of your own inmost being, just as you will learn, for your own non-practical purposes, more about sculpture by spending a few weeks with the Elgin marbles than by reading descriptions of the tools with which the sculptor works and the professional manner of handling these."

Certainly one's appreciation of a piece of sculpture will not be increased by knowledge of the sculptor's tools and the methods of their use; but one might look at the Elgin marbles many weeks, and fail to perceive formal relations among the elements that an expert eye could point out. So with music: Tovey is aware of the danger of confusing "knowledge which is relevant only to the discipline of an artist's training" with "knowledge that is relevant to the understanding of works of art"; but the latter knowledge includes, for him, the realities of sonata form that can be observed in Haydn's practice, which, he points out, "constantly upsets the orthodoxies of the text-books"; and one might listen alone to Haydn's symphonies for a long time without perceiving the things Tovey points out and without getting from them the pleasure they were intended to give. "Balance of keys, balance of sentences, and balance of contrasts, animated by a sense of dramatic movement . . .—these," says Tovey, "and not the external signs of symmetry, are the principles of Haydn's form"; these, I would say, are what Haydn intended the listener's mind to be affected by, as he intended it to receive from the form of a certain first movement the "impression . . . of perpetual expansion as regards themes and phrases and developments, while the perfect balance of keys and harmonies provides that sense of underlying symmetry which makes the expansion so exhilarating"; and they are what one's mind might, like Newman's, be unaware of.

Someone else, finally, may use Haydn's procedures with other ideas and produce music that isn't worth the paper it is written on. But used by Haydn with his own ideas they produce much of the life that is in his music.

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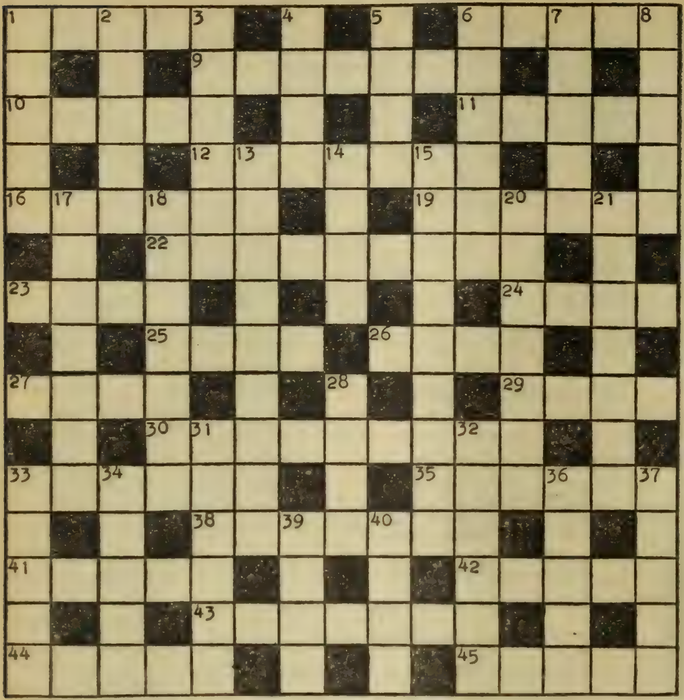
Crossword Puzzle No. 137

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Not G. B. S.
6 How a pedagogue might answer one's knock
9 One of the best-known characters in *Arabian Nights*
10 Not the "old, old story," evidently
11 Accustom
12 "One-eyed steaks"
16 Proverbially a hungry sportsman
19 Sounds rather a familiar way to address an English alumnus (two words, 3 & 3)
22 More often one who has left something undone, perhaps
23 Browning wrote of some unsuspected one in far-off seas
24 May follow fire
25 A scrubwoman turns roguish
26 He is always ready to listen to a safe proposition
27 A journey by ox-wagon
29 Latin poet (43 B.C.-17 A.D.)
30 "O, I can vote!" (anag.)
33 Suitable vegetables for Scandinavians?
35 Comes after
38 Embrace
41 He shows us up
42 I am always to be found in this Florida resort
43 Does this Kansas town consist entirely of large stores?
44 Far from fresh
45 Relationship of Rose Maybud to Aunt Hannah

DOWN

1 A Tom in *Martin Chuzzlewit* (a guileless lad)
2 You'll find welcome in this asylum
3 A well-known Johnny in the spirit world
4 An English artist and legislator concoct a swindle
5 One looks for this tool in a daze
6 Isolate
7 Every honest miller was supposed to have a golden one
8 High and thin
13 One way of distinguishing a German soldier (two words, 4 & 5)
14 Important family in *The Merry Wives*
15 Colonies where the settlers never complain without caws
17 Loosen threads
18 Pinched and twisted
20 In truth, most of their flying was done on flags
21 Milky-hued
28 Card game in which Pharaoh became involved
31 Changed course
32 "---'---'s poison is another man's breakfast," or something (two words, 3 & 3)
33 French marshal who starts out with spirit
34 Preliminary gas attack before starting operations
36 A letter of address to the wise
37 River and fishing-net in one
39 He has two per annum
40 Clay which sounds like a Cockney's injunction to get a move on

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 136

ACROSS:—1 DOGBANE; 5 EXPOUND; 9 WRATH; 10 SATURATES; 11 GAINSAYER; 12 FORCE; 31 ROUNDED; 15 CALIBAN; 17 FRETSAW; 19 COOPERS; 21 GLADE; 23 SHOVEL HAT; 25 ELIZABETH; 26 RURAL; 27 THYROID; 28 SHEKELS.

DOWN:—1 DOWAGER; 2 GRATITUDE; 3 ASHES; 4 ESSAYED; 5 ENTERIC; 6 PORTFOLIO; 7 UTTER; 8 DISCERN; 14 DESPERADO; 16 BRET HARTE; 17 FIGMENT; 18 WEST END; 19 CLOTHES; 20 SETTLES; 22 AMITY, 24 EERIE.

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The Shape of Things

THE NATION ASSOCIATES FORUM ON CONTROL of atomic power, held last Saturday, Sunday, and Monday at the Hotel Astor in New York, was a success by any accepted standard of measurement. The number of delegates and guests attending the four sessions on the first two days totaled more than 500 and represented a wide range of national organizaitons. They came from 95 cities in twenty-two states, including places as far away as Washington, Oregon, and California. As for the dinner, its attendance was held by space limitations to some two thousand guests; at least as many more would have come if they could have been accommodated. Professor Harold J. Laski chairman of the British Labor Party, came by plane from London especially to take his place among the guest speakers. Statistics don't tell the story but these few figures illustrate one part of it: they show how keenly American progressive groups realize the urgent nature of the problem of control created by the bomb; how eager they are to arrive at informed conclusions and agree upon effective action. The program was deliberately arranged to allow time for the active participation of the delegates, and at each working session except the last, which was somewhat crowded, the discussion was general and full. One delegate remarked at the end that it was the first "really democratic" conference she had ever attended, the first at which speakers and presiding officers alike "treated the audience like a collection of adults." One factor contributing to this happy impression was that the audience *was* adult—a group of serious, well informed citizens who knew what they were there for. To the distinguished group of speakers and discussion leaders *The Nation* and the members of the Forum owe a deep debt of gratitude.

*

THE FORMAL PAPERS PRESENTED AT THE FORUM need not be reviewed here. They formed, we believe, a remarkably coherent and impressive whole. It would be unfair to select any for special mention; instead we plan to publish them in as complete form as possible, together with some of the discussion from the floor, in a special supplement to appear two weeks hence. Then *Nation* readers who were unable to attend the forum will be able to judge for themselves the quality of the material presented and share, in part, the value of the meetings. Perhaps the most insistent note struck by scientists and lay speakers alike was the impossibility of finding any protection against the destructive power of atomic explosives except through international machinery capable, first, of exercising effective authority over atomic development for military purposes and, second, of preventing war itself. This insistence was expressed in various ways: in detailed discussions of methods of international inspection and control; in a strong demand, voiced by several speakers, for the rapid transformation of UNO into a world government; and in a realistic discussion of the conflicts and tensions—particularly between Russia and the West—which stand in the way of adequate international action. The forum adjourned with the adoption of a set of "propositions" which will appear in the supplement.

✶

THERE ARE DOZENS OF EXPLANATIONS BUT NO excuses for the failure of the labor-management conference. The reasons for its collapse are all bad. Industry delegates were determined not to endorse the President's wage policy. John L. Lewis, now the absolute boss of the A. F. of L., in fact if not in name, was determined to scotch any proposal of importance originating with the C. I. O. Management was determined to prevent fact-finding or voluntary arbitration machinery which involved real disclosure of company books, and labor was happy enough to avoid the subject lest it be saddled with nothing but a crippling requirement for cooling-off periods. The only thing that can make the conference failure more abject than it is will be to indulge in the fantasy that it really accomplished something.

✶

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS asking for legislation to provide for emergency fact-finding boards in critical labor disputes is clearly connected with the failure of the labor-management conference. The policy it outlines has been strongly urged by *The Nation* ever since the present menacing situation developed. Commerce Department and OWMR reports and the President's own speech have proclaimed that wages can be raised substantially without increasing prices. Since industry has rejected that policy in word and in deed by refusing to bargain collectively on the subject, the government must prove its point and enlist public support behind it. It must arrange disclosure of the economic facts, industry by industry. In this way it can accomplish the two principal goals which the conference missed—the creation of effective and fair disputes machinery and the demonstration of the broad economic terms in which strikes must be settled.

✶

A STEEL STOPPAGE IS AN IMMINENT THREAT in view of last week's strike vote and United States Steel's absolute refusal to resume negotiations in the absence of higher price ceilings. No strike could be more menacing to reconversion. The nation's durable-goods factories would come to a halt in a matter of weeks. Even more forcibly than the General Motors walkout this crisis demonstrates the compelling necessity for federally sponsored machinery to settle disputes. Unfortunately the steel dispute is also the most difficult to settle. "Big Steel" has always set the pattern, and it proposes to continue that role in a situation where the stakes are greater than a mere wage increase, where the battle revolves on the question of whether prices and profits are the concern of an individual company or of the public. Moreover, the steel industry's profits are probably less than those in other industries where similar wage demands are being made. Finally, for the OPA to compromise its price policy by allowing higher ceilings would be to create the terrifying necessity of repricing practically everything under OPA. After all, steel enters some 85 per cent of all manufactured products. Since the OPA-industry dispute over prices and the union-industry dispute over wages really center in the question of steel profits, and since neither side trusts the other's figures, only one settlement procedure appears to offer any hope. That is the government-sponsored, impartial investigation of the facts as they appear from an examination of all sources, including the industry's books. It should produce the only answers that could be expected to satisfy the workers and give the public the truth on which to base its decisions and force a just settlement. Failure to avert the strike, or to end it promptly when it begins, means a productionless winter, possibly one of the blackest and most dangerous in the country's peace-time history.

✶

ITALY, AS WE GO TO PRESS, STILL HAS NO government. The task of forming a cabinet has been entrusted to Alcide de Gasperi, leader of the Christian Democrats and Foreign Minister in the Parri administration, whose efforts to maintain a broad-based coalition are encountering opposition from the Liberals. One major bone of contention in the Ministry of the Interior which Signor de Gasperi, in agreement with the Socialists, Communists, and Actionists, had alloted to the Socialists. Since this department controls the police and will be responsible for preparations for the elections next spring, the Liberals, who have become in fact the spearhead of conservatism and monarchism, are desperately anxious to secure the post for themselves. It was the Liberals who forced the current crisis by their attacks on Signor Nenni, Socialist Vice-Premier in the Parri government whom they accuse of too much zeal in his purge of Fascists. But their intrigue could hardly have succeeded if the Allies had shown a less negative attitude toward Parri. When he took office British and American representatives approved his democratic program and promised support. The most effective form such support could have taken would have been the abrogation of the harsh armistice terms which thwart an Italian government at every turn. Under the armistice, for instance, Allied Military Government controls the industrial north; demobilization of the Italian army which is eating up one-third of the budget is prohibited; the conclusion of commercial treaties with other countries, which could help to revive trade, is prevented. Two months ago Parri urged the Allies to substitute an "interim peace arrangement" for the armistice. But his plea was ignored and thus encouragement was given to reactionaries who spread the word that Parri's policy of cooperation with the democratic powers had failed. If Italy is to have a chance, if it is not to be shaken by continual crises, the Allies must allow its government power commensurate with its responsibilities.

✶

ADDRESSING A TORY CONVENTION LAST WEEK, Winston Churchill sought to raise the drooping spirits of his followers by unloosing a stream of invective against the

Labor government. Herbert M. Matthews of the New York *Times* tells us that "the doughty old warrior" was never in better form. He quotes in proof "pungent phrases that tumbled like malevolent gems from a genie's pouch," such as "morbid and reactionary Socialists," "the gloomy vultures of nationalization," "the heavy-footed state." These rhetorical clichés seem more like sweepings from the floor of Lord Beaverbrook's yellow press than jewels of eloquence, and we suspect that they affected the impressionable Mr. Matthews far more than they did the politically mature British public. In fact, Britons are likely to find in Mr. Churchill's tirade yet another proof of the political bankruptcy of his party. Having no constructive program with which to oppose the Labor Party, the Tories must fall back on abuse. In his peroration Mr. Churchill showed that he was still unable to read the lessons of the Parliamentary and municipal elections when he said "events are moving and will move toward the issue—the people versus the Socialists." Obviously he refuses to accept the fact that "the people" are *with* the Socialists and are likely to stay with them so long as they stay with socialism.

* * *

EVEN AT THIS ELEVENTH HOUR WE COULD DO something effective about Argentina. But it should be done without delay. We should immediately call a conference of Latin American nations and urge a general break of relations with Buenos Aires and the application of economic sanctions. This is the only way to prevent Perón from being elected President. Once he is in office, nothing can be done short of using force. That is the conviction not only of newspapermen who have watched events in Argentina, or of impatient anti-fascists, but of many well-informed Latin American diplomats. These men cannot express their views openly, but they have done so privately, and if the State Department desires we can furnish the names of our sources. Nor is the issue one of anti-Semitism or the suppression of every form of freedom, including freedom of the press. It is that the election of Perón as President means almost certain war in the Western Hemisphere by 1950. His rule will lead to the absorption by Argentina of Bolivia and Paraguay, the latter country having already become almost an Argentine province. It will lead later to the encirclement of Uruguay and Chile, then to open conflict with Brazil and, in the end, with the United States. The strong stand taken by Spruille Braden in Buenos Aires did much to stiffen popular resistance to the threat of a continued, quasi-legal Perón dictatorship. When Braden was recalled by Washington to become Assistant Secretary of State, it was hoped that immediate steps would be taken to translate his attitude into official policy. So far nothing has happened, and as a result Perón's position is much stronger than when Braden left. Only prompt and energetic action can reverse the situation.

* * *

GRUDGINGLY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS HAS decided to comply with the verdict of the federal courts. In January, 1944, it will be recalled, the District Court found that the public interest required that the A.P. in passing on applications for membership should not take into account the effect on the competitive position of existing members. This decision was upheld by a majority of the Supreme Court in June, 1945, and a petition for a rehearing of the case was denied in October. With no further legal procedures open to them, the directors of the agency felt compelled to take steps which would make possible a motion to the court for lifting the injunction under which the A.P. is now operating. With this in view they recommended to the members at a special meeting on November 28: first, an amendment to the by-laws providing that "in voting upon an applicant for membership, whether such voting be by the members or the board of directors, no member or director shall take into consideration in passing upon such applicant the effect of his or its admission upon the ability of such applicant to compete with members in the same city and field"; second, the election of four applicants for membership, including Marshall Field, owner of the Chicago *Sun*. The motion to elect was seconded by Colonel Robert R. McCormick, who made no attempt to disguise the bitterness of the pill. He consented, he said, only because the A.P.'s counsel agreed that if the applicants were rejected, "the courts will hold us in contempt." However, having tripped over the law, the Colonel is hoping to get the law changed. He had, he told the meeting, 500 proxies supporting a resolution pledging the membership to agitate for legislation exempting newspapers and news agencies from the anti-trust laws. Having done its modest part in the campaign in which the A.P. has just acknowledged defeat, *The Nation* promises to renew the fight if and when newspaper publishers seek special privileges from Congress.

* * *

JOHN (THE GIANT-KILLER) LONGO RECENTLY won another respite from the persecution of the Hague colossus in New Jersey, which has been trying for years to put him securely behind bars. Longo was sentenced to serve eighteen months to three years after he was found guilty, on the evidence of Hague witnesses, of having falsified his own voting record, or rather of having stood by while it was falsified. The Court of Errors and Appeals denied his request for a new trial. The Board of Pardons refused clemency. But just when it seemed that the prison doors must surely close upon him, and the Hague cohorts were undoubtedly heaving sighs of relief, Judge August Ziegner of the Court of Common Pleas issued an order directing the Hudson County prosecutor to show cause why Longo should not have a new trial. The Hagueophile Hudson County Bar Association immediately swung into action and tried to enjoin any move for a new trial. Meanwhile the New Jersey papers carried a full-page advertisement designed to prove that Longo's trial had been above reproach. Nevertheless, the Court of Errors and Appeals turned down the Bar Association's application for a writ prohibiting Judge Ziegner from reopening the case. To anyone familiar with New Jersey politics the determination of the Hague machine to prevent a new trial is enough to prove that Longo deserves one. If it comes about, we hope the defense will find a way of bringing into court the handwriting expert who was hired by the prosecution to examine the record in question—but was not produced as a witness. On being questioned by former Governor Edison as to his findings, he said that they showed that the crime with which Longo was charged had never been committed. The prosecution, it seems, did not consider his report—with photographs—worth mentioning.

Same Bill of Goods

BURTON K. WHEELER'S speech in the Senate last week on the Connally resolution for the appointment of American representatives to the United Nations Organization constituted a formal unveiling of the new, 1946 model, post-war isolationism. For the isolationists reconversion has been an easy process. The war has not affected them; atomic energy has left them untouched. Their line is virtually identical with what it was when the attack on Pearl Harbor suddenly forced them, temporarily, to shut up shop. They present now only a single innovation—the slogan, "We told you so."

Senator Wheeler put it this way in his opening words: "Mr. President, the speech I am about to make is in no way intended as a criticism of President Truman. He has inherited an almost insoluble situation—one which some of us foresaw was the inevitable consequence of the policies pursued before Pearl Harbor. Now there are those who seek to blame him—in order that they may excuse their own lack of foresight, their own support of some of the things which could only lead to the situation in which we now find ourselves."

Later on he amplified this in an interesting exchange with Senator McMahon:

> *Mr. McMahon:* Does the Senator believe we fought for survival?
>
> *Mr. Wheeler.* Certainly not.
>
> *Mr. McMahon.* Does the Senator take the position that this country was in no danger at any time?
>
> *Mr. Wheeler.* We were never in any danger until we were attacked.
>
> *Mr. McMahon.* Does the Senator believe that that attack was inevitable?
>
> *Mr. Wheeler.* No, I do not.
>
> *Mr. McMahon.* The Senator thinks it could have been avoided?
>
> *Mr. Wheeler.* Of course I do. I have said so repeatedly. I think it could have been. I do not claim to be infallible. My own conviction was then, and my conviction is now, that the policies we pursued led us down the road to war.

This, of course, is precisely the line which is being developed by the Republicans in the Pearl Harbor inquiry. Even less subtly than Senator Wheeler, they are attempting to prove the validity of their own pre-war contentions—that the Axis had no designs on America, that the war was no more than a contest between rival and equally reprehensible imperialisms, that President Roosevelt's resistance to the Axis was contrary to our real national interest and provoked, if it did not actually justify, the Japanese attack upon us. Here is an interpretation of history which, if it can be made to germinate in the soil of post-war disillusionment, will undermine and subvert the whole American outlook, and uproot the nascent sense of unity with mankind which has been this nation's one positive gain from the awful experience of war.

It is unlikely that Senator Wheeler can succeed, or that he even entertains any hope of success, in his assault on the Connally resolution. At the time this is written, with the defeat of the Taft amendment, its passage seems assured. This measure is intended to accomplish no more than to implement American adherence to the United Nations Charter, ratified by the Senate four months ago, eighty-nine to two. It would authorize appointment of an American representative and a deputy to the UNO. It would empower the President to commit this country to collective measures short of war without reference to Congress. And it would also empower him to make stipulated American forces available for the enforcement of decisions taken by the Security Council. The size and character of the American forces to be made available would have to be approved in advance by Congress, but once approved, they could be committed to action unanimously agreed upon by the council in an emergency without specific Congressional indorsement. It is this last provision, of course, which will test those who, like Senator Wheeler, gave no more than lip service to the charter itself. Plainly, without this provision American participation would be meaningless and the council impotent.

Senator Wheeler's assault highlights certain dangers to the United Nations Organization in the attitude of some of the younger interventionists who disparage the charter as inadequate and already obsolescent. Perfectionism, as President Roosevelt noted, has its serious dangers. One need not embrace Senator Connally's extravagant fears of a world state to recognize the force of his reasoning when he asked rather irritably, "Why can't we stick with this until we try it a while? . . . Why, when we start to do something, do you have to say: 'Let's to something else.'" The immediate problem is to make the United Nations function.

Senator Wheeler plays adroitly upon the dissatisfactions of those who want something better than the UNO. He cites their criticism of it as proof that it has already failed. And as an even more effective means of undermining popular faith in it, he attributes to this alleged failure the whole sorry state of the world today. Russia and Britain, as he sees it, are both now actively engaged in aggression. The task of the UNO must be nothing less than to quell them at once, forthwith. "Enforce the peace against whom?" he asks rhetorically. "Certainly not Germany and Japan—they are destroyed. The only aggressors today are our beloved and noble peace-loving allies, both of which are still at war."

But if Senator Wheeler is scornful of the UNO's capacity to bring these recalcitrants to heel, he has no doubt that the United States, alone and unaided, can and should do so. "We must quit appeasing Russia," he insists staunchly, "and let her know once and for all we did not fight this war to let her enslave the peoples of Europe. She agreed to our high principles in her hour of distress. She must abide by them now." If President Roosevelt's remonstrances to the Axis before Pearl Harbor were war-mongering, what can this be called?

It is quite obvious by now that the advent of the atom bomb has at once made more urgent the establishment of a functioning world organization and called for the strengthening of the authority set up by agreement among the nations. Some honestly feel that the international authority must be invested with all the powers and instrumentalities of world government. And logic, if not history, seems to support them. But however much beyond the present United Nations Organization men's logic and hopes and fears may carry them, the first and immediate task is to find ways to heal the rifts between the nations and give UNO the power it now requires. It is this task that must unite all Americans who, even before the bomb, knew that the world was one.

Radio's Second Chance

THE development of FM broadcasting, free from static and interference, marked a great step forward in electronics. It promised more, however, than full-fidelity reception. To a radio industry that has been constipated with bad taste and noisome commercials, it offered a chance for a fresh start. To business that was left out in the cold when simoniacs in the Coolidge and Hoover administrations were selling the nation's airways down the spectrum, it offered a new opportunity for station licenses. To the body politic, it offered a thousand platforms widely scattered, from which all points of view could gain a public hearing.

The inventor of FM, Major Edwin Armstrong, was fully aware of the immense social values of his brain-child. He had found that the radio industry, particularly RCA, had fought FM "every inch of the way," and he expressed the expectation that FM would make possible a large number of small and independent stations. When the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) gave the go-ahead to FM in May, 1940, it emphasized that "the opening of a new band for commercial broadcasts will help to correct numerous defects and inequalities now existing in the standard broadcast system." It limited the competitive advantages which standard stations would have in the FM field by requiring every FM station to present two hours of programs not duplicated on standard broadcast stations, "to demonstrate the full fidelity of the FM system." Finally, during the war, it announced that it planned to reserve twenty channels for later distribution, so that small business units could enter the field at a later date, after more sets had reached the public.

Last December Paul A. Porter, a fluent Kentuckian, was lifted out of his job as publicity chief of the Democratic National Committee and made chairman of the FCC. Fresh from the OPA, where he had done an effective job as rent administrator, he was known in Washington both as a "liberal" and a "smooth operator." He came to the FCC wearing his "L" sweater, and his earlier hitch as a member of the rugged CBS lobby in Washington was dismissed as a totally irrelevant factor in his past. And after he assumed office he wrote a hard-hitting diatribe for *American Magazine*, entitled Radio Must Grow Up, which accused the networks of "commercial opportunism" and sharply excoriated them for putting out a very shoddy type of product. His remedy for the evils of radio, however, was that listeners should write letters to their station managers. Some felt that this solution betrayed a rather narrow view of the powers and functions of the FCC.

When the question of FM came before the commission, Mr. Porter had very little trouble in persuading most of his colleagues to yield to the pressure of the networks and the trade press and abandon the requirements for separate programming on FM outlets owned by AM (standard) stations. And he urged them to forget the silly notion of reserving frequencies for veterans and for newcomers. To veterans who protested against the failure to reserve frequencies, he replied that there would always be a considerable number of unused spots. In places, no doubt, like the Great American Desert.

Protection of present investments in radio has become one of the FCC's chief concerns—in spite of the fact that its own statistics show that the broadcast industry made a return before federal taxes of more than 269 per cent of the depreciated value of its property in 1943—and it is now the FCC's fixed practice to award an FM license almost automatically to every AM station, without any hearing to show what sort of public service it has rendered under its AM license.

Even after receiving their licenses, vested interests enjoy formidable competitive advantages over newcomers in FM: (1) they have no additional rentals; (2) they have no additional programming costs; (3) they have practically no additional personnel or administrative costs; and (4) they enjoy a virtual government tax subsidy through their privilege of offsetting early losses by FM broadcasting against AM profits.

The annual operation cost for a non-affiliated FM station with one kilowatt power will average $35,000, a sum equal to the original construction costs. For an FM station duplicating the programs of an AM affiliate, the annual operation costs will be negligible.

It will take from two to five years for enough FM receivers to be in the homes of the nation to make FM a generally profitable enterprise. Until that time it is not a practical activity for modestly financed units. It is essential, therefore, if small business, civic groups, labor unions, and cooperatives are to enter the field at all, that at least half of the available FM channels be reserved for later distribution.

Up to the present such applications have been sparse, although applications are now on file from the U. A. W., the I. L. G. W. U., the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Potomac Cooperative Federation, and the Hollywood Community Radio Group. Columbia University has applied for a non-commercial educational station. Most non-profit organizations, however, are unable to finance the venture through the difficult early years, and many have been too preoccupied with war work even to consider the possibility.

The need for action is urgent. Of the first 129 conditional FM licenses, all but 23 were granted to companies which already hold licenses for AM stations. Within the next twelve months a large part of the FM spectrum will be distributed. The responsibility of the FCC is a gigantic one—it has a unique opportunity to safeguard and implement our cherished constitutional guaranty of freedom of speech. Its power is greater than the Supreme Court's, for the court deals only with restraints, and the commission has the positive task of creating opportunities. If America is to avail itself fully of its second chance in radio, if it is to create a vital and imaginative industry whose ownership is widely diversified and whose microphones tap the talent resources of every community, the FCC must execute a sharp and courageous reversal of policy. That it will have full Congressional support in such a move is indicated by the fact that the Senate Small Business Committee, sparkplugged by Senator Glen H. Taylor of Idaho, is making a study of the problems of small business men and veterans in radio. It is hoped that a thorough Congressional investigation of this subject will soon take shape, so that FM can be saved for the people before it is too late.

Exit Pat Hurley

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

ORDINARILY when a public servant fails in his task, he resigns quietly, and his shortcomings are mercifully forgotten. This has always been true in the diplomatic service, where tradition frowns upon the airing of individual opinions. But Patrick Hurley is not a man who can accept failure gracefully. He showed that repeatedly in his brief but stormy career as ambassador to China. And when the inevitable consequences of his meddling in Chinese domestic affairs became so apparent that he was denounced in Congress, his inordinate vanity would not permit a peaceful exit. Instead, he issued an angry public statement which only dramatized his unfitness for the responsibilities with which he had been intrusted.

His attempt to shift the blame for his failure to his former subordinates is a reflection of both his vanity and his incompetence. While it is true that his staff, almost to a man, opposed his consistent support of the reactionary elements in the Chungking regime, it must be remembered that Hurley's policies in every case prevailed and that during the past six or eight months he had surrounded himself with men of his own choosing. Nor has the China Division of the State Department exercised a restraining influence. When conflict arose, Hurley was upheld against the judgment of experts who had spent years studying China's complex political problems. Hurley might have argued that civil war would have broken out even if the United States had not encouraged the Kuomintang with promises of American backing, but he certainly has no grounds for blaming our involvement in that war on those who opposed our taking sides in China's domestic dispute. Hurley's charge that some of the career men openly favored the Communists is a deliberate misrepresentation cooked up, apparently, for political effect. The policies advocated by the experts were from the beginning essentially those of Stilwell and Gauss. They sought to prevent American supplies from being diverted from the war against Japan for use in civil conflict and to assist all groups—not merely the Communists—seeking to establish a more democratic political structure in China. In contrast, Hurley's unconditional support of the Kuomintang has encouraged Chungking to resist popular demands for democratic constitutional reform.

The part of General Hurley's statement that most clearly betrayed his unfitness, however, was the self-contradictory charge that these foreign-service officials were siding simultaneously with an "imperialist bloc" and with "Communist imperialism" against "democracy and free enterprise." It would be impossible in a brief article to untangle the confusion that apparently exists in General Hurley's mind regarding these basic issues. The equating of "democracy" and "free enterprise" provides a partial key to the confusion, but even that does not explain how the career men's alleged Communist sympathies were causing us to be "sucked into a power bloc" *against* Communist imperialism. Yet this is the one specific charge that would in any way justify his assertion that their policies, in contrast to his own, were laying the basis for World War III.

Confused and uninformed though General Hurley's statement is, it has been seized upon with delight by the anti-British, anti-Russian press. Yet its effect in the long run should be salutary. The American people have a right to know not only the details of our involvement in China but how our policies on crucial foreign issues are formulated. They should be particularly interested in learning why the views of a relative novice should be permitted to override the recommendations of men who have devoted years of study to Chinese affairs. Another relevant question is why, considering his obvious incompetence, General Hurley was kept in his post as long as he was. It is known that a successor—a man with long experience in China—was selected several months ago, even before the General returned from China. But after Chiang Kai-shek sent an urgent letter requesting Hurley's retention, it was announced that he would return to China. The public would doubtless like to know why the views of a Chinese official should take precedence over the interests of the American people. A Congressional investigation of these questions would be useful.

After the furor created by Hurley's resignation it was obviously impossible for the President to go back to the original plan of naming a career diplomat to replace him. He had to find a man who enjoyed the confidence of all sections of American opinion and who at the same time would command the highest respect in China. While the selection of a military man with little China experience may be questionable, especially at a time when political issues are paramount, General Marshall is no ordinary military man, and he is not wholly without experience in China. His ability is exceptional, and there is no reason to believe that he shares Hurley's anti-Russian bias. While his task is an unenviable one, he will assume it with as close to united backing as any diplomat could desire.

President Truman has promised that General Marshall will be given specific published instructions before he leaves for Chungking. It is probable that these instructions will follow the general lines of those given Hurley a year ago, making due allowances for changed circumstances. The new ambassador will undoubtedly be asked to explore the possibility of solving the Kuomintang-Communist controversy and to help formulate a long-range policy on American military and material assistance to China. Whether the President will go farther is uncertain. But Marshall's task would be greatly clarified if the President would use this occasion to restate the principles of American foreign policy contained in his Navy Day speech as they apply to China. Such a statement would have a tremendous effect on China's internal situation. The militarists who have gone confidently ahead with preparations for civil war on the assumption that Uncle Sam will provide the arms and pay the bill would lose their trump card if our policy were clearly put; for no responsible American official will pledge the kind of assistance the Kuomintang militarists need if they are to establish control throughout China. If the President were to make it plain that American military and economic support will depend upon the acceptance of basic democratic principles, Chungking might be forced to abandon its stubborn opposition to constitutional reform and so might open the way for a settlement of China's internal difficulties.

Palestine Pilgrimage

BY I. F. STONE

New York, November 30

I FEEL a little like the hero of Jules Verne's "Around the World in Eighty Days," though he was a slowpoke by comparison. Last Tuesday I had tea in England and dinner in Ireland. I breakfasted the next day in Newfoundland and lunched in New York. I have just returned from a six weeks' trip abroad, a typical bit of American blitz journalism. My primary concern was Palestine, and the largest part of my time was spent there. But I had five days in London on my way and two days in Paris. I saw St. Peter's from the skies over Rome, and I climbed the Acropolis in awe during an overnight stop in Athens. I had five days in and around Cairo before I reached Palestine, and I saw every part of the Holy Land except the Dead Sea during my stay there. I spent two days and a night in the Lebanon, and stayed three days each in Cairo and London on my way back, with short descents from lonely night skies over Cyrenaica and Malta, and a breakfast near Marseilles.

It was my first trip abroad, and if a wandering newspaperman may be forgiven his enthusiasm, I came back drunk on the beauties of the world: that last look at Manhattan's heady towers on the way out; the infinite variety of sea and sky on the boat trip over; St. Paul's, mighty and melancholy amid the bomb ruins in a London dusk; Paris, as one had dreamed of it, miraculously unscathed by the war; a savage sunset over the wild Balkan headlands flying into Greece; the green delta stretching from horizon to horizon as one enters the Egyptian skies; the minarets and the stars over the Citadel in Cairo; dawn over the Negev from the watch tower at Gevulot, with Sinai far in the distance; Minara, my favorite colony, which shoulders the sky 3,000 feet above the Jordan across from the enormous Harmon, where Pan dwelt; and Jerusalem, clean, white, and lovely on its ancient hills. I was moved to tears twice on my trip, once when I walked for the first time into Notre Dame in Paris, and again when I came through the narrow winding streets of the Old City to the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem, and saw the few stones to which cling so many filial memories for a Jew.

I went over neither to uncover sensations nor to bolster preconceptions but to understand the British and the Arab as well as the Jewish point of view, to get the atmosphere of London and the flavor of Arab nationalism, and to see for myself what had been accomplished in Palestine. I dined with a Cabinet minister in London and had a two-hour off-the-record talk with Azzam Bey, head of the Arab League, in Cairo. My assignment, to achieve some grasp of the complexities and the tragedies involved in Britain's position, Arab aspirations, and urgent Jewish needs, was an assignment that called for an Isaiah, not a mere reporter. Perhaps I learned most from chance contact and talks with humbler folk—a devout English Catholic returning on the Queen Elizabeth from captivity in Japan, a cockney Jewish mother bombed out of her home in the East End of London, a Coptic doctor struggling against the disease and squalor of an Egyptian village, a young Sephardic Jew homeless in Athens whose Spanish passport had saved him in a German death camp, a brilliant Christian Arab leader in Beirut whose sympathetic understanding of Zionism surpassed that of any Zionist I encountered, a veteran English civil servant in Haifa, and above all the young men and women of the Jewish colonies I visited, the grandest young folk I have ever met.

I hated Egypt. I have never seen such poverty. There are wise and farseeing men in the Egyptian upper class, and I had the good fortune to speak with several. But there are also a whole horde of self-serving phonies, and some Egyptian officials seem to treat their own people with an arrogance and contempt beyond that of the worst foreign imperialist. The gap between rich and poor is unbelievably wide. Of all the villages in Egypt some fourteen now have health centers, and of these fourteen, five have doctors. It was to one of these show villages, near Gizeh, with the Pyramids visible not far away, that I was taken. The filth and squalor were beyond conception, and there, as in the Muski, the ancient quarter of Cairo, I saw a sight one cannot forget—flies feasting on the corrupted eyelids of little children. In the West one speaks of exploitation, but in the West the exploiting capitalist builds, constructs, produces; his activity adds as much as if not more than it subtracts. But in Egypt exploitation is of a different and almost one-sided character. The fellah lives on the Nile and the pasha lives on the fellah. In the West when we think of colonial nationalism, we think of Gandhi and Nehru. Egypt once had a Zaglul Pasha, responsive to his people's needs, but today one catches few if any overtones of idealism in the Wafdist movement he founded.

Egypt provides perspective on Palestine. There is the sharpest contrast between the markets of Egypt and the Arab markets in Palestine, as I saw them in the all-Arab town of Gaza or in the Arab sections of Jerusalem and Haifa. The Arab markets of Palestine are clean. The town and village Arab of Palestine is better dressed, healthier looking by far, than the Arab in Egypt, whose usual dress is a dirty, old-fashioned, single-piece garment which is almost an exact replica of the nightshirt grandpa in America used to wear. Passing from Egypt to Palestine one can see for oneself what is testified to in the Peel Royal Commission report on Palestine—that the coming of the Jews has not degraded the Arab but lifted his living standards.

I found myself immensely attracted by the life of the Yishuv, the Jewish community of Palestine. It is the one place in the world where Jews seem completely unafraid. I did not see the displaced persons' camps in Germany, but even in such free countries as England and France—and at home, in the United States—there are premonitory tremors in the Jewish communities, conscious or subconscious fears of the future. In Palestine a Jew can be a Jew. Period. Without apologies, and without any lengthy arguments as to whether Jews are a race, a religion, a myth, or an accident. He need explain to no one, and he feels profoundly at home; I am quite willing to attribute this to historic sentimentality, but it remains none the less a tremendous and inescapable fact. In the desert, on the barren mountains, in the once malarial marshes of the Emek, the Jew has done and is doing what seemed to reasonable men the impossible. Nowhere in the world have human beings surpassed what the Jewish colonists have accomplished in Palestine, and the consciousness of achievement, the sense of things growing, the exhilarating atmosphere of a great common effort infuses the daily life of the Yishuv. I came away feeling that no obstacles, no setbacks, nothing but perhaps a Third World War and atomic bombs in the Middle East, could stop this people.

It happens that I felt myself painfully impelled to disagree with majority opinion in the Yishuv. I am not in favor of a Jewish state in Palestine. But it would be foolish, and it would be completely to misunderstand how history and human beings work, to disparage Zionism. Only a passionate, narrow, and mystical national faith made it possible for Jews to colonize areas the goats despised. Without the Zionist movement, what has been achieved in Palestine would never have come to pass. The closest parallel in American experience is Puritanism, and Palestine is indeed much like the frontier in our own country, both in colonial times and in the West. But the strength associated with such a movement also has its corresponding defects, and the defects of Zionism are reflected in its failure to take into account the feelings and aspirations of the Palestinian Arab. The Arab has benefited from the Jewish influx, but only indirectly. The Zionist has not hurt him, but the Zionist has made him feel shut out. This exclusiveness is natural and understandable, but it needs to be corrected if the Jews are to build for themselves a secure life in the Middle East.

I understood after seeing Egypt and talking with Christian Arabs in the Lebanon—many of them anti-Zionist only in public—why the Yishuv will fight and has a right to fight against permanent minority status under present conditions in an Arab state. But I also understand why the Palestinian Arab, to whom Palestine is also home, who has fully as much right there as the Jew, does not wish to live as a minority in a Jewish state. No one likes to be ruled by an alien people, and though I, a Jew, found the friendliest sort of welcome visiting with Arabs, I found no Palestinian Arab in favor of a Jewish state. Relations on the day-to-day level between the two peoples are friendly and quite unlike what one expects. There is no sense of race tension as one feels it in our South or in encounters with anti-Semites in the Western world. The Arab does not hate the Jew, but he fears being dominated by him, and this fear must be allayed.

In a visit to Amir on the upper Jordan, where the Hadassah was opening a new health center for Jews and Arabs, I encountered a feeling among the Arabs that they somehow risked the displeasure of the British governing authorities if they were friendly with the Jews. I found no evidence to support this suspicion, but I believe that there is much the British could do to improve relations between leaders of the two peoples. I was told that at Haifa the chief engineer, the leading British civil servant of the municipality, had done much in a quiet unobtrusive way toward the success of the local government. Haifa's population—and its City Council—is equally divided between Jews and Arabs. The mayoralty was long held by a respected Arab, succeeded since his death by his deputy, a Jew of Turkish origin. The chief engineer told me that he could remember no occasion on which a split vote in the council had not found Jews and Arabs on both sides. Admittedly it is easier to run a municipality than a nation, but Haifa nevertheless illustrates the fact that the two races can get along in equal partnership.

The earlier day when Arab nationalist and Zionist could work together, as they did in the first honeymoon period after the war, came to an end for two reasons. One was Britain's failure to fulfil the promises made the Arabs on the basis of which their leaders accepted Zionism for Palestine. The other was the Jewish demand, first by implication and then explicitly, for a Jewish state in Palestine. The Jewish State slogan has made political cooperation between Jew and Arab impossible, and left the Jewish homeland completely dependent on British support. The British, feeling that the Jews had to support the Empire under any circumstances, have more and more made their concessions to the Arabs. These concessions have been at the expense of the Yishuv, of French interests, and of the minorities in the Middle East generally. It is because the Jews understand this and feel deeply the needs of their homeless brethren in Europe that they have launched the present civil-disobedience campaign. They scent an attempt to liquidate the Yishuv, and they scent another cruel Evian farce beneath Bevin's fine talk of finding a world solution for the Jewish problem. And I must confess that after being in London, and with all due respect for the good intentions of British Labor, I agree with Palestinian Jewry.

I came away with a great liking and respect for the English people but a great distrust of their officials. I understand the average Englishman's resentment over American interference, and I favor not only American sharing of responsibility but an international solution for the Middle East. British fears of an Arab uprising largely reflect a hobgoblin of their own making; the great powers can impose any solution they choose. I think the equitable solution would be a bi-national state for Palestine and international trusteeship until population parity has been reached between Jews and Arabs. I think the powers must recognize the Arab aspiration for some kind of league or federation and put bi-national Palestine into it, and I think they must then provide some form of international guaranty for the Christian Lebanon, the Jewish community in Palestine, and other minorities in the East, but a guaranty free from the taint of "capitulations" in Egypt, a system of protection much abused both by the imperialist powers and the minorities themselves. A settlement of this kind depends, of course, on whether London and Washington are sincerely concerned with stability in the Middle East or merely with appeasing the Arabs in preparation for a new war against the Soviet Union. I do not speak from surmise when I report that from Ernest Bevin down, the British Foreign Office and the Colonial Office seem to be suffering from an obsession on this score, and the Jews are its principal victims.

A bi-national settlement would provide enough immigration certificates over, say, the next five or ten years—about 650,000—to take care of all Jews who must be given a refuge in Palestine. It would establish a Jewish community strong enough to hold its own in the Arab world. It would end Palestinian Arab fears of a Jewish state. It would genuinely fulfil Britain's obligations to both peoples, and it would lay the basis for a stable and developing order in the Middle East, in which British and world interests in communications and oil could be adequately safeguarded without infringing Arab independence. In that context, if the Jews give one-tenth the devotion to Arab relations that they have given to the land, they can build a secure homeland for themselves among their Semitic brethren. This way, I am deeply convinced, lies the only lasting and equitable solution for Palestine and the Middle East.

Britain's Colonial Squeeze

BY ANDREW ROTH

(Author of "Dilemma in Japan")

BLOODY struggles in Indonesia and Indo-China and seething unrest in Burma, India, and other colonies have raised a storm of discussion over the morality or immorality of British actions. Despite the great volume of words the solution of the problem has advanced hardly at all because little attention has been paid to the economic underpinnings of British colonialism. When the problem is viewed from an economic angle it becomes clear that Britain is clinging ever more desperately to its own colonies and reaching out for those of the weak French and Dutch empires as a major part of its effort to bolster its sagging political and economic power.

Few persons realize how far Great Britain has fallen behind the United States and the Soviet Union in economic strength or grasp the full effect of this development on its foreign and particularly its colonial policy. Foreign trade is the crux of the British economic crisis. The island homeland itself is poorly endowed in natural resources: it is self-sufficient only in coal and nitrates; it must import a considerable amount of iron ore. Although agricultural production was increased during the war, a substantial part of its agricultural needs will still have to be imported.

On the other hand, Great Britain is the most important industrial area in the world for its size and population. In use of horse-power per man and in machinery investment it is first in Europe, although it is surpassed by the United States and Canada. Its industrial structure is still somewhat antiquated, but it has perhaps the greatest body of skilled artisans in the world.

Because of this poverty of natural resources combined with plenitude of industrial skills Britain has depended more than any other power on large-scale imports of food and raw materials. Before the war its per capita imports were about four times those of the United States. About three-fifths of the cost of these imports was met by exports, another fifth by income from overseas investments, and the final fifth by the profits of shipping, banking and insurance, and the like.

The tremendous world-wide economic and political changes of the six war years have markedly impaired Britain's ability to pay for imports. There has been a very considerable decline in revenue from overseas investments because more than half of the $16 billion of overseas investments held in September, 1939, has been liquidated. Canada, for example, has succeeded in repatriating $1½ billion of Canadian securities held in Britain. Furthermore, about $14 billion of debts, exclusive of Lend-Lease, have been incurred, mostly in the form of blocked sterling balances.

While the falling off of these secondary revenues has underlined the primary importance of exports of British manufactures, the markets for these exports have shown a parallel shrinkage. British manufacturers have written off their trade possibilities in China and Japan, where American politico-military predominance has virtually squeezed out all competitors. Eastern Europe, with the exception of Greece, has moved into the Soviet economic orbit. Increased self-sufficiency in the dominions as a result of their war effort has cut down markets in that field. In six years of war Canada was able to make an industrial advance equal to twenty-five years of normal peace-time development. By 1944 Canada had become the third largest trading nation in the world and the fourth largest producer of war supplies among the United Nations. Australia, released by the war from British-imposed limitations on industrialization, tremendously increased the amount and diversity of its industrial production.

Elbowed out of these markets, Britain is looking more and more to the lush colonial world for guaranteed markets, cheap sources of raw materials, and favorable terms for investment. The pressing need for American dollar exchange has emphasized the value of Malaya, whose substantial pre-war exports of tin and rubber to the United States earned it the title of Britain's "dollar arsenal." The transfer of Rumanian and Polish oil into the Soviet economic orbit has heightened the importance of Burma's oil resources. The increasing economic independence of Canada and Australia is in sharp contrast with the subject economy of India, where British economic controls have successfully retarded industrialization.

Unquestionably the colonial world holds great riches. India, Burma, Malaya, Indo-China, and Indonesia produce 90 per cent of the world's quinine, 80 per cent of its natural rubber, 70 per cent of its tin, and substantial amounts of coal, iron ore, oil, manganese, bauxite, and tungsten. They are the richest rice-growing areas and contain almost a third of the earth's human labor and potential consumer demand.

However, these rich regions are "encumbered" with nationalist movements which, while varying in strength, are powerful enough to compel Britain's leaders to choose between two widely divergent paths—a daring, almost revolutionary economic expansionism or a closed, repressive colonial mercantilism.

There is little doubt that expansionist economics in the colonies could, as Philip Jaffe demonstrates in his new book "New Frontiers in Asia" (Alfred A. Knopf), solve or fend off many of the current problems of Britain and the other advanced industrial countries. An increase in the per capita income of colonial peoples to a mere $200 a year would enlarge the demand for consumers' goods, machinery, and agricultural implements in the British Empire alone by perhaps $100 billion. But such an increase could only be achieved by a daring break with the imperial past and acceptance of the idea that a healthy economy in the advanced capitalist countries requires a substantial improvement in the living standards of the backward colonial peoples. Rent and interest reductions and other anti-feudal agrarian reforms must be instituted in the colonies similar to those which have been announced for Japan. Responsibility and power in the colonial village must be diverted from the big landlord and usurer to the village cooperative. Attention must be shifted from assuring 20 per cent profits for European concerns operating in the colonial world to assuring decent wages—and thus consuming power—for the laborers they employ. Mental energies, instead of being devoted to the task of circumventing the desire to industrialize of the colonial middle classes, must be channeled into planning a long-range industrialization which will bulwark rising living standards in the colony and simultaneously provide a steady market for the machine-building and allied industries of the home country. The achievement of economic parity would undoubtedly pave the way for political equality.

Under current conditions of nationalist strength and economic crisis, the alternative to this program goes far in the other direction. It involves tightening the economic controls in order to guarantee Britain a share of the narrow colonial market. Additional markets can then be obtained by absorbing the colonial possessions of weaker European countries, such as Holland, Belgium, France, and Portugal. Additional revenue can be obtained by tightening the international cartel controls over tin, natural rubber, quinine, and the like.

As between these two alternatives of a liberal, expansionist approach and an old-line, restrictive approach, the burden of evidence indicates that the present British Labor government is continuing the Tory attitude to the colonial problem. Its acts in Burma, Java, and Indo-China have drawn heavy fire from left periodicals like the *New Statesman* and the *Tribune* but have been heartily applauded by the *Economist*, organ of enlightened capitalism, which has further suggested a pooling of the military, economic, and political resources of the British, Dutch, and French empires. In the Commons young Labor back benchers have assailed the colonial policies of their own party leadership, and the Tory opposition—caustic on the subject of other Labor policies—has approved the colonial measures of the Attlee government. The proposed absorption of the India Office into the Dominions Office—a personal election pledge by Mr. Bevin—has apparently been forgotten. Furthermore, there has been no sign of the drastic personnel changes in the India and Colonial offices which would accompany a departure from Tory policy.

The apparent decision of Prime Minister Attlee and Foreign Minister Bevin to tread the old colonial path can be traced to a number of factors. The unexpected end of the war shortly after their assumption of power confronted them with a host of problems, some of a pressing domestic character. The older, more conservative Labor leaders are afraid that a liberal colonial policy may result in the loss of the colonies and their revenue and jeopardize Labor's domestic reforms. They also hesitate to arouse Tory opposition on too many subjects, and lean in the direction of appeasing the Tories abroad while weakening their hold on the domestic economy. On the other hand, the younger, more radical members of the Labor Party, who have been strongly anti-imperialist on political and moral grounds, have been rather weak in constructive proposals for freeing the colonies without simultaneously intensifying England's economic crisis.

American economic aggressiveness has greatly stiffened the British attitude. The economic exclusion of the British from American-dominated areas like Japan and China has strengthened Britain's exclusiveness in its own colonies. American terms for the sorely needed $4 billion loan have revealed rather clearly an intention to subordinate the British to the American economy and to secure for the United States a veto power over British domestic economic policies. The Russophobia of the senior Labor leaders makes it impossible for them to look to Russia as a counter to American pressure and consequently strengthens their tendency to rely on the colonies as their chief economic bulwark in the deepening international crisis.

A policy of tightening colonial bonds at this stage in world history is laden with enough dynamite not only to blow the British Empire apart but to plunge the whole world into a third and infinitely more destructive conflict. Although the current upsurge of colonial nationalism is more militant and forceful than anything seen before, it is a Sunday School picnic compared with the next stage, which will probably be a coordinated rising of all Asiatic colonial peoples, including India's myriad millions, who are rapidly approaching a parting of the ways with the Gandhi doctrine of non-violent resistance. Moreover, if Britain moves farther away from the United States and Russia, it is not unlikely that either or both would lend at least tacit support to such a rising.

A diehard colonial policy is also packed with economic dynamite. The United States, Britain, and Canada have emerged from the war with greater industrial capacities than they have ever had. At the same time war-time destruction has reduced large areas of the world to penury and thus contracted markets. A policy of maintaining the colonial world at its present abysmally low level of consumption will prevent any substantial expansion of world trade and condemn all nations to an unprecedented economic crisis.

While the colonial question is primarily a British one, it can be solved only as part of a world-wide politico-economic settlement, for it demands American economic agreement, Russian political cooperation, and the assent of the authentic leaders of the colonial nationalist movements. It will be difficult to achieve such world-wide cohesion, but unless we make a determined effort in that direction we may all personally experience atomic fission.

Senator Johnson and God Almighty

BY PHILIP WYLIE

(Author of "Generation of Vipers" and "Night unto Night")

RECENTLY, in a syndicated newspaper debate on Keeping the Atom Secret, Senator Edwin Carl Johnson of Colorado, cosponsor of the May-Johnson bill, was allowed to have his say. His little sermon followed a statement expressing the position of "the scientists," which took the now-familiar line—that is, there is no basic secret, an attempt to enforce any secrecy would invade human rights, inhibit progress, lead to an atomic armament race, and so on.

With this kind of argument the Senator had no truck, but since he has been advocating one of the most disputed bills offered in our history, and possibly the most tyrannical, it is important that his reasoning be given the utmost attention. He presents the case for secrecy on a fundamentalist basis and with a fervor worthy of—typical of—his high estate.

First, he paints a rather thin picture of pre-nuclear international futures. "And then," he says, "God Almighty in His infinite wisdom dropped the atomic bomb in our lap!" Certain distant, prejudiced peoples would question the accuracy of the metaphor, but it will pass in this discussion. "Almighty God," he says a little later, "has placed in our hands His mightiest instrument of peace." The Senator's main idea is clear: We Americans were given the bomb by Almighty God, or God Almighty, whichever you prefer. With it, we shall force peace.

This is where I wish to enter the debate. I think my credentials entitle me to a voice. For I am not only a citizen in reasonably good standing but also one less hastily informed on nuclei than the Senator, having, since 1933, spent many of my days with nuclear physicists. However, Senator Johnson has lifted what must seem to him a sordid squabble above the level of mere worldly knowledge and set it on the plane of Divine Authority. So it is there, rather than in the realm of mere atomic fact, that I must meet him.

"Who's Who in America" does not give the Senator's religious denomination, or his past denomination, or any other such data. I, however, am coming right out with the categorical statement that I am the son of a Presbyterian minister, born and raised in the Presbyterian church. Anybody who has been born and raised in the Presbyterian church will tell you for a fact that Presbyterians yield to none in the interpretation of the will of Almighty God. It is a delicate subject, perhaps, but a Presbyterian minister's son gets a briefing in these matters which gives him a franchise. So if Senator Johnson can speak out bravely about God's will, a humble Presbyterian can also.

What might be called the nucleus of the Senator's Divine Interpretation lies in the following observations: "With vision and guts and plenty of atomic bombs, ultra-modern planes, and strategically located air bases, the United States can outlaw wars of aggression. The courage to assume such a magnificent, God-inspired responsibility is the price of our survival." We ought not to care, the Senator also says, whether other nations like that attitude or not. The bomb, the Senator thinks, should be made our sacred trust.

That's where, as an authority on the Divine Will, I demur. In the Presbyterian church—twenty years ago, I admit—we were taught that temporal things are not sacred. Not even bombs. The inference would have been, indeed, that as long as Americans thought a bomb was sacred, nobody could trust Americans. We were also taught that courage was never the price of anything—a philosophical point obscure to the Senator. And we were told over and over that "right makes might," while the interpretation of Senator Johnson at least nudges or maybe embraces the opposite theory—a theory recently put to an extensive empirical test, which failed.

Now, while I am able to extrapolate on nuclear physics far more rationally than the Senator, who doesn't know what it's all about—and while I will not yield to him as a versed spokesman of the Lord—I cannot, unfortunately, produce a physicist who worked for the Manhattan District and who is also a deacon, elder, trustee, or plate-passer. Most of the scientists I know are not especially religious, although they generally live in suburban houses with privet hedges, seldom run afoul of the law, and will often surprise you with a coup at six no trump or a brisk game of table tennis. But even such men, plain heretics, are willing to agree that Divine Providence has placed the atomic bomb in our hands in the same way it has placed in our hands the kiss-fast lipstick, Boulder Dam, and the roller skate.

They will agree on no other terms. The godly can hardly make a distinction, either. If so, how? And in the matter of the secret, these scientists "are the only people who can share it because they are the only people capable of understanding it." Here, I have not quoted Almighty God but Walter Lippmann, who is a near miss.

My inclination, therefore, after reading the Senator's defense of his bill, is to regard it in part as the work of a misguided brother. His emotional attitude is excellent: in this shrinking planet there is no place for shrinking people; courage—responsibility for all mankind—is necessary to save the lot of us. Nevertheless, the Senator plainly needs far more dope on atoms. Concerning the rest of his Divine Revelation I ask, as an informed Presbyterian, Who does he think he is, God Almighty?

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

General Motors: Sovereign State

IN THESE days, when we are wondering whether the sovereign national state has not become an anachronism, it is rather extraordinary that we should also find ourselves faced with the problem of the state within the state. For this was one of the burning questions of the Middle Ages, when great lords ruled their baronies with little regard for the central government, levying taxes, raising armies, and carrying on war against one another and the king himself. Only after long struggles were their claims to autonomy abandoned and the modern state established.

Today instead of feudal landlords we have feudal corporations which through ownership of the means of production control the livelihood of millions. The decision made by a handful of managerial boards may cause widespread unemployment, may indeed plunge the whole country into depression. Yet these men refuse to accept full responsibility for the results of their actions; they are accountable to no one but their stockholders and in most cases only to a minority of those.

This situation is perfectly illustrated by the stand taken by General Motors in its current dispute with the automobile workers' union. "It should be clear to you and all others," wrote Harry Anderson, vice-president of the company, in a letter to the union, "that we will not negotiate with your union regarding our selling prices and profits." This refusal to discuss the financial situation of the corporation renders negotiation impossible, for the workers' representatives have made a specific claim for higher wages unaccompanied by higher prices. If it can be proved that a rise in pay will unavoidably make automobiles more expensive, the union is willing to withdraw its demand. General Motors has dodged this challenge entirely. It has denied broadly the validity of the economic analysis made by the union in support of its belief that even if car prices were lowered, its wage demands could be met and a handsome profit left to the company, but it has attempted no factual disproof.

One reason for this entirely negative attitude is, I suspect, that the U. A. W.'s estimate of the situation, even though based on admittedly incomplete data, is a pretty accurate one. As a profit-making machine General Motors has an amazing record. In the nine years 1936 to 1944, inclusive, it not only paid out a total of $27.75 on its common stock, or more than the current book value of its shares, but raised its total invested capital out of earnings from $973,000,000 to $1,440,000,000. During these years its poorest experience was in 1938, when it earned a mere 10 per cent on its invested capital; its average return was 16.3 per cent. With post-war sales of cars due to beat all records, offering General Motors the prospect of operating at capacity for some years, there is every reason to suppose that such results will be duplicated if not exceeded. At any rate the Stock Exchange expects this to happen, for General Motors common stock is currently quoted (November 28) at 71⅞, or practically three times its book value. The market, that is to say, is taking into account General Motors' proved ability to earn an abnormal rate of profit on its actual investment of capital.

This is what the published accounts show. If the company's books were opened to an arbitration board, I have no doubt that they would show an even more favorable position. But as Mr. Anderson has declared, "We don't even open our books to our own stockholders"—a remark which deserves to achieve the fame of "the public be damned." Actually, it is not an entirely true statement. What Mr. Anderson should have said is that the books are not open to the majority of stockholders. Thirty per cent of the stock is owned by the managers and their associates, including 23 per cent held by the du Pont Corporation, which has a large number of representatives on the board of directors. We can be sure that this group of stockholders is given all the facts about the company and thus occupies a specially privileged position.

With the remainder of the stock widely dispersed among several hundred thousand owners, this small inner group can run General Motors in its own way. Profits and prices, it declares, are purely managerial business and no concern of the union or the public, even though it cannot be denied that wage-rates are intimately connected with prices and profits. As John W. Snyder, Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion, said on October 17, "Whether wage increases can be granted, and to what extent, can in the final analysis only be judged by asking a common-sense question, 'How much of an increase can the individual company afford to pay if it is to meet its pay rolls and stay in business?' " General Motors' managers not only claim to be the final arbiters of this question but arrogantly repudiate any obligation to provide factual support for their answer.

General Motors employs some 350,000 workers, representing with their families at least one million persons. Fourteen of the forty-eight states have populations smaller than this total. General Motors has an invested capital of $1,440,000,000, a sum greater than the combined bonded debt of New York, California, and Illinois. General Motors' net sales in 1941, its last peace-time year, amounted to $2,437,000,000, equal to 1/14 of the gross 1941 income of all manufacturing industries. Is it possible to treat an entity of this magnitude on the same legal basis as an incorporated corner grocery? Surely its very size, the influence for good or evil it inevitably exercises on the whole economy of the country, the number of people dependent upon it, affect it with a public interest.

Not only the employees and shareholders of General Motors but the people of the country as a whole have a right to a great deal more information than the management of the corporation vouchsafes. The policy decisions it makes at this time will have a strong bearing on the economic fortunes of the whole country for years to come. If the directors of General Motors, putting profit margins before production, aim at grabbing all that the traffic will bear, they will be laying the foundations for a new depression. This is a matter of the utmost concern to every American, and the Administration, if it does its duty, will recognize the fact by insisting that General Motors supply all the information needed to make possible a public judgment of its actions.

KEITH HUTCHISON

The People's Front

Mexico, November 29

I SAW General Cárdenas two weeks ago. The last time I had seen him before that was at the end of August on the day when he left the Ministry of War announcing that he was withdrawing completely from political life. Since 1932, when he was military commander of the state of Michoacán and I Spanish Ambassador, I have been with him at so many different moments and in such different circumstances, that I think I can read his mind. He always prefers to listen rather than talk. In fact, I do not know any man who can listen as attentively as he. When Negrín arrived in Mexico this summer to unite the Spanish political groups, I flew with him to see Cárdenas. I kept an eye on my wristwatch. Negrín talked exactly four hours and ten minutes about the whole problem of Spain, internal and international. During that time Cárdenas asked one question, and that was the only moment when he moved his lips. When he talks, he talks with unmatched precision. Anyone who meets Cárdenas for even a short time realizes that he has before him a leader of world dimensions.

The day I went to see him at the Ministry, I was accompanied by one of the most fervent "Cardenistas." The news of his imminent retirement had struck his followers speechless. This man did not dare go into the room with me. He waited for me in the street and as soon as I rejoined him, he asked, "Do you think he is quitting forever?" I replied, "It depends, . . . But if the counter-revolution breaks out, you will not find him in bed."

Two weeks ago this impression was confirmed. Although he did not tell me anything, I left his house absolutely convinced that he was "coming back." I do not know whether he will come back as Minister of War or in another government post. But in whatever capacity, he will soon be back in the midst of the political struggle. He knows it is only he who can stop the counter-revolutionary process which is fermenting in Mexico.

It is a year now since this process began, but the imminence of the Presidential elections has increased its tempo. On Sunday, November 25, Ezequiel Padilla was named candidate of the new Partido Democrático Mexicano. The party convention was very rough. In the two days that it lasted, delegates attacked President Avila Camacho. They attacked the Parliament. They attacked Lombardo Toledano and the unions. But the name of the real enemy, Lázaro Cárdenas, was not even pronounced. He is the one they really fear, and instinctively they shrink from any move which might provoke him to come back—in time.

Once the minor candidates had withdrawn, two remained to face each other in the fight—Padilla and Alemán. Padilla is too well known in the United States to require any description. In fact, that is one of his greatest political handicaps. Mexicans do not want a President who will get into trouble with the United States; but even less do they want a servant of the State Department. Moreover, and in spite of his external features, which so greatly impressed the society reporters—especially the ladies—in San Francisco, he is one of the least Mexican of all the Mexicans I have met. Mexicans are seldom vain, and Ezequiel Padilla is a sort of matinee idol who gets on their nerves. Even when he was in the United States, at the pinnacle of his success, people in Mexico booed every time his face appeared on the screen.

Alemán, on the other hand, is unknown to most Americans. He is one of the youngest presidential candidates ever to run—in his middle thirties. But he has behind him the experience of judge, senator, governor of the state of Veracruz, and Minister of the Interior. It was especially in this last job, during the war, that he showed indisputable ability. He was responsible for the arrest of three Japanese, two of whom were directing an attempt to blow up the Panama Canal and the third a plot to assassinate President Roosevelt.

Considered by the best political observers as certain to win, he is carrying his campaign into every corner of the country. His program includes, together with the continued distribution of land, an ambitious project of industrialization. The great leap taken by Mexico during the war is reflected in this plan. Alemán, with whom I talked at length, does not share the concern of some people over the possible dislocation of Mexico's economy as a result of the war's end. He admits that the expected crisis in the United States may have a severe effect in Mexico. But he thinks that in the intervening years the economic life of the country can be readjusted so that many Mexican industries founded as part of the American war effort can survive and even grow.

This modern approach to the problems of Mexico and the fact that he is the first civilian candidate in many years have drawn to him new sources of support. Besides the great popular groups which traditionally formed the basis of successive revolutionary governments—peasants, workers, civil servants, small business men—one sees this time participating in the campaign leading intellectuals and technicians. They are organized as a Planning Committee whose appearance is a novelty in a Mexican presidential campaign.

But the most impressive phenomenon is the reappearance in the fight of people who years ago had withdrawn from politics—artists, physicians, people of intellectual distinction who had come to believe that the revolution was so well established that they would never be obliged to come to its defense again. They now realize that Mexico is not going to escape the great struggle between right and left which is dividing the world. The clerical offensive whose most audacious demonstration took place in October during the centenary of the Virgin of Guadalupe is waking many people up and drawing others back into the battle. Can anyone doubt that Mexico's great revolutionary leader, Lázaro Cárdenas, will come forward when the struggle reaches its climax?

DEL VAYO

[Next week's article will deal with clerical reaction in Mexico.]

Hungary Samples Freedom

BY HAL LEHRMAN

(Correspondent with the United States Military Mission in Hungary)

Budapest, November 20

THE most startling thing about the Hungarian elections is that they were actually held after all. A maneuver to lump the candidates of every party together on a "united list," divide up the parliamentary seats in advance, form a new coalition government, and then stage a *ja oder nein* plebiscite on election day came very close to success.

The idea originated with the Communists after their crushing defeat in the Budapest municipal elections in October. Certain of the Agrarian leaders, stunned by their own capture of an absolute majority at the City Hall, fell in with it gratefully. They trembled at the prospect of winning an absolute majority in Parliament as well, with all the risks bound up with full power—and responsibility—in a desperate economic situation. The Communists added to the jitters of their Agrarian rivals by muttering darkly about strikes and street demonstrations if "reaction" won at the polls. The Russians, worried about further loss of prestige in a national defeat of the Communists, expressed concern over possible "anarchy and civil war" should the campaign proceed as scheduled.

Agreement "in principle" to torpedo the elections had already been reached among the top figures of the major parties when the Agrarian rank and file revolted. The British Broadcasting Corporation, and later the American radio, strengthened the position of the rebels by roundly denouncing the scheme. Provincial Agrarian leaders forced the party's Budapest headquarters to call a meeting of the national directorate. The uproar at home and abroad caused a general retreat, even on the Russian front. The night before the meeting, the Communists sullenly told an inter-party conference that they would enter a coalition government whatever the results of the election. The project for a united list was formally interred.

The elections were further distinguished by their unquestionable honesty. The election law, though full of loopholes when it was first drafted, was plugged and patched, mainly through the efforts of the Agrarians, until it emerged from Parliament a genuinely democratic document. The ballot was secret; suffrage was universal for persons who had reached the age of twenty; disqualification of voters and pressure on them to vote this way or that were reduced to a minimum. Poll committees functioned with admirable vigilance. This first national election in Southeastern Europe since the war set an excellent example. It was, moreover, the first clean election in all Hungarian history, with the possible exception of 1920.

Another record was set by the size of the vote. Never before had 88 per cent of all eligible Hungarian citizens gone to the polls, and never before had the total number of voters reached 4,700,000. The best previous figures had been 74 per cent and 3,200,000. Narrow suffrage qualifications, terrorism, falsification of returns, and general apathy had made earlier elections more or less farcical. This time the turnout in Budapest was not only large but indicative of political maturity. Though a month apart, the municipal and national elections in the capital were alike in the size of the vote and in its distribution among the parties, demonstrating the people's steady interest and the fidelity of their allegiances.

Of the specific results the most striking was the redoubtable victory of the Agrarians, a party which had literally been driven into the ground a scant thirteen months before. When the Russians first liberated Debrecen in eastern Hungary and sponsored a provisional government there, remnants of the Agrarian leadership were just emerging from a year in hiding. The high Communist leaders came in behind the advancing Red Army and had its backing. The Agrarians had little money and no foreign support.

The Communist Party took the key positions in the civil service and bluffed or bludgeoned its way into the top trade-union posts. It made the new police largely a Communist agency. It dominated the workers by the Russian system of "factory committees" and all other Hungarians by the Nazi system of "house delegates." Nevertheless, the Agrarians have won 245 seats in the next Parliament, against 70 for the Communists and 69 for the Social Democrats.

The defeated parties assert that the reactionaries were responsible for this phenomenal reversal. Certainly a multitude of dubious characters voted Agrarian when they would have vastly preferred to vote for Horthy, Otto, or the Arrow Cross. The one troubling note is the overwhelming extent of the Agrarian triumph. The situation would be much healthier if the Social Democrats, who three weeks before the elections at last broke away from the Communists, had made a better showing. They would then have been established as a formidable alternative party with democratic principles, able to exercise a check on the Agrarians.

But it must not be forgotten that the Agrarians do have a firmly established liberal tradition, despite the vagaries of Tibor Eckhardt and his kind. They are not democrats merely by revulsion against the authoritarianism of the post-war extreme left. Ever since its organization fifteen years ago the party has distinguished itself by its stand against the developing fascism. During the war and until the day of the German occupation it fought openly and courageously against the German orientation, anti-Semitism, and all the other abominations of an expiring feudal society.* In the 1939 elections the Agrarians polled 850,000 of the 3,200,000 votes cast, and achieved this despite the open ballot and the official terrorism.

If the leftist defeat was caused by reaction, the reaction was against the Communist-controlled leftist bloc. The electorate nursed two profound grievances. One was the bloc's intimate association with the occupation army, whose behavior had hardly endeared it to the Hungarian people. This feeling about the Russian army, reinforced by a suspicion that the Soviets planned ultimately to absorb Hungary as a member state or a Russian colony, stimulated the reemergence of a national spirit. The second and more profound grievance was the left's arbitrary rule, the intolerance of its doctrine, its strong-arm methods of proselytizing. Against these the reaction was soundly democratic. The Social Democrats suffered heavily from their connection with the Communists. They ran jointly with the Communists in the Budapest contest and were rejected; they ran separately in the national elections and were rejected again, because nobody believed the separation was more than tactical.

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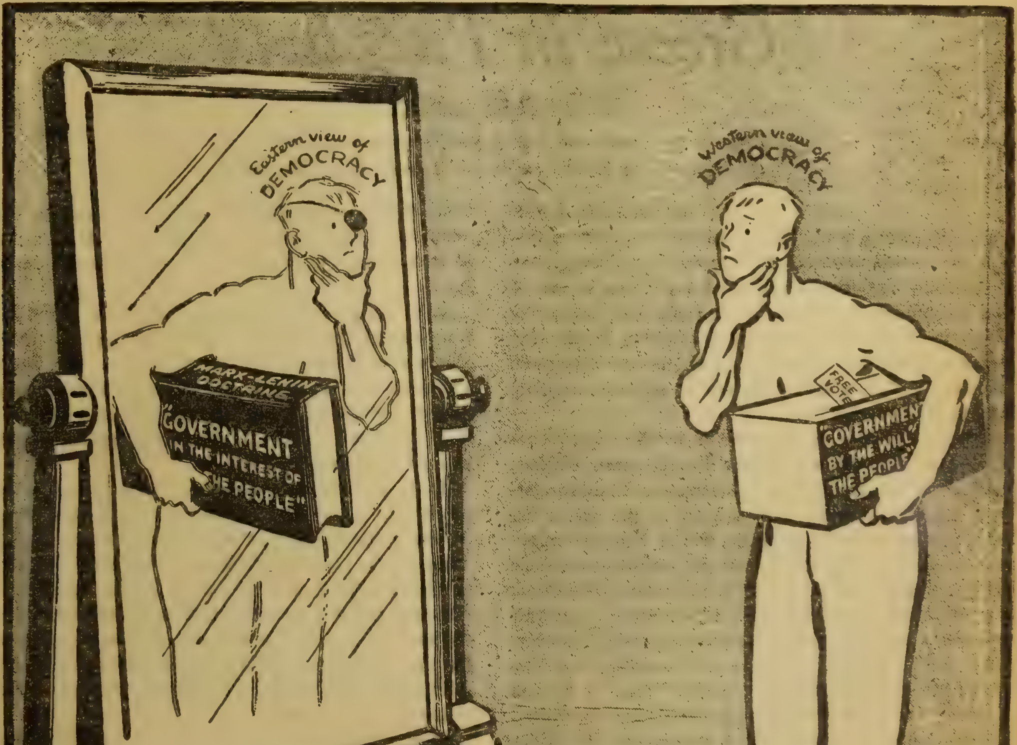
* According to Hungarian democrats in this country, the Agrarians were dominated by reactionary elements until 1937, when they expelled Eckhardt, who had been chairman of the party.—EDITORS THE NATION.

The new all-party coalition Cabinet could not have had a more auspicious launching. All factions pretended to find great comfort in the election returns. Swallowing their mortification, the Communists expressed delight over proof that "every fifth Hungarian is a Communist"—let's say every sixth, to be accurate. The Social Democrats were proud that "Hungary had passed its test satisfactorily." Even the Peasant Party, junior member in the defunct bloc, interpreted its 6.8 per cent of the vote as "a solid basis" for another try.

No coalition in which one party is excessively strong has good prospects for long life. The Agrarians will need infinite resources of tact to suppress a temptation toward truculence in government councils. But the Communists' attitude offers by far the greatest danger. They are frankly waiting to spring. Their leader, Matyas Rakosi, who found employment in the Soviet Ministry of the Interior during his Russian exile, flatly announced on election eve: "We can always order the comrades to go into the streets. Meanwhile the ballot is also a weapon."

The Communists, it is true, can go "into the streets" when they wish: they have the nuclei for disturbances in the factories, and they can play upon the misery of a hungry, bankrupt people. The urban population requires at least 500,000 tons of grain for minimum bread rations, but only 100,000 tons will be available from the total estimated 1945-46 crop. Similar appalling deficits exist in basic foods like meat, fat, and sugar. Reparations and armistice obligations take 60 per cent of the state budget. Only one-tenth of these expenses is covered by revenue; the rest is met by freshly printed money. The consequent inflation is rapidly approaching the astronomical levels of inflation in Germany after the First World War. The dollar, worth 5 pengoes in 1939, now brings 35,000 pengoes. Prices have risen thirty times more than wages. This makes a fertile field for demagogues. The Agrarian leader


Eastern view of DEMOCRACY
MARX-LENIN DOCTRINE
"GOVERNMENT IN THE INTEREST OF THE PEOPLE"
Western view of DEMOCRACY
FREE VOTE
"GOVERNMEN BY THE WILL" THE PEOPLE"
LOW

LOOK THINGS IN THE FACE

Zoitan Tildy said to me, "We will solve the economic problem or fall with it."

All factions agree that the crisis cannot be met without foreign aid. The Russian offer of a "cooperation" pact—giving the Soviets control of virtually half of Hungary's economy—met the favor it did because it promised at least some assistance by delivery of supplies and easing of reparations. Feeling was strong throughout the country against selling Hungary out so cheaply, but neither of the other Allies seemed willing to offer concrete help. The first intervention of the democracies against the pact was greeted here with intense thanksgiving because it showed some interest, however vague, in Hungary's survival. The expressed desire for moral and material support from the West is not simply a device to pit the democracies against Russia, although there are many who live for nothing else. Hungary cannot remain independent unless it receives economic aid. Russia alone cannot revive Hungary's economy. The solution must be tripartite.

In this connection the American State Department has revealed an agility and good sense which the writer, as a very minor but perennial critic of that institution, hastens to acknowledge. It is moving with more subtlety, for once, than the usually suaver Whitehall. The British tactic has been to pound on the table in an empty room; the American to speak softly and be heard. Washington's offer to recognize the provisional government if the balloting was honest helped the election of a government worthier of recognition than the deadlocked council of Foreign Ministers could have hoped for at this time. Its note to Moscow concerning the pact, a protest which was clearly marked "not a protest" and shrewdly delivered in duplicate to London, saved Russian face and simultaneously pointed to a way out through tripartite consultation on aid to Hungary. Its dry reminder to Budapest that an exclusive agreement with the Soviets would violate Hungary's existing commitments to the United States offered just the right amount of hope and argument.

I have it on high authority, despite recent suggestions to the contrary, that the bedrock of American policy here remains collaboration among the powers rather than allotment of spheres of influence. Progress varies in the different countries of Southeastern Europe. In Hungary, for the moment, there is a stalemate on Allied Control Commission statutes. The Russians operate on the principle, derived from the indefiniteness of the Potsdam agreement, that the Soviet commissioner need consult his colleagues only on matters which he considers "important." The British and Americans have never accepted this procedure. The result is misunderstanding and continuing irritation. It will be better for Hungary, and for the world, when this problem is adjusted in conformity with the larger pattern of tripartite cooperation.

Greece in Purgatory

BY PHILIP JORDAN

(The Nation's *correspondent in Southeastern Europe; formerly chief foreign correspondent for the London* News-Chronicle)

Athens, November 18

AFTER having saved Greece—let's face it—from a violent revolution by a minority nearly a year ago, the British troops here may yet be called on to save it from an equally vicious coup by the right. That is the prevailing view here. At present it has no substance, for the very good reason that any immediate application of democratic procedures in Greece would produce an enormous majority in favor of the monarchy.

Not that the Greek people are wedded to the idea of monarchy or that they care a nickel for the dull person of King George, now sweating it out in the comparative ease of Claridge's Hotel in London. But—and this is the key to the whole present situation—they are afraid. They are afraid of a continuation of the almost unimaginable economic chaos; they are afraid of the K. K. E., which is the Greek Communist Party; and they are afraid of Russia. The truly abominable excesses committed by the E. L. A. S. last December left a legacy of hate and fear; and the natural instinct of the majority is to run as far away from that moment of terror as they possibly can. The farthest limit is the Crown, standing as it does for repression of any movement to which the label "left" could be attached. The Crown, then, has become something more than a point of political disputation; it has become a longed-for refuge and a symbol of security. That it would in fact prove nothing of the kind, that the Greek people would almost certainly grow tired of it, almost certainly repudiate it within a year of its reestablishment, most of them know, but that does not prevent them from wanting it.

Small wonder that the elements which have most to fear from communism are trying to put forward the elections, scheduled to be held on January 20 next year, and that those who have most to gain from the introduction of even the mildest Socialist principles are doing all they can to have them postponed. It looks, at the moment, as if the right and center would have their way.

By the present arrangements the elections will be fought on the issue of the Crown. The Crown's future will depend on the result of the elections, whereas it should depend solely on the promised plebiscite, which should be allowed to dispose of the matter one way or another before the elections are required to decide problems infinitely more serious than the fate of a dreary Hohenzollern Dane. Alas for Greece, the elections are to be held before the plebiscite, which, if it ever comes, will merely be adding insult to injury.

From present indications, the left, without exception, will boycott the elections. They state quite categorically that the elections will be faked. Their enemies, they say, are able to obtain electoral booklets—without which no voter can go to the polls—in quantities, while such indispensable documents are denied to them, and are padding the electoral rolls with vast quantities of fictitious names.

It is quite impossible for the traveling journalist to check the truth of such charges. The barrier of language is too great, and also many who might want to speak and to prove the point are afraid of the police. As careful an investigation as I have been able to make leads me to believe that there is some substance in what the Communists say but that they greatly exaggerate. They claim, and rightly, that the thousands of their supporters now in jail will be denied the right to vote; nevertheless, it would be a mistake to take at its face value their campaign for a political amnesty. It is not, I am convinced, entirely sincere. The jails are the best recruiting schools that the K. K. E. possesses; martyrs are useful to it, and it makes the most of them; and if the prisoners were let out today, the lives of quite a few of them would almost certainly come to an abrupt end.

This leads to the subject of the "white terror." If by "terror" one means an organized, centrally directed, and systematic campaign of extermination, there is no terror here. There is, however, fairly widespread intimidation of men and women known to have leftist views by those who suffered in the revolt of last December. The Minister of the Interior said the other day that law and order now prevail throughout Greece: he was speaking out of turn; law and order will not prevail so long as men and women are being murdered by his own henchmen and supporters. Bullies are cashing in on the present hatred of all things "left" and are seeking revenge for what happened thirteen months ago. Almost every day reports of beatings, of murder, of rape are printed in the Athens press and cannot be denied. But if they were placed alongside the atrocities of last December, what is happening now would fade into insignificance. It is disgusting and reprehensible and a shame to the authorities that such things should continue, but it must always be remembered that war and revolution have left the Greek people with a fever from which they have not yet recovered. Until that fever dies out, or until the British decide to use their troops as police, excesses will be committed.

Of the glaring and frightful instances of connivance by the authorities I will give but one example. In the Patras district there lives a rich man whose family were murdered by the E. L. A. S. last December. He has declared a private war on all who belong to the left, and he wages it in the shadow of police protection. He openly hunts human beings as though they were game, and he kills them with a knife. Each time he kills he is arrested and put in jail for a week, at the end of which time he pays someone 50,000 drachmas—about $100—and is let out to go hunting again. I have not investigated this case myself, but I am satisfied that the report I have received is true. Such loathsome events are taking place all over the country, and they argue, of course, complete anarchy and a corrupt administration.

Slowly, too slowly perhaps, law and order are being reestablished, so far as they were ever established here; the creation and training of a new gendarmerie by a British subject, Sir Charles Wickham, are steps in the right direction. Sir Charles is a strong man, and although he has no sign of what might be called "left-wing views," he is informed, I am sure, by a deep humanitarianism and a passion for the law. Already his work is bearing fruit; the Athens police for the first time in their history are armed with nothing more lethal than batons. Complaint is made by the left that he will not—in fact, he is not allowed to—take recruits from their side of the fence. This is in some ways a pity, for the habit has grown here of labeling anybody a "Communist" who was ever in the E. A. M. On the other hand the Greek temper is such at the moment that any police force recruited on a wide basis would almost certainly cancel itself out; as a police officer said to me the other day, "One Trojan horse in a country's history is enough."

The economic plight of Greece is easily described. If it were not for UNRRA the country would die on its feet in a week. What UNRRA gives it is almost the only food it gets. It is not UNRRA's business to distribute its supplies; it hands them over to the government and from then on can take no more than a moderately academic interest in their destination. There has been considerable racketeering in the distribution of UNRRA goods, and at one time, it is said, the bulk of them found their way to the black market. Some, but a very small proportion of the whole, are still sold there. The Communists claim that the authorities use UNRRA supplies as a political lever, denying aid to families known to have liberal views. There is some substance in this charge, I believe, but UNRRA insists that it is true only in isolated instances.

British and American policy at present is one of nonintervention in Greek affairs. If that makes you smile, it makes a lot of people here smile, too, for Britain has several divisions of troops here, an act which in itself constitutes the strongest intervention, unless the word has ceased to have any meaning. Actually, if that much-maligned character the British ambassador were allowed to intervene and to use his undoubted authority, Greece could probably have a stable government from now until the elections are held. But he is not allowed to, and British policy toward Greece is not made here but in Whitehall. It may be optimistic to think that a stable government of the left center could be put in power, for although Greece is a country of politicians it is not at the moment a country of statesmen. Men with any experience of ruling are old and set in their ways. There has been no government in the sense in which we understand a "government" in England since 1936, when Metaxas, with the connivance of King George, set up a personal dictatorship. Young and middle-aged men have had no training in the art of government, and they will have to learn.

The British are unpopular with the left, which mistakenly but quite sincerely believes that they want the King to be brought back; they are unpopular with the right because, by and large, and certainly in the districts where their fiat runs, they prevent a policy of widespread revenge being carried out. If they were to go, there would be no freedom in Athens, which is today one of the freest cities in the world. The eighteen daily newspapers here enjoy a freedom of the press that makes a British and even an American journalist green with envy. The other day 50,000 followers of the K. K. E. held a meeting in the Athens stadium, "guarded" only by unarmed police. These fundamental rights would cease to exist if the occupying forces were withdrawn.

In spite of the wisdom and charm of the United States ambassador, Lincoln MacVeagh, America is beginning to forfeit some of its once high popularity. Washington has turned down a Greek demand that Italy be asked to pay reparations for the frightful damage done here by Fascist thugs and their Albanian satellites. Athens has been told that the Italian economy will not stand the strain of reparations, but because the Greeks have suffered more than any other people in Europe with the possible exception of the Poles, they find this a singularly unpalatable answer. It is difficult for them to understand Allied tenderness toward a former nasty enemy combined with what seems utter indifference to the just claims of a gallant ally. There has been some talk of a dollar loan at a small rate of interest, but the Greeks say that they are not willing to saddle present and future generations with a burden that should in equity be borne by those who put them to fire and the sword. They have unofficially suggested that if any loans for Greek reconstruction are to be made, the Italian people should be burdened with them and compelled to spend the capital here, as the Greeks stipulate. This has been refused. It is impossible not to sympathize with this demand, for although the Allies can properly say that they are spending millions here on relief, the Greeks can as properly say that charity is not what they fought and bled for, and that, anyhow, relief does not restore a railroad system 90 per cent destroyed or repair a country's bridges.

The Greeks are also distressed by the attitude of the Big Three toward the Dodecanese question. There is no doubt whatever that their claim to these islands is just. They say that Greek soldiers were invited to spend their blood to recover them, but now that they have only to be occupied, no Greek is allowed to set foot on the sacred soil.

It is reported here, and I happen to know it is true, that the American and British governments are about to recognize as the legitimate government of Albania the terrorist gang headed by Enver Hodja, who is loathed above all other men as a persecutor of Greeks in the border regions. Such action by the Allies will increase the country's growing sense of isolation, from which any one of half a dozen horrid events may eventually spring.

Greece needs capital to restore its previous modest level of prosperity and is looking to its allies to provide it; but it is relevant to report in this connection that no effort is being made to call in an estimated $330,000,000 held by Greek subjects abroad, the majority of them resident in Egypt, Britain, or the United States. Nearly all great Greek fortunes are held abroad; their owners are ardent patriots so long as patriotism does not limit their profits from the commerce of the world.

However capital is provided, those who lend it should insist on certain conditions. Though Greece is a land of small holders, grave social and economic inequalities exist that accord ill with the temper of the modern world, and no royalist government could be relied on to remove them. The civil service must be reorganized before a real start can be made on reconstruction. Hospitals and schools are desperately needed. Above all, a sense of community responsibility must be developed. It is not enough for Greeks to be good Greeks: what is needed is good modern Greeks.

In the Wind

NOW THAT TEXAS NEGROES have won the right to vote in Democratic primaries, a new type of political organization is springing up—the White Man's Association. One such, in Jackson County, will hold a primary of its own on December 8 to nominate candidates for the unexpired terms of County Tax Collector Charles A. Mitchell and County Treasurer Claudius Branch.

THE NAVY DEPARTMENT'S buses in Washington have signs that read, "These buses are for official business only. Any persons using them for any other purpose will be summarily removed from office." A friend reports that Naval Reserve officers are getting in those buses and joyriding like crazy.

DURING THE WAR crates of oranges sent from Spain to England sometimes contained bombs which exploded when the crates were opened. But that is all past. Oranges sent from Spain to England today are wrapped in tissue paper imprinted with the British and American flags, three crowns, and the motto "Unity makes certain peace."

IN ITS ISSUE of November 12 *Time* maintains a nice neutrality as between science and theology. Thus: "Anthropologists no longer look for a definite single place where the human race first appeared on earth. They know that man's ancestors were numerous, varied, and widely distributed before they were fully human. . . . Adam and Eve before the Fall were 'food gatherers,' in anthropological jargon. . . . But after they ate 'of the tree of knowledge' and were driven from the Garden (Genesis 3: 16-19), they became husbandmen."

PRESIDENT TRUMAN has nominated Irvin C. Mollison, a Negro attorney of Chicago, to be a judge of the United States Customs Court. This is the first time a Negro has been nominated to the federal bench in the continental United States. The only previous Negro federal judge was William H. Hastie, nominated by President Roosevelt to sit in the Virgin Islands.

THE COOPERATIVE IDEA has come to Broadway. Your Theater, Inc., a new producing enterprise, will divide its profits proportionally among those who buy tickets prior to the opening night of each of its productions. Thus, since the spectators are also the angels, they will eventually govern the choice of plays.

THE LATE WERNER SCOTT, says *School and Society* of November 10, left $19,000 to the University of California for scholarships "to worthy, faithful, and needy students from Hawaii, to Caucasian youths who are not of Polynesian blood."

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

THREE POEMS

BY ISABEL WILNER

Small Dirge

Small comfort the candle
Of moon on the maple,
The steeple of poplar,
The arch of the birch.

Small comfort the yellow
Of sun on the linden;
Small comfort the ripple
Of wind in the larch.

Small comfort the shadow
Of ash and of alder,
Of elm and of willow
Now that you lie

Where comfort is hollow
And hope is shallow
With dust for your pillow
And dust for your sky.

"And Suddenly the Room" . . .

And suddenly the room grew very small
And I as tall as sorrow. We alone
Walked back and forth from wall to wall

On feet that moved only because
They moved that's all. They couldn't stay
They moved They moved No laws

Could hold them or could make them move
They moved. They moved from wall to wall
From wall to wall From wall to wall
There was no room

Except for sorrow and for me. We both were tall
From wall to wall

No Interval

Rushing for comfort to the embracing walls
Which kept out other flesh with wood and plaster,
I found one moving thing, one moving thing,
A clock was ticking, faster, faster, faster.

Alive with sound, alive with moving wheels,
A clock ticking, this was what I found.
Strange, after cells had ceased to live, this spring
Should mock the dead and living with its sound.

Louder and louder I heard its small strokes fall
With hammer's movement accurately cast
Joining with precision the future to the past,
Future to past, future to past, future to past . . .

The present never came at all.

HAUPTMANN ACCEPTS

BY HERMANN KESTEN

"Ripeness is all."—*"King Lear."*

THE efforts of German anti-fascists deserve respect and help, especially when they attempt to restore to life in the artificially quartered Reich the German civilization that died in 1933. At times, however, these efforts arouse little more than a sense of embarrassment and pity.

In the *Tägliche Rundschau,* a new Berlin newspaper published in the Russian zone, Gustav Leuteritz, the editor, describes a visit to Gerhart Hauptmann in October, 1945. With the president of the Cultural Association for the Democratic Reconstruction of Germany, Johannes R. Becher, and two Russian officers Leuteritz drove from Berlin to Hauptmann's home at Agnetendorf in Silesia—now a Polish province—to ask the aged author to help in the restoration of German culture.

A moving scene! What strange midwives for a new German democracy and culture: two uniformed Russians of the army of occupation, an unknown Berlin editor calling himself "the messenger of spiritual Germany," a poet recently returned from exile in Moscow, and Gerhart Hauptmann, a dying opportunist and perpetual conformist.

As a youth Becher was a radical, expressionist poet whose works were at times esoteric and at others showed the influence of Schiller's verse. In the days of the Weimar Republic the Reichswehr charged him with high treason for his courageous novel "Levisite, oder der einzig gerechte Krieg" (Vienna, 1926), which condemned the use of gas in war. In 1933 he went into exile, first to Paris, then to Moscow. He described his youth in an interesting novel, "Abschied" ("Departure"). He was coeditor of the Communist exile publications *Das Wort* and *Internationale Literatur.* There he attacked, in prose and poetry, the barbarism of the Nazis and the writers who had gone over to them, Gerhart Haputmann among others. In the summer of 1945 Becher, a member of the German Freedom Committee in Moscow, returned to Berlin in the wake of the victorious Russian armies and became president of the Cultural Association for the Democratic Reconstruction of Germany.

In his youth the eighty-three-year-old Gerhart Hauptmann, the patriarch of German literature, wrote a few outstanding dramas of social content, among them the famous "Weavers." Later in life he gave up his social ideals, his Social Democratic friends, and his naturalistic style. He built castles, collected works of art, amassed millions, and contracted enormous debts. Through the skill of his hairdresser he achieved a certain coarse resemblance to a popular portrait of Goethe. In addition, he wrote symbolic dramas, patriotic pageants, pitiful prose works, and simple-minded festival plays. The Nobel prize, which he obtained in 1912 at the age of fifty, was nothing but a tribute to the beautiful past of an author who had outlived himself.

During the First World War Hauptmann wrote bloodthirsty poems against the Russians and the French. He put himself at the disposal of the Weimar Republic as he had previously served the empire and its supreme commander; he was always ready to be praised for the services of his youth and his no longer existing convictions, and he became the echo of all the changing political regimes of his time. After some initial friction with the new master, Gerhart Hauptmann put himself completely at the disposal of Hitler and his millennial Reich. He was ready to acknowledge the applause of the public arm in arm with such atrocity-manufacturers as Hitler and Goebbels. In 1933 he sent a birthday telegram to Mussolini. He wrote, "I say yes!" when Germany left the League of Nations. Indeed, Hauptmann was not ashamed to have his plays performed by the Nazis in Krakow and Paris after the Poles and the French had been subjugated.

Confined to his armchair, Gerhart Hauptmann greeted the two Russians in uniform, the editor from Berlin, and the Communist poet. He showed them the well-preserved duplicate of his letter to Maxim Gorki written in 1922, probably as evidence of his moral and political identity. "I could not state better what I have to say than I did in this letter." That may be so. A political chameleon as aged as Hauptmann will ultimately return to an old position in the merry-go-round of time.

The president of the Cultural Association for the Democratic Reconstruction of Germany said: "We have become a spiritually and intellectually impoverished people. We want you, Gerhart Hauptmann, to live again. I beg for your help. . . . Millions are waiting for an encouraging word from you." Hauptmann, "visibly moved," answered in these classic terms, repeatable as a Homeric formula, and repeated by him on every improper historical occasion: " I put myself at your disposal. I am ready."

Leuteritz's comment was: "We thus achieved the purpose of our visit: to free the greatest living German author from his isolation and to restore to him the beautiful conviction that the entire cultural world has not forgotten him, indeed, needs him. . . . The momentous event of this meeting with the messengers of Russia and of spiritual Germany was Gerhart Hauptmann's promise to cooperate in the work of reconstruction to the best of his ability."

The visit of the Russian and Berlin delegates lasted three days. They saw that the author had had the heroes of his plays painted on the walls of his room by a German professor, one Avenarius. They saw the "still sprightly, high-spirited" wife of Hauptmann, much younger than her husband. They met a friend of the family, Gerhart Pohl, editor of a radical leftist periodical before 1933, after 1933 a member of Goebbels's Chamber of Culture *(Kulturkammer)*. They saw the author's masseur, one Metzkow, the author's secretary, Fräulein Anni, the author's servant and gardener, one Stiev— who in the naturalistic style of the early Hauptmann dramas cited moving conversations between "the master" and himself. They saw the author's personal physician, a Dr. Schmidt; they saw the author's art treasures. The luxury of the home of the man who perpetually collaborated with all systems was doubly enjoyable at a time when many Germans were living in cellars and cooking their watery broths over open fires in the streets. They were pleased by the "chivalrous smile" of the author, "who never grew as loquacious as when he came to speak about his own writings," although he "hardly any longer knew his way around in his own works." They also uncovered evidence of Hauptmann's weakness of mind in verse which Leuteritz reproduced in his account of the interview. In one of these poems, written on April 14, 1945, Hauptmann addresses Goethe, whom he had imitated in his coiffure and facial wrinkles for a lifetime, though unable to equal him in intellect and style: "Forgive me, Goethe; I no longer call your story a miracle but rubbish. . . . I hold your little volume in my hand, O you unsuspecting philistine. . . ."

And this is Germany's "greatest living author"? Shortly before, the spiritual messengers and their friends had thought differently. Over the Berlin radio and through the pen of a former president of the Prussian Writers' Academy, Walter von Molo, the author of novels no more than patriotic, and of articles celebrating the banishment of free German authors and the burning of their books, these spiritual messengers had called for Thomas Mann to return home. On that occasion they had called him "the greatest living German author."

When Mann publicly answered that he would not return but would remain an American citizen and a resident of California, "the spiritual messengers of Russia and Germany" quickly found another "greatest living German author." He was likewise a Nobel prize-winner and world famous, but he was a profiteer of the Hitler regime. Unfortunately, he had lost his talents and his humanity fifty years before, his conscience and his good repute twelve years earlier, in 1933.

I find it touching to see Russian and German Communists honoring an old man because of his past Social Democratic convictions. But is there among living and dead German authors no better symbol for the renaissance of moral and spiritual life in Germany than the old, worn-out weathercock, Gerhart Hauptmann?

(Johannes R. Becher, by the way, seems to have been of the same opinion as I in 1932, when, on the occasion of Hauptmann's seventieth birthday, he wrote an article against him entitled Hauptmann, der Repräsentant.)

America and Britain

AMERICA'S STAKE IN BRITAIN'S FUTURE. By George Soule. The Viking Press. $2.75.

IT is reliably reported that Lord Keynes, at one of the recent meetings on Lend-Lease settlement and post-war Anglo-American trade, said to Leo Crowley: "We British are watching America with immense interest today, for we think that though you may enjoy prosperity for perhaps four or five years you will run into very great difficulties at the end of that time, from which we think you may be able to extricate yourselves by the skin of your teeth." This remark

"Is there a way of living that is noble, and another that is base, or are all the ways of living merely futile?"

TO THIS QUESTION, and to a thousand others, the great philosophers from Plato to John Dewey have tried to find an answer. **Bertrand Russell,** in his monumental "History of Western Philosophy" shows how their various answers helped to shape history: its wars, its golden ages of peace, its social upheavals. He shows, too, how the thinking of such men as Aristotle and Kant, Karl Marx and Hegel, was influenced by the character of the various communities in which they lived. His book has won enthusiastic tributes from scholars and laymen alike. A few follow:

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A History of Western Philosophy
Bertrand Russell
Simon and Schuster

Bertrand Russell's

A HISTORY OF WESTERN PHILOSOPHY

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provides both a footnote to Mr. Soule's book and ample confirmation of what he has to say about British attitudes today toward the United States.

"America's Stake in Britain's Future" sets forth in the clearest possible terms just what it is that Britain fears about our future policy and just what we ought to fear. It explains with admirable clarity the problems inherent in world trade balances, the mistakes in policy, especially American policy, after the last war, and the economic causes of the depression of the '30's. The reader can find here an excellent exposition of Hobson's theory that the disparity in rates of investment and savings constitutes one of the chief causes of depression. Indeed, the clarity of the exposition of this highly technical subject affords a model for all popular writing. Having stated the problems, the author argues, with relentless logic, the case for America's own self-interest, for full employment at home and collaboration with Britain abroad.

Mr. Soule is no dreamy Anglophile. He brushes aside—perhaps somewhat too cursorily—the idea that Britain and the United States are natural allies because of "our common heritage and our common speech," pointing out that though we use the same words, we often mean different things by them. No one can fail to agree in part, but no one reading, for example, the passage from the White Paper on Education quoted on page 98 can fail to feel that here is a "well of English undefiled," as much American as British. The important fact, however, is that we are natural allies because our economic interests are essentially complementary, and our respective positions in the world inevitably make us collaborators. At no point does Mr. Soule so much as suggest that this harmony of interest between Britain and the United States need imply antagonism toward other nations, notably Russia. On the contrary, he makes a case—an incontrovertible one, I think—for the idea that an enlightened policy of cooperation between the two countries will spell peace and prosperity for the rest of the world, and that a contrary policy will inevitably lead to economic distress and another war.

It would be hard to find a better summary of such economic theories as those underlying the Bretton Woods plan, the Beveridge plan, and similar economic ideas, the full meaning of which has not, until now, been either so admirably stated and analyzed or gathered together to show their interrelations. Certainly one of the best aspects of this excellent discussion is the way in which the author manages to show the relation of Bretton Woods to full employment, to cartels, to an expanding world economy.

One minor criticism may be made. Mr. Soule assumes, it seems to me, that our country is actually richer in natural resources than it is. We are richer than Britain, certainly, but out of about 150 essential materials we produce within our borders only 8. We have to import, for instance, almost all our ferro-alloys, not to mention such important items in our diet as coffee, tea, cocoa, much of our sugar, fats and oils, and so on.

The manuscript of this book must have gone into printing only shortly after V-J Day. It is therefore interesting, and depressing, to review the events which have taken place since then and consider how far we have traveled from the principles set forth here. First, we have abruptly canceled Lend-Lease shipments and put Anglo-American collaboration under a severe strain. Second, we have virtually shelved the Full Employment bill; so that people are now talking of eight million unemployed by next spring instead of the original six million which we had accepted as a temporary figure. Third, we are lifting restrictions of all sorts upon private business with dizzying rapidity; so that our export and import positions are both in chaos. Fourth, we have given employers reimbursement for cut-backs on war orders and have virtually promised them cancelation of excess-profits taxes, whereas we have done nothing to ameliorate the position of wage-earners; these policies will lead to an even wider spread between the rate of investment and the rate of savings, which, as Mr. Soule has pointed out, many American economists, and virtually all British economists, believe to be one of the chief causes of cyclical depressions. Fifth, we are demobilizing our armed forces without any plan for reemployment. And sixth—though this is perhaps outside the scope of Mr. Soule's discussion—our foreign relations generally have worsened unbelievably, partly because of our policy on the atomic bomb, but also because we are now an isolated country of private entrepreneurs in a world of social planning.

It is not too late for us to make a change in our policies, but the time is short. Every patriotic American should get a copy of Mr. Soule's book and live with it until he has mastered its ideas. Then he should insist that Congress take action.

ETHEL M. THORNBURY

Joseph Smith, Mormon Prophet

NO MAN KNOWS MY HISTORY. By Fawn M. Brodie. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

NOTHING could be more baroque than the life history of Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormon church. He was already in his own lifetime a mythical character. He founded the Mormon church almost, it might be said, by a series of accidents which, logically considered, would never seem to lead to their amazing result, a stable institution. Step by step, no one could have foreseen the way. It is all a beautiful maze, the Mormon pattern, winding and rewinding in an area where, though the mystery may be explained empirically, it remains a mystery transcending the limitations of actual experience.

Looking for the impossible treasure said to have been buried by a much-publicized but purely hypothetical Indian tribe of vanished Semitic mound-builders, Joseph Smith discovered the golden plates which he said had been buried by the angel Moroni, guardian spirit of the lost tribe. The golden plates rustled in that Arabian dream world which for so many people was more real than the harsh American wilderness, where they were more likely to encounter a skunk than an angel. The golden plates were invisible to everybody except Joseph Smith, an unschooled farm hand who in another society might have been an anthropologist or an archaeologist or at least the writer of a literary epic as pale as "Ossian." Joseph Smith was not a man to keep a deep secret to himself. He devoted himself to translating the microscopic picture handwriting on the invisible golden plates. When the first hundred or so pages were stolen by the skeptical wife of his

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private secretary, with the challenge that he should then repeat exactly what the angel had said, Smith, rather than deny his previous statement or present a garbled version, merely proceeded from the political to the religious character of the lost Semitic Indians—who, our later research shows, never did exist. Had the manuscript not been stolen, it is possible that he would not have stumbled into founding a great religious order, where were reflected the many facets of his own personality, itself the result of a fervid community imagination.

The angel Moroni, unlike most angels of that era, was not in favor of an arid celibacy in the midst of nature's fruitfulness. Just as the impotent angel was perhaps the vision of an impotent old leader, this angel, appearing to a young man, was highly potent, scattering spores as big as the purple grapes in autumn. The angel of a lost people preached, ironically enough, but perhaps only because of his experience with a lost people, polygamy and the infinite progression of the exuberant human race. Joseph Smith liked women, all women, the old as well as the young, and so his religion glorified human potency. For every wife, another star in heaven. You pursued your many wives, all fifty of them, from earth to heaven and beyond. And of his own wife, Emma, who astutely objected to all this carnality, which she believed had never been recommended by the angel Moroni at all, Joseph said when temporarily she fled from him, "I will have her back although I must pursue her into hell."

From court records of cases in which Joseph Smith was involved, from newspaper articles, memoirs, letters, and the dossiers of the women who were successively sealed to the prophet in marriage, Mrs. Brodie has recaptured the spirit of a man whose history remains, just as he said, unknown, unknowable. He was a mystery even to himself. He was killed at the age of thirty-nine by blackface murderers. It was at sunset, and the sun was hidden behind a cloud. When one of them rushed forward to cut off his head, the sun came out from behind the cloud, and the people fled silently away.

MARGUERITE YOUNG

BRIEFER COMMENT

Not Enough

DURING THE VICIOUS OPEN-SHOP DRIVE after World War I, when injunctions were fluttering down on the unions like leaves from the trees and labor everywhere had its back to the wall, William Allen White put up in the window of his Emporia *Gazette* a sign reading, "We are for the striking railroad men 49 per cent." And that is the pay-off on the Kansas editor who is now on his posthumous way to sainthood in the Liberal Church. To be sure, his dear friend Henry J. Allen, Governor of Kansas, had set up a Kansas Industrial Court, with White's support, for the outlawing of any and all strikes, and Henry went through the motions of arresting Will for this 1 per cent less than half-hearted support of a life-and-death struggle in which better men than William Allen White were being beaten up by legionnaires and Kluxers, rotting in jails, losing their jobs, their little savings, their homes, their all—and not writing Pulitzer-prize editorials about how nice free speech is, either.

In his obeisant, wretchedly organized, distressingly fulsome biography of White, "A Man from Kansas" (Putnam's, $3), David Hinshaw compares White's prize-winning editorial on free speech written at that time to Milton's "Areopagitica." And that is the pay-off on David Hinshaw, who apparently spent his life on his knees alongside the much-publicized country editor's cluttered (it would have to be cluttered) desk.

Everyone knows that William Allen White was a sweet, lovable, outgoing personality who was for decency and against bigotry and intolerance, but to attempt to make out as a "great" philosopher and a symbol of all the democratic virtues a man who could support Harding and write of Coolidge that he was "a strong man" who "never let his courage get the best of his judgment" is just a bit too thick. After all there must be more to democracy than saying "Howdy" to a Negro worker on Emporia's Main Street.

MC ALISTER COLEMAN

Life on a Destroyer

THERE IS A FRESHNESS and sincerity about "Lower Deck," by Lieutenant John Davies, RNVR (Macmillan, $2), which gave much pleasure to one tired reader of high-pressure war books. The book describes war-time life from the standpoint of a single gun crew on board a British destroyer. Its moments of intense action are set down with simplicity, and for that reason these passages are very telling. Lieutenant Davies has a fine but not too conscientious sense of the personality of his gun crew. He says what he feels about his men, and not, as is too often the case in books of this sort, what he feels should be said. There are no heroics, and there is a great deal of authentic rough-and-ready humor. The style is excellent for its purpose, and there are none of the usual journalistic disfigurements.

RALPH BATES

CONTRIBUTORS

ISABEL WILNER grew up in China and the Philippines, coming to this country in 1938 to attend William Smith College. She was one of the winners of the Durham Poetry Award of the University of New Hampshire Writers' Conference in 1944 and 1945. At present she is a member of the staff of the Boys and Girls Department of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.

HERMANN KESTEN is a German novelist and playwright, an exile from the Third Reich, who is now living in the United States. He is the author of "The Children of Guernica," and of "Copernicus and His World." He will publish a novel, "The Twins of Nürnberg," in the spring.

ETHEL THORNBURY was, during the war, an economist for the Office of Strategic Services and the Foreign Economic Administration.

MARGUERITE YOUNG is the author of "Angel in the Forest: A Fairy Tale of Two Utopias." She has also published two volumes of poetry.

BOOKS OF 1945

A Selected List

BELLES-LETTRES

The Short Novels of Dostoevsky. With an Introduction by Thomas Mann. Dial. $4.

The Crack-Up with Other Uncollected Pieces, Notebooks and Unpublished Letters. By F. Scott Fitzgerald. Edited by Edmund Wilson. New Directions. $3.50.

Hercules, My Shipmate. By Robert Graves. Creative Age. $3.

Prater Violet. By Christopher Isherwood. Random House. $2.

The Bostonians. By Henry James. Dial. $3.

The Short Stories of Henry James. Selected by Clifton Fadiman. Random House. $3.

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Selections from the Note-Books of Gerard Manley Hopkins. New Directions. 50 cents.

Reader's Companion. By Louis Kronenberger. Viking. $2.

The Penguin New Writing. Edited by John Lehmann. Penguin Books. 25 cents.

The American Language. Supplement I. By H. L. Mencken. Knopf. $5.

The Air-Conditioned Nightmare. By Henry Miller. New Directions. $3.50.

All Trivia. By Logan Pearsall Smith. Harcourt, Brace. $2.50.

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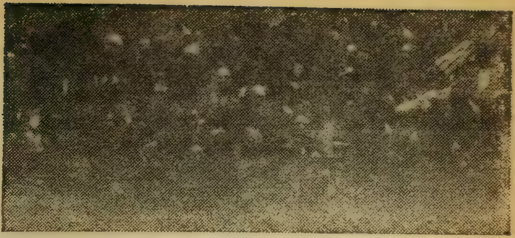

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GHOSTS OF SLAIN JEWS AT STATE DINNER

WASHINGTON—There were ghosts at the state banquets for Prime Ministers Attlee and Mackenzie King here last night—the ghosts of the 6,000,000 Jews the Germans murdered in Europe during the war.

Flesh and blood rabbis represented the wraiths. A delegation of several hundred of them has been in Washington for the past two days to urge that Palestine be opened up to Jewish immigration.

But the wraiths were more real, in a sense, than the rabbis. For it is the terrible fate that befell that 6,000,000 that is the primary force that moves American policy on Palestine. This force is a desire to save the Jews who survive.

(Wallace R. Deuel, Chicago Daily News, Nov. 13, 1945)

Senator McKellar, president of the U. S. Senate, together with Senators James Mead and Arthur Capper and many representatives, headed by majority leader John McCormack, receive and address the Zion march which was sponsored by the Zionist-Revisionist Organization of America, headed by Rabbi Dr. Morris M. Rose.

On the steps of Congress—at the gates of the White House—in front of the British Embassy, these men of God not only voiced the last echoes of the six million Jews who had perished in Europe, but also uttered the warning *that there can be no peace for the world until justice is done to the Jews.*

The internationally significant Zion March on Washington with the unprecedented news interest which it has aroused in the American press from coast to coast, *is the beginning of what must become a ceaseless, unrelenting drive* to achieve the following program, presented by the Rabbis to the White House:

1. The immediate transfer to Palestine of 100,000 Jews who had escaped the slaughter houses and gas chambers, according to the recent request by President Truman.

2. The immediate abrogation of the illegal White Paper—the barrier which prevents the return of European Jews to their ancestral land.

3. The creation of an American-British commission for the systematic evacuation of almost two million surviving Jews from Europe to Palestine.

4. The immediate release of thousands of Jewish patriots whom the British administration has thrown without investigation or trial into concentration camps in Palestine and the waste lands of Sudan and Eritrea.

Every right-thinking American must dedicate himself to the complete evacuation of European Jews to Palestine; to the furtherance of Jewish immigration into Palestine despite the White Paper and under all circumstances; to the bolstering of our heroic underground movement in Palestine.

This is a task in which you are urged to participate.

The American people fought and died that freedom and justice should prevail! We spent billions of dollars to help men fight for their freedom.

We dare not lend our wealth to help England kill free men in Palestine.

This is a battle for all free men who believe in Justice and righteousness!

We invite you to help! Tremendous financial resources must be mobilized in order to surmount the obstacles that lie in our path. It is a race against time. Act now!

RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE ZIONIST-REVISIONIST MOVEMENT

1—Our Movement was instrumental in bringing into Palestine tens of thousands of Jews through the extra-legal immigration in spite of the White Paper and thus rescued them from the Maideneks and Oswiecims.

2—Our Movement was foremost in the underground activity against the Nazis in Europe and particularly in the heroic last stand of the Warsaw Ghetto.

3—We organized the movement for a Jewish Army in the beginning of the war and carried on a struggle despite all obstacles. These efforts culminated in the establishment of a Jewish Brigade in which thousands of Jabotinsky's disciples fought heroically on all the battlefronts.

4—Through our plan of evacuation, supported by many European governments, we made every effort to avert the oncoming catastrophe which struck the Jews of Europe. We broke the conspiracy of silence which enveloped the Jewish tragedy. Our representatives from Palestine and Europe bent every effort in the rescue work.

5—We organized the historic march of the Rabbis on Washington, the most stirring expression of Jewish fate and need voiced in the nation's capital to date.

This record indicates not only the achievement of our Movement but also the validity of the principles upon which it is founded. Today there is general agreement that our ideology, methods and tactics stand vindicated by the course of events to date and by their trend toward the future.

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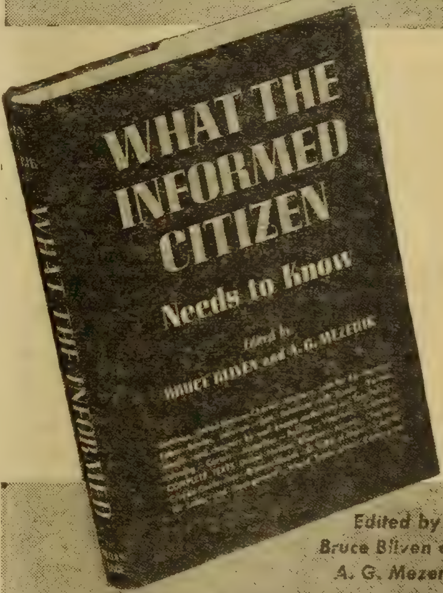

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IN HIS last season with the New York Philharmonic Toscanini conducted three performances of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, of which the first and second impressed me, in the *Allegro* movements, as being tense and driving, but the third as being relaxed and spacious, as though it were the product of an equilibrium that had not existed in Toscanini during the first two. Since there was no possibility of checking the impression by rehearing the performances, I began to wonder whether I had really heard the difference; until a couple of years ago, when I had a chance to hear recordings of two astonishingly different performances of the Ninth that Toscanini gave with the N. B. C. Symphony in 1938 and 1939, with the first movement driving ahead relentlessly in one, but relaxed and spacious in the other (neither, incidentally, was satisfactory to Toscanini). And recently recordings of the broadcasts enabled me to hear the equally astonishing difference between his performance of the "Eroica" a year ago and the one on V-J Day: the first movement so much more *con brio* in the one a year ago. It is not, obviously, that he decided the movement should be less *con brio* in the V-J Day performance; but that conditions within himself of which he was unconscious, and over which he had no control, made it come out that way.

After these instances I am inclined to trust my impression that there was a tenseness in the recent broadcast performances of Brahms's Fourth and Schubert's Seventh that was not in the performances of three and four years ago. It was this tenseness that disturbed me in parts of the works; not the conceptions which disturb some listeners. Those who are disconcerted by Toscanini's single tempo throughout the final passacaglia movement of Brahms's Fourth have been corrupted by the performances they have heard—the performances not only of Stokowski and Koussevitzky and Ormandy, but of German conductors who also slow down for Variations 10-15 in the face of Brahms's direction that the value of the quarter-note in these variations remain what it has been until then. It is only by maintaining the pace of the eight-measure ground-bass inexorably in all its repetitions that the cumulative impact of the repetitions—which is the effect of the passacaglia form—is achieved. Weingartner does this in his recorded performance; and Toscanini does it with greater power.

As for his unusually fast pace in the second movement of Schubert's Seventh, I will repeat what I said about it after his performance four years ago: "Invariably I am startled by the first measures, and then go along easily with the rest of the movement; but at the Philadelphia performance I thought I understood what was behind that fast pace: the feeling for purity—that is, simplicity, economy, subtlety—of style, which leads him often to set a single, subtly modeled tempo for an entire movement, and which in this instance leads him to set a single pace not only for the opening section of the second movement and for the alternating section but for the catastrophe in the middle of the movement, so that the increasing urgency of this passage is achieved, powerfully, without any acceleration, and only a slight broadening at the end is sufficient to give shattering power to the chords with which the passage breaks off into silence." In the recent performance Toscanini did accelerate toward those catastrophic chords, with lessened effect; and this was part of what impressed me as a less successful integration of the movement, resulting from the tenseness I felt in the performance. But the building up of momentum in the following movements, to the climax in the great coda of the finale—this was as breathtaking as always.

On Columbia's November list is the cantata "Alexander Nevsky" (Set 580; $5.50), into which Prokofiev expanded some of his music for Eisenstein's film. A couple of passages—"Russia Under the Mongolian Yoke" and "The Crusaders in Pskov"—are effective musical soundtrack; but the music for the battle on the ice, a modern Russian equivalent of "The Ride of the Valkyries," as well as the choral proclamations of the might of Alexander Nevsky and the Russian people, and the patriotic lament of the Russian girl—these are, in their different ways, pretty terrible. The performance by the Philadelphia Orchestra, the Westminster Choir, and Jennie Tourel under Ormandy's direction seems good; and its sound on the records is the best Columbia has achieved with the Philadelphia Orchestra so far: clear, clean, bright, and agreeable to the ear.

What brought "The Ride of the Valkyries" to my mind was Columbia's recording (Set 581; $8.50) of Act 3 of "Die Walküre." It was a number of

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A Paper of Information and Opinion
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years since I had last heard the work; and I found myself laughing at what I had laughed at the last time—the orchestra's galloping and whinnying, the Valkyries' ho-yo-to-ho-ing, their traditionally tremolo-ridden shrieking, Wotan's harumphing, Wotan's and Brünhilde's flinging back and forth of Wagnerian declamatory style; nor could I hear out with patience, much less take seriously, the subsequent pomposities that many thousands of people find overwhelming. Some of the tremolo-ridden shrieking in the early scenes is Traubel's; in the sustained phrases later on her voice is steady, voluminous, and lustrous in its lower range, but becomes constricted and sharp-edged as it rises. Janssen's singing also is poor in the explosive declamation of the early scenes, but very good in the sustained phrases later on. Rodzinski drives through the act like a bulldozer. The recorded sound of the performance lacks brightness; and the violins are too weak in relation to the rest of the orchestra. The German and English texts are not provided with the records as they should have been.

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"A SOUND OF HUNTING" (Lyceum Theater) is another play about the war. The action—such as it is—takes place in a ruined house at Cassino, and Harry Brown, the author, does manage to carry the conviction that he was there. This, one might think, ought to guarantee an interesting play, and this one is, as a matter of fact, never exactly dull. But neither, unfortunately, is it ever profoundly interesting, very moving, or at all unexpected.

One difficulty is, no doubt, the slightness of the single incident, which is stretched out over three acts of normal length and doesn't quite reach. Another, and I think more serious one, is that what the author has to say has been said a great many times before, even though he may be better qualified than most to say it. That war is a dull as well as a dirty business and that the men who fight it act heroically but despise heroics—beyond this Mr. Brown has little to communicate. He does, to be sure, hate war correspondents, and the specimen he presents is the only obvious caricature in his gallery of portraits, but hatred of war correspondents is hardly his subject, and one is left wondering what that subject is. The talk is good talk and sounds convincing, but it is the kind of talk we have come to expect from war-weary soldiers ever since "What Price Glory?" set a fashion, and though the conversation of Mr. Brown's characters is probably more accurate and less exaggerated than that of Captain Flagg and his associates, the very exaggerations of "What Price Glory?" gave it an impact which "A Sound of Hunting" fails to achieve. It may seem odd that Mr. Brown, fresh from the greatest war in history, should lack a subject, but that seems to be his chief difficulty. He appears to know how to write. At the moment he does not appear to have anything to write about.

Books in Short

"48 Million Tons to Eisenhower," by Lt. Col. Randolph Leigh (Infantry Journal, $2). The Services of Supply of the United States Army in the European Theater of Operations accomplished, it is claimed, the "greatest logistical job" in the history of warfare between D-Day and V-E Day. This book offers proof of that claim, buttressing its case with statistics, charts, diagrams, and pictures. For the professional soldier the record should prove valuable; for the armchair military critic it is a "must."

"Population Roads to Peace or War," by Guy Irving Burch and Elmer Pendell, Foreword and Postscript by Walter B. Pitkin (Population Reference Bureau, Washington, D. C., $1 and $2). The new Malthusians who have collaborated in this work believe that attainment of the four freedoms will be impossible until the human race learns to breed for quality instead of quantity. Though couched in pseudo-scholarly form, this is eugenic propaganda rather than a scientific study. Population is a fascinating subject which will continue to attract dogmas until the interplay of biology, psychology, and economics is better understood than at present.

"Post-War Markets," edited by E. Jay Howenstine (Public Affairs Press, $2.50). National production at near-capacity implies a vast increase in average incomes as compared with pre-war years and a new pattern of spending. Using the well-known studies of S. Morris Livingstone and other economists associated with the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, the compilers of this book discuss the meaning of this change in terms of the distribution problems of leading industries.

Letters to the Editors

Room for the Jews?

Dear Sirs: The gentleman from Georgia feels a momentary qualm concerning the refugee Jewish problem. The gentleman also displays a willingness to tolerate the entrance of the Jews provided they are settled in some section quite remote from his immediate vicinity. Give them Arizona, certainly, but Georgia? I seem to remember large sections of that state as quite thinly populated not so very long ago. Just so that there may be no accusation of the pot calling the kettle black I hasten to add that there are large sections of California thinly populated also. B. F. STEVENS, SR.

Antioch, Cal., November 22

Objection

Dear Sirs: In your issue of November 10 Ernest M. Whitefish of Canon, Georgia, proposes that Arizona be opened to the refugee Jews of Europe. May I point out several serious difficulties involved in such a project. (1) The land of Arizona belongs to the people now there just as the land in Georgia belongs to the Georgians. (2) Assuming that this difficulty could be overcome and all the Jews actually settled in Arizona, they would eventually become American citizens and as such could leave this state and locate in any other. They would thus assume their two-thousand-year role as parasites among other people—as they have been, for example, in Europe.

GEORGE WILLIAMS

Clarkston, Wash., November 18

Joseph Freeman's G. I.'s

Dear Sirs: Joseph Freeman's America's Homesick Army, particularly Part II, gives a highly misleading impression of the G. I. To believe Mr. Freeman, the American soldier is a shining example of democratic virtues, a roving man of freedom who spreads the gospel wherever he goes. It makes a very pretty picture, but it just isn't true.

This view is more than misleading; it is dangerous, because if we accept Mr. Freeman's picture, we may lose sight of the vast job that needs to be done in constantly orienting the G. I.—or future civilian—to a militantly anti-fascist point of view.

Before the publicity on Belsen and Buchenwald hit the papers, it was almost impossible to make G. I.'s believe Nazis behaved that way. They dismissed all such stories as "propaganda." Their attitude was much the same toward all army efforts to present the facts of international life—Lend-Lease, for example, or the importance of unity among the Allies.

Mr. Freeman and other writers glibly suggest an army education program as the answer for the overseas G. I.'s attitudes. We need to recognize that the problem is much deeper and needs more radical methods of treatment. If the G. I. had to see a concentration camp before he understood the nature of Nazism, our country has failed miserably in explaining the issues of the war.

CPL. SIGMUND SHLAKMAN

Brooklyn, November 14

How It Came About

Dear Sirs: It wasn't a very long story, and it was hidden halfway down the column. It said that several generals had luncheon on the first Liberty ship in Manila which had been converted to carry troops back to the States. Three-star, two-star generals, some colonels, including a Lieutenant Colonel Davidson, and some others were present.

At first it didn't seem so strange. But it was ironic when you thought about it.

As everyone knew, high-point men—eighty and ninety pointers—had been waiting for weeks in the replacement camps, waiting for these ships that never came in. Perhaps it was only a coincidence that on that very day—Navy Day—most of the major fleet units of the navy were tied up and tidied up in the big ports in the States. The navy was proud, and rightly so.

As everyone knew, too, cargo ships had left Manila for the States empty—even with a few empty berths on some. Then one day about two weeks before, some soldiers talked to this Colonel Davidson. He was in a position to know. He said that a Liberty could be made into a transport in forty-eight hours, with fifty men to do the job. Next day the army paper printed the story. Now that put the Colonel on the spot in a way. Obviously his superiors didn't think well of the idea or they would have ordered it done. In fact, the Colonel didn't know his statements would appear in public print, and he had some uneasy moments.

Then the letters started pouring in to the paper that printed the story. They were unanimous in their praise for the Colonel. Men volunteered in writing by the hundreds to work on the conversion of the ships—even after doing a full day's work. Very soon the War Department authorized conversion, provided certain minimum standards for troop comfort were met. So the volunteers' offer was accepted, and here the first job was done.

That's how it came about that the generals had luncheon on the Liberty ship, the Otto Mears. The generals probably didn't realize it—at least the paper gave no indication—but actually that meal was a testimony to Colonel Davidson, even if all the enlisted men weren't present to say so. That day the pièce de résistance was crow. SOLDIER

Manila, October 28

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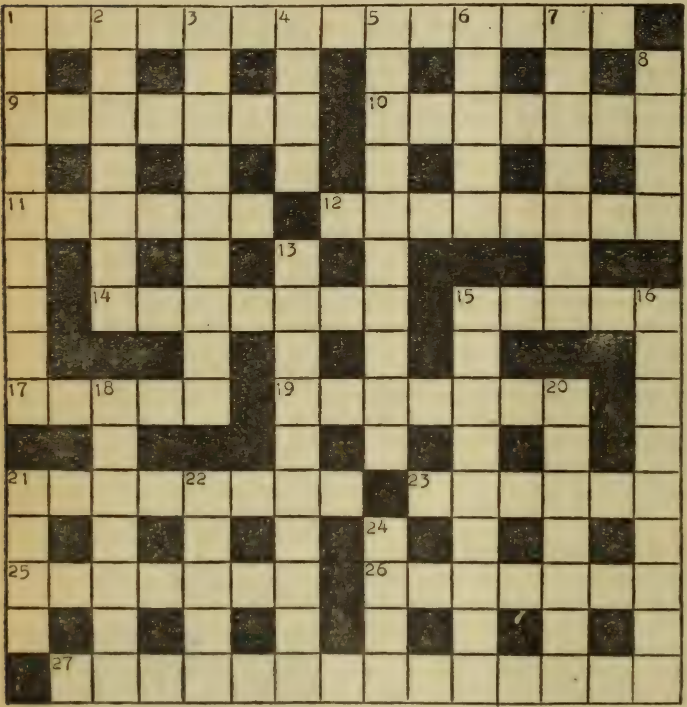
Crossword Puzzle No. 138

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 We like to think of ships' captains giving their engine rooms this order, but actually they never do (three words, 4, 5, 5)
9 Due in N.M. (anag.)
10 A fan whose "vote" we would be glad to have
11 Sings Swiss style
12 Hanky-panky, skullduggery, or jiggery-pokery
14 One kind of table
15 Italian composer whose *Goodbye* was a song hit in its day
17 Quick! Think of a number! This may be it!
19 Cattle pens originally made by immigrants with wagons
21 Only two of Fido's feet, though it sounds like all four
23 "Ale, sir?" (anag.)
25 Clearly shows a vice den
26 Old 2F demands double
27 Those of an economical turn of mind might be presented at Court in these (two words, 8 & 6)

DOWN

1 Average age of an oyster when eaten (two words, 4 & 5)
2 Do help one over a stile! (two words, 4 & 3)
3 Lone playing-card with an undershirt on
4 There's one alternative to having it dyed, and this is it
5 Though not a Victorian young lady, she may prefer old-fashioned cocktails (two words, 6 & 4)
6 "Cry '-----,' and let slip the dogs of war"
7 The man's entirely absorbed in songs of praise, it seems
8 "From morn To noon he fell, from noon to ---- eve"
13 This eight-legged, ebon-hued relict may be all right, but we prefer a Merry one, personally (two words, 5 & 5)
15 We never saw the batrachian in question sitting on one, except in an illustration
16 Parisian hospital?
18 I go green—one of those dizzy spells, you know?
20 Meerschaum was once supposed to be made from it (two words, 3 & 4)
21 Oh, run away!
22 Fancy putting a fast horse in crape!
24 Button that's not easily collared

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 137

ACROSS:—1 PSHAW; 6 ENTER; 9 ALADDIN; 10 NOVEL; 11 INURE; 12 KIPPERS; 16 HUNTER; 19 OLD BOY; 22 WRONGDOER; 23 ISLE; 24 AWAY; 25 ARCH; 26 YEGG; 27 TREK; 29 OVID; 30 EVOCATION; 33 SWEDES; 35 ENSUES; 38 ESPOUSE; 41 USHER; 42 MIAMI; 43 EMPORIA; 44 TIRED; 45 NIECE.

DOWN:—1 PINCH; 2 HAVEN; 3 WALKER; 4 RAMP; 5 ADZE; 6 ENISLE; 7 THUMB; 8 REEDY; 13 IRON CROSS; 14 PAGE; 15 ROOKERIES; 17 UNSCREW; 18 TWEAKED; 20 DRAGONS; 21 OPALINE; 28 FARO; 31 VEERED; 32 ONE MAN; 33 SOULT; 34 ETHER; 36 USAGE; 37 SEINE; 39 PAPA; 40 URRY.

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The Shape of Things

THE MEETING AT MOSCOW OF THE THREE Foreign Ministers was long overdue, but it offers a last chance to clear out some of the obstacles dividing the great powers before the United Nations Assembly meets in January. The problem of the atomic bomb, political conflicts stretching from China and Japan to the Balkans, the difficulties in the way of unified control in Germany—these are only a few of the items which doubtless appear on the agenda confronting the conferees. The report from Washington that Mr. Byrnes wants to limit the talks to a week is disturbing. Unless unprecedented preparations have been made through diplomatic channels, the work cannot be crowded into a short meeting. The three Ministers face the absolute necessity of achieving agreement on major issues before they toss them into the unready lap of the UNO.

*

THE FRIENDS OF THE SPANISH REPUBLIC HAVE requested Secretary Byrnes to place the question of Spain on the agenda of the Moscow meeting with a view to obtaining severance of diplomatic relations with Franco and assurance that recognition will be granted only to a democratic Spanish Republican government. *The Nation* wholeheartedly joins in this demand. The issue has grown even more acute in recent weeks since the extent of Nazi entrenchment there has been fully exposed. It is high time for the Big Three to translate the resolutions of San Francisco and Potsdam regarding Fascist Spain into effective action.

*

UNDAUNTED BY SUCCESSIVE SPANKINGS FROM Byron Price, General Eisenhower, and Secretary Byrnes, the French government remains grimly determined to block any move toward centralization of the German economy until at least a provisional settlement of the Rhineland question is achieved. Thus thanks to the veto given at Potsdam to each of the four powers on the Allied Control Council, no progress can be made in carrying out an important part of the Potsdam program, and the danger of Germany's complete economic collapse is enhanced. The position of the French government is backed, as usual, with a certain logic. Exclusion of General de Gaulle from Potsdam—though no country had a greater stake than his in the future of Germany—made it possible to leave the question of the western frontiers of the Reich in the air. The French government's thesis is that the destiny of the Ruhr and Rhineland must be decided before steps are taken to reorganize the political and economic life of Germany. If the resources of the Ruhr are left to the Reich, many Frenchmen fear Germany will recover its power to wage aggressive war. Therefore they wish to see the Ruhr internationalized and an independent state under the protection of the Western European powers set up on the left bank of the Rhine. If such a plan were carried out, the Central German rump, cut away from its richest provinces east and west, would collapse economically or break up into several small states able to exist only by becoming clients of one or another of the powers. For different reasons the French solution is opposed in whole or part by America, Britain, and Russia; nor has it the full support of the French left. But it is a solution of sorts for a problem which the Big Three have dodged up to now, and in insisting upon its discussion General de Gaulle has a strong case. It seems to us that Mr. Byrnes is unwise in threatening to "by-pass" France by centralizing transport and currency agencies in the American, British, and Russian zones. Instead, he should urge prompt decision on the issues raised by the French so that Germany's economy can be organized within the framework of a definite political settlement.

*

PATRICK J. HURLEY APPARENTLY BELIEVES THAT if he yells loud enough someone is bound to believe his scurrilous charges against State Department personnel. In his appearance before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee he singled out two of the most responsible and conscientious of the State Department career men for attack. His case against George Atcheson, Jr., chief political adviser to General MacArthur, proved to rest on nothing more than the fact that Mr. Atcheson, through proper channels, recommended a policy with which Hurley did not agree. His venomous accusations against John S. Service proved to have even less basis, since Hurley was not ambassador when Service filed the memorandum to General Stilwell to which Hurley took such violent objection. Hurley's refusal to produce the offending document suggests that Service may have accurately analyzed the pitfalls in the policy which the fiery Ambassador subsequently followed. In any event, it is clear that both officials were merely carrying out their assigned duties. Neither is even charged with failing to carry out Mr. Hurley's directives. Fortunately, Secretary Byrnes refused to be stampeded by General Hurley's fireworks and rallied to the defense of the accused officials with a forceful statement. At the same time, we are glad to note that while Mr. Byrnes declared for continued support of the Chungking government as "the most satisfactory base for a developing democracy," he did emphasize the importance of using our influence to secure a broadening of that regime.

*

WHERE IS BRITAIN'S COLONIAL POLICY HEADED? An extremely well-informed, friendly critic of the Labor government insists that we may expect a considerable improvement over the Churchill policy. We have yet to see a glimmer of light in that direction. A test of British colonial intentions came last week when the UNO Preparatory Commission voted to broaden and safeguard the right of subject peoples to petition the UNO for a hearing on grievances against administering powers. Mr. Bevin's earlier declaration that Britain was ready to surrender part of its national sovereignty in the interest of international peace might have led one to believe that no objection would be made to this modicum of international supervision of territories over which Britain exercises trusteeship but not sovereignty. But the British delegation voted against the proposal, with the Americans abstaining and the Russians voting in favor. Another indication that even first steps toward modifying Britain's colonial policy have yet to be taken is the protracted retention of egregious colonial autocrats like Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith, Governor General of Burma. The only encouraging note has been the decision of the Labor M. P.'s to ask Mr. Bevin for a truce in Indonesia, to be followed by a Dutch-Indonesian conciliation conference in London under UNO supervision. While there is some danger that such a conference may impose a British, hence colonial, solution of the Indonesian problem, it is a marked improvement over previous suggestions from responsible British quarters.

*

DURING THE WAR THE ESCORT CARRIER CROATAN did its duty patrolling the submarine lanes of the Atlantic. It pioneered night flying on CVE's, sank many a U-boat. In the service it became affectionately known as "Old Crow." When the new redeployment program was set up to get the troops home fast from Europe, the Croatan was the first of the flat-tops to enter Le Havre. It was immediately confronted with a problem, in the eyes of its officers, more perilous to the American way of life than Nazi submarines. One hundred and twenty-three veterans of the campaigns in France, Belgium, and Germany stood waiting to embark. They were Negroes. The officers of the carrier, deciding there were not proper facilities for segregation, refused—over strenuous Army protests—to take them aboard. We are glad this action has not escaped the notice of higher naval authorities or of the American people. Old Crow, forsooth! Old Jim Crow!

*

BRAZIL'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION SHOWS HOW hard it is to move from dictatorship to democracy in one jump. The returns are incomplete as we go to press, but the outcome is clear. General Dutra, former Minister of War, the Vargas-backed candidate, is maintaining a two-to-one lead over his nearest opponent, General Gomes. The National Democratic Union, which supported Gomes, has not yet conceded his defeat, perhaps out of reluctance to admit that its prediction of a Gomes sweep was so wide of the mark. But on election eve every observer, Brazilian and foreign, picked Gomes as the winner. A man of strong nationalist conviction, Gomes has been consistently pro-Ally, but his personality and record are not such as to excite enthusiasm on the left. An almost excessive puritanism led him to devote a large part of his campaign to attacks on gambling and sexual immorality. He said relatively little about the process of nazification that went on unchecked in Brazil during the entire pre-war period of Vargas's rule or about the fascist character of the regime itself. As for Dutra, he boasts a decoration presented to him by Hitler in May, 1940, for "valuable services rendered to Germany by Brazil." As Minister of War he issued frequent warnings about the menace of communism while maintaining a discreet silence on the subject of fascism. In the election Dutra had the backing of large clerical groups, fascist sympathizers, ultra-conservatives, and the openly fascist Integralistas. Taken together, these interests formed the solid reactionary underpinning of the Vargas regime, which now promises to survive in a new guise and with impressive legal sanctions.

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IF THE UNITED STATES AVOIDS A POST-WAR inflation such as overwhelmed the country in 1919 and 1920, Chester A. Bowles will deserve a major share of the credit. Speaking before the National Association of Manufacturers and other business groups, Mr. Bowles pulled no punches. He insisted that some price controls might have to continue after next June 30. Nor did he hesitate to point out to the N. A. M. that consumers have saved $66 billion by rejecting its price-control recommendations. The proposal that controls be dropped he attacked as a threat to the success of the entire free-enterprise system. And in reply to the accusation that the OPA was "ruining" business, he presented figures to show that in no period of our history have business profits been so large and business failures so few. With the inflationary threat far greater than at any time during the war, Mr. Bowles deserves more support than he has been getting from labor, consumers, and the general public. Sometimes it has looked as if the OPA Administrator were waging a one-man battle.

*

"WE ARE NO DIFFERENT FROM THE LABORING men of Great Britain," said William Green to a group of Representatives last week, "When driven to desperation we too will turn to the left." Which drove our house poet to this:

When cockle shells
Turn silver bells
We'll only shake our head;
We'll see real cause
For ohs and ahs
When William Green turns red.

*

ON THE NEW YORK HOUSING FRONT LAST week's shenanigans were strange ones indeed. The crisis is not only developing into a scandal but—as might have been expected—into a political football, with Governor Dewey, Mayor LaGuardia, and Mayor-elect O'Dwyer competing for the headlines. General O'Dwyer's emergency committee on housing started to function under the competent but irascible chairmanship of Robert Moses. The first day's hearing was highlighted by at least two "incidents"—Joseph Platzker, city Housing Commissioner, stormed out of the meeting when Mr. Moses urged him to cut his testimony short; and Charles G. Bolté, chairman of the American Veterans' Committee, first expressed his surprise at being removed from the committee and then, when he read O'Dwyer's campaign promise to do everything possible to provide temporary housing for veterans, was informed by Mr. Moses that the committee "was not interested in political promises." Mr. Bolté's removal from the committee is a neat example of the pressures, under which the new mayor will have to work: Bolté was appointed presumably because the A. V. C. has done the most to dramatize the housing shortage facing veterans, and was then removed without explanation but probably as a result of pressure from the American Legion which has done nothing about housing. Mr. Moses and the committee in general, which is composed largely of real estate and building-industry representatives, showed their distaste for temporary housing throughout the hearings, although none of them advanced any other workable solution. Not much can be expected from the committee's recommendations; it will be up to General O'Dwyer to make good his pledge whether the committee favors temporary housing or not.

Harold Laski

IT WOULD take space to analyze fully the unique talent for infuriating his political opponents which Harold Laski's recent visit to the United States demonstrated anew. Witnessing the reactions of the American right wing, from its outermost fanatic pinfeathers to the solid Republican scapular, one realized to what an impressive degree Laski has assumed for these groups the ominous shape of things to come. The Holy Name pickets marching up and down Broadway in front of the Astor on the night of *The Nation's* dinner, with their placards denouncing Laski and proclaiming "Franco Saved Spain from Communism," offered crude but revealing evidence of the potency of our guest of honor. More significant has been the barrage of editorial and radio comment that followed his speech, some serious but most of it aimed at exorcising the Laski spector by denunciation or ridicule.

The final and perfect tribute, however, came from the Republican Party chairman, Herbert Brownell, who announced in an address last Saturday at the close of the two-day conference of the Republican National Committee that Harold Laski had drawn the fundamental issue for the next political campaign in the United States. Admitting that "not all Democrats agree with Mr. Laski," Brownell insisted none the less that the views of the Labor Party chairman on free enterprise represent the position the Republicans must fight. And he officially proposed a new ten-point Republican program as an alternative to "the Laski or left-wing Democrat solution" of national and world problems. Mr. Hannegan and most of his party associates must be somewhat taken aback at finding themselves in the same political boat with the distinguished British Socialist, while the actual left-wing groups of this country, including those C. I. O. leaders who until yesterday solidly supported the Administration, will be no less astonished. For American labor has joined the Administration in frequent and, we believe, sincere obeisances to the gods of free enterprise.

But Mr. Brownell's statement is silly only on the surface. Underlying currents in America push in the direction he indicates, and the fears his words reveal are based on a sound instinct of self-preservation. One may dispute or agree with Laski's detailed analysis of the world situation; but who can question his deeper assumption that the tendency of capitalist society, faced with the threat of its own imminent breakdown, has been to seek refuge first in fascism and then in war? It was this tendency that led through the Spanish debacle to Munich and the final collapse of collective security. Today the United States remains the last fairly secure retreat of free enterprise, and even here the struggle against collective controls is reaching the stage of open warfare. No wonder the Republican chairman looks upon Laski as a bird of ill-omen. It would be a good thing if some of those "left-wing Democrats" he talks about would consider with equal attention the long-range portent of Harold Laski's words.

Labor Says No

THE application of impartial fact-finding to major national labor disputes as a final step in a series of procedures to avert strikes has been strongly urged by *The Nation*. Where collective bargaining has broken down through failure of one side or the other to disclose the economic facts at issue or through failure to agree on their implications, the fairest and most effective recourse is to get the facts laid before the people and the people's representatives. The legislative plan put forward by the President ostensibly seeks to achieve that objective. Word of it reached us just as we were locking up the forms on last week's issue. The report mentioned only the proposal for the creation of emergency fact-finding boards; so much of the plan *The Nation* indorsed then and subscribes to now.

An examination of the whole message, however, reveals, together with the indefensible suggestion that the General Motors strike be called off, a covey of unfair and probably unworkable provisions that contaminate the basic principle of the scheme. We do not agree with C. I. O. President Murray that the plan had the malicious intent of destroying unions. It appears to us much more likely to have been the product of bad handling and woeful ignorance of the facts of labor life. To charge the President with crass incomprehension may, indeed, be worse than to accuse him of wilful labor-smashing, but it seems a more accurate indictment.

The first and most incredible fact about the message is that it was composed at the White House without any detailed advice from Secretary Schwellenbach or any consultation whatsoever with those whom it principally affected, the labor unions. Philip Murray and William Green, even if they had not been able to go along with it, could have pointed out important technical flaws which could have been corrected without destroying the essential purport of the plan. And they could have produced compelling arguments against some of its basic provisions. As it was, the unions were slapped in the face, without warning or a gesture to bolster their prestige, with the most important labor decision of the Administration. Even in his days of greatest vindictiveness toward John L. Lewis, Mr. Roosevelt never treated him with such lack of consideration.

The President's appeal to the General Motors strikers to return to their jobs at once, and the fact that this too was issued without consulting Murray or Thomas or Reuther, are taken by the C. I. O. as conclusive proof that the whole message was in bad faith. A novice in the labor field would know that a strike as huge and involved as that at G. M. cannot be called off by pressing a button, even if the pressure is applied by the finger of the President of the United States. He cannot end such a strike, but his appeal can weaken it, take the heart out of it. It would require more philosophy than anyone has a right to expect from the leader of a life-or-death strike for him to interpret the back-to-work pleas as anything but a device to smash the union's cause.

Mr. Truman's suggestion that the proposed legislation be patterned after the Railway Labor Act was infuriating to labor. Unions hold that the act does nothing more than apply a freeze, tolerable in the railway industry where collective bargaining is firmly established and where the industry operates under strict federal control, but impossible in competitive, unregulated, and less highly organized fields. The proposal that strikes be made unlawful during a thirty-day period is an alarming restriction on the use of labor's ultimate weapon. It might be a "fair" quid pro quo for labor's demand that industry books be subpoenaed and opened. But it is needless and dangerous. A fact-finding system is perfectly feasible which provides for certification of a major dispute before the existing contract expires. The facts can be found and the recommendations made while the workers are still at their jobs—inhibited from striking by their own contract, not by outside legal compulsion. If the recommendations are adopted, there will be no strike. If the recommendations are not acceptable, or do not provide the facts on which collective bargaining can be resumed, there will be a strike. The same would be true under the President's scheme but with one all-important exception: under the proposed legislation the union cannot choose its time to strike and it thus loses half the power of its weapon. This, in fact, is labor's principal objection to the entire plan.

A technical but important flaw in the Administration proposal is the provision for a multitude of ad hoc boards, one for each case. This system permits no continuity or consistency. One board may grant severance pay, another deny it. Boards may differ on whether to consider anticipated production or ability to pay. A single agency operating on the organization pattern of the War Labor Board would be much more rational.

To complete the picture of labor gloom, the question of Congressional action is raised. Until the Smith-Connally act, President Roosevelt prevented the passage of anti-labor legislation—eagerly pressed by a strong majority of Congress during the last years—by refusing to send any labor legislation, even good bills, to Capitol Hill. He knew that Administration sponsorship of a labor bill would be only the fuse to an explosion; that Congress would tuck the ball under its arm and run in the opposite direction; that at best it would use the original blueprints for a house as the plans on which to build a jail. It is certain that Congress will attempt to do the same thing now, and it may well succeed. Mr. Truman had to take steps to establish disputes machinery, but was it essential that he turn the job over to Congress? Has he not the power to set up by executive order the necessary fact-finding instruments and procedures, and would not such action have been sufficient to head off legislation originating in Congress? There are no sure answers to these questions, but it would appear that Mr. Truman did not even think about them.

Aid to Britain

SCANNING the sheaf of documents which are the fruit of the Anglo-American financial and trade discussions, one begins to understand why these talks were so protracted. For these two joint statements and the financial agreement represent an attempt to square the complicated accounts of war, to provide means for underpinning Britain's shaky financial structure, and to construct a blueprint for world-wide cooperation in establishing an economy of expansion. The negotiators were forced to cover a broad range of very intricate problems, and they deserve congratulations for completing their journey as expeditiously as they have.

In the short space of an editorial it is obviously impossible to summarize these documents, still less to analyze their provisions. However, before the Anglo-American financial agreement becomes effective, we expect to publish a number of articles examining it and the related documents in detail and dealing with the many arguments pro and con which they are bound to evoke. Meanwhile we may note that this agreement provides for an open credit to Britain, to be drawn upon within the next five years, of $3,750,000,000. Until 1951 no interest will be charged, but thereafter Britain will pay off the loan in annual instalments representing both principle and interest at the rate of 2 per cent per annum. The purpose of this credit is to facilitate purchases in the United States and to assist Britain to "meet transitional post-war deficits in its current balance of payments" and "to assume the obligations of multilateral trade."

Connected with this second aim is a joint statement on commercial policy in which the governments of both countries subscribe to proposals drafted by the State Department for the expansion of world trade and employment. These proposals are to be placed before a special international conference in the course of next year. Their importance in relation to the financial agreement is that their indorsement by Britain constitutes a pledge to collaborate with the United States in reducing trade barriers, restricting cartel operations, and removing other obstacles to international commerce.

Another joint statement sets forth agreed principles for winding up Lend-Lease and Reciprocal Aid, for the settlement of mutual claims rising out of the war, and for the disposal of surplus American property in the United Kingdom. This involves the wiping out of all American claims for materials actually consumed in the course of the war but leaves the United States with the right to recapture Lend-Lease articles still in possession of the British armed forces. Including payment for Lend-Lease supplies furnished since V-J Day, Britain acknowledges a net debt of $650 million, which, apparently, is to be financed through the Export-Import Bank.

Taking this item into account, therefore, Britain is to receive in goods and credit a total of $4,400,000,000. The difference between this figure and the sum of $5 to $6 billion, either in the form of a grant-in-aid or an interest-free loan, for which the British asked in September is one measure of the "toughness" shown by the American representatives at the conference. Examination of the "waiver clause" of the financial agreement, shows the results of this toughness in a more subtle form. This clause provides, in effect that Britain's minimum import needs shall, in the event of a serious strain on its foreign-exchange resources, have priority over interest on the American credit. But in making this important concession our negotiators were most careful to include safeguards against its abuse. Thus before Britain can request a waiver of interest from the United States in any year, its other creditors must agree to a similar moratorium. Further, the necessity of such a step, in the light of Britain's balance-of-payments position, must be certificated by the International Monetary Fund, in which a majority of the votes will be controlled by the United States together with Britain's other creditors.

In spite of the extreme care which has been taken to protect American interests, the agreement with Britain is bound to be hotly attacked from many angles. Before Congress decides whether or not it will make the necessary appropriations, the Anglophobes will enjoy a field day exploiting widespread public ignorance of the realities of international economics. Nor is the agreement assured of an easy passage through the British Parliament. Over here we may consider that Uncle Sam is being excessively generous, but many Britons see him as taking advantage of their country's weakened condition to drive an extremely hard bargain.

The immediate gains offered to the United States by this agreement include the early relaxation of British exchange controls, the liquidation of the sterling area's dollar pool, so far as current transactions are concerned, and the prospect of a settlement of Britain's huge sterling debts —a mass of congealed purchasing power which, gradually released, can provide an important stimulus to world commerce. More important in the longer view is the fact that the proposed credit will place Britain in a position to cooperate with this country in reconstructing international trade on a non-discriminatory basis. The day of American isolation and economic self-sufficiency is gone forever; our prosperity in the years ahead will depend increasingly on ability to buy and sell internationally. But without the participation of Britain, the world's greatest market, no universal economic system could possibly be achieved.

The $3 billion credit to Britain, together with other loans from the dominions, will give it a chance to rebuild its foreign trade on multilateral lines. Denied aid, it would have no alternative but to organize the countries dependent on it politically and economically into a tight trading bloc. It would have to resort to every kind of device to insure the flow of imports without which it cannot exist, carefully matching purchases against sales and controlling and restricting the use of sterling even more rigidly than during the war.

The most tragic consequence of such a development would be political. A sterling bloc would inevitably lead to the formation of a dollar bloc, and economic rivalry between the two would speedily disintegrate the partnership that carried us through the war. The schism would splinter the United Nations Organization and thrust the world back into a more vicious anarchy than it has ever before experienced. It is in the light of such perspectives that our legislators must ponder the agreement. We look to them to be statesmen, not hucksters.

Plan or Perish

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

[The chairman of the British Labor Party delivered the following address at the dinner which concluded the Nation Associates' three-day forum in New York on The Challenge of the Atomic Bomb.]

I HOPE I may be regarded as an old friend of *The Nation.* May I build upon that friendship to begin with some personal words? I have come back, after six years of grim and agonizing conflict, to an America which has put me, for more than half my life, under immense obligation in the two great realms of intellect and of friendship. I am bound to begin by paying my homage to the great part that the United States has played in the organization of military victory; I hope I may live to pay a deeper homage to a great nation which makes the victory in war the prelude to victory in peace. For I suspect that all of us now recognize that military victory is an opportunity and not a fulfilment. That at least was understood by that supreme friend of democracy and freedom, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. We in Britain think of him as the outstanding American architect of what may become, given the will on our part, a better and a happier world. If that new world be built, I venture the prophesy that no name will be held in deeper reverence than his. You may have your differences with this or that item of his policies, as we in Europe have had our differences with Mr. Churchill or with Generalissimo Stalin. That does not prevent our realization that our own stature is measured by the respect we pay them. They have added a noble chapter to the history of mankind. They have given us the chance to find the secret of freedom.

But the will to use the chance before us is the pre-condition of discovering the secret. We have to make great decisions. We have to make them on the understanding that the life and death of our civilization hang upon the wisdom of our choice; boundaries, frontiers, tariffs, the ignoble imagination which associates the greatness of a state with the neutral massiveness of its power—all these seem mean and petty issues upon which to dispute before the central issue is decided. Three men hurriedly improvising a formula in a room screened from the public view cannot be accepted by any of us as having the title to decide our fate. Not even a commission of eminent specialists acting under the authority of the United Nations Organization can have that title. It is for the common people in every land to share in the shaping of their own destiny. If we proceed from any other premise than this, the victory is thrown away because the cause for which it has been fought is lost.

What follows from this premise? First, there can be no secrecy; if the common people are to decide, the full materials for decision must be made known. Secondly, there must be no blackmail of the scientist into an enforced silence; those who seek to break the international community of scientists and men of learning prostitute knowledge to the service of power. Thirdly, in the exploration of this new realm of awe-inspiring possibility, the claim of private interest to own or control materials or processes would be to impose new chains of servitude upon mankind. Adam Smith's "simple system of natural liberty," now, as I gather, in special repute in the United States, is, in this realm, the direct road to serfdom. We know the evil and the pain which were the price of the first and minor industrial revolution. No one can be forgiven who permits its repetition on a far greater scale by making the second and major industrial revolution a means to a deeper division of society into the few who know all the gain of living and the many who know nothing but its toil. Let us say explicitly what needs to be said: every implication of this discovery means planned internationalism, economic, social, political. It is an international discovery. The planning of its application has been international. The organization of its future use must be international also.

There is no nation state fit to be trusted with the development of atomic energy. There is no private interest working for profit to whom its future could be safely confided. Were this new realm to be controlled by generals or admirals, business men or professional administrators, it would become a kingdom of despair and not of hope. If anyone here tells me that the world is not ready for an international democratic government, there are at least two answers of final import. Who is responsible for that unreadiness if not the little, grasping plutocracy which has for so long made its private gain the chief end of human effort? From Amos and Hosea, through Rousseau and Jefferson, through Ruskin and Marx, through Morris and Tolstoy, that has been the single verdict of the prophet. Who is prepared to believe that this same little grasping plutocracy will undergo now a swift change of heart? The evidence is grimly unmistakable that it pays to mankind no other homage than the promises it makes in times of crisis, which it withdraws when the moment of danger is past.

I know of nothing so decisive as a judgment upon the men whose invisible empires have so largely shaped national policies as that we should stand in terror before a discovery whose peaceful development promises a future of abundance to mankind. We all think of it as a weapon of death. Already every nation prepares, through its government, to equip itself with the power to hurl death upon its fellow-nations. No people seeks that power; it is governments that seek it. They seek it because we live under a system by which the many are exploited by the few, and war is the ultimate sanction of that exploitation. War is the outcome of the exercise by governments of unlimited sovereignty. Unlimited sovereignty is essential to the preservation of those legal relations which subdue all human behavior to their service. We shall get rid of war as we get rid of those legal relations and the evil power politics they involve. We shall not get rid of it on any other terms.

The League of Nations failed because there was lacking the will to make it work. The Kellogg Pact failed because, there too, that will was lacking. We have seen governments watch with indifference the destruction of freedom in country after country because they were unwilling to pay the price the social process exacts to preserve freedom. I am not proud of the British record in the evil years of appeasement; I have a deep sense of guilt when I see the tragic spectacle of Spain. I do not think the ordinary citizen of Great Britain thought that the war was being fought to return, under any pretext, the Indonesian peoples to the sovereignty of Holland, or to organize the conditions upon which an evil social system shall be imposed in the name of law and order upon the peoples of Southeastern Europe—peoples who for the first time since the break-up of the Roman Empire see the faint dawn of hope. And let me add for myself that I accept as the acid test of the bona fides of the Labor government of Great Britain that it shall not merely declare its desire to see a free and self-governing India, but shall organize the conditions necessary to the fulfilment of its desire without the wish to delay an outcome so clearly inevitable.

If we want freedom, we must have peace. If we are to have peace, it is not enough to will its advent on the formal plane of empty desire. We must organize the conditions which make it to the interest of nation states to put war outside the frame of reference within which human impulses operate. That means that sovereignty must go; that means, also, that the interests which sovereignty protects must be recognized as outmoded in character and dangerous in operation. Just as the feudal system had to go, so the system by which the business man has made the commonwealth an unhappy dependency of the market economy has outlived its usefulness. It is clear to any honest observer that a society dominated by business men could not be trusted to create the mental climate in which the development of atomic energy would be confined within the framework of peace. They would not give the common people education because they fear its outcome. It is the business men who have split our society into two, the political society and the economic society. They have made the policeman the sanction of the first and the threat of starvation the sanction of the second. There is only one country in the world today where this dichotomy has been transcended. There is only one country, also, where science and technology can be developed without sacrificing the education of man and risking the breakdown of social well-being or community consciousness. It is significant that only in the new world of Russia has the business man ceased to count. It is also significant that one of the major preoccupations of the great vested interests is now to keep the "secret"—which is no secret—from the knowledge of Russia. You know the result—a halt to confidence and the rise of ugly suspicion about a third world war.

The first condition of peace is to subordinate a market economy to the claims of peace. It would be a bold step to take; the alternative is to permit the business man to fix the criteria by which the future of atomic discovery is determined. To do that in an age of political democracy is to force the contradiction between a society depending upon the elevation of human dignity and a society depending upon human peonage to develop to the point of conflict. The one searches for new standards of behavior, for a new education, and therefore for an ethics of life and not an ethics of death. The other needs that "beneficent private war," the law of the economic jungle, which is afraid of the democratization of knowledge, anxious for an ethics of death, eager to make leisure cheap and trivial instead of full and creative. It is not accident that our schools and colleges, our universities and foundations, even the churches, are the instruments of big business. It is not accident that the press is now a branch of big business too. It would be madness to let the purposes or the methods of private enterprise set the habits of the age of atomic energy. For those habits would then, like the habits imposed by the men who after 1789 made this world, become the habits of the new world.

M. Bernstein

Harold J. Laski

We have come to the boundaries of the final dividing line between liberalism and socialism. We are choosing between institutions which assume that freedoms must be won by the few and institutions which assume that they must be planned by the many. Either we must have power in the hands of men who use scarcity as the means of compulsion, or we must give it to men who find abundance is the instrument of freedom. There is no middle way. Free enterprise and the market economy mean war; socialism and planned economy mean peace. We must plan our civilization or we must perish.

I accept the need for the United Nations Organization in the first instance to begin the task before us. But I accept it on conditions. No secrecy; no invasion of the internationalism and the public integrity which are the glory of science and learning; no subordination of the scientist to that "practical man" who thinks it is wisdom to have habit without philosophy. Let the new institution for intellectual advance be given the chance forthwith to show that Plato was right when he said that the Minister of Education must be more important than the Minister of War. Let us show by a New Deal on a scale far wider and far more profound even than Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal that poverty is a curse of man's making even though he had the insolence to affirm its necessity by making it the outcome of God's plan for the universe. We in Britain have no more right to be content with the slum house and the slum mind than you in the United States have the right to evade the fact that you have acquiesced for eighty years in degrading twelve million Negroes by force and fraud and fear. This is not the time to rest content with a temporary plaster upon such deep and open wounds. This is the time to begin a new civilization, based on the freedom which comes when men have a map of the complex universe in which we live, have the assurance of security, and are no longer driven to work by the fear of starvation. Today we are in prisons where we have the key to freedom. When are we going to open the doors?

Do not believe for one moment that I think our task an easy one. But let us honestly face what the task is. We are societies haunted by fear and insecurity because we have made death the sanction of life and left its operation as a sanction to men who exploited its terrors to keep the many poor and ignorant and deceived. Now we know that we have reached the point where if they continue in power their demands will impose the law of the jungle upon us all; they sit there, believe me, in the dark at Nürnberg; when we indict men of their kind, we indict the same types in every society where democracy is not the participation in the processes of government by free citizens who live by the sanction of life because they have recognized necessary limitations and are thus free from fear. Nazism in all its forms is the culmination of a society built upon the anarchy of free enterprise; when it subjects man to the economy of the market, it destroys his right to be man. That is why we must alter the central principle of our civilization to planned production for community consumption. From that central principle alone flow the ethical values which can renovate and refresh this dying civilization. Without it we shall have done no more than make a supreme discovery in the art of social destruction. With it we can make a supreme application of a new power to the art of social creation.

We are before a revolution more mighty even than the vast change which came with the reorientation of men's minds effected by the scientific discoveries of Copernicus and Kepler. These required a new society and a new culture. They were obtained, but they were obtained by the degradation of the mass of mankind. Now we too require a new society and a new culture, this time a democratic culture in a free society. That prospect arouses fear and distrust in that middle class whose triumph was slowly achieved in the three hundred years after 1600. Now they want to arrest the dynamic of history at the point where their triumph is crumbling into decay. They cannot succeed and they ought not to succeed. Their day is over. Their thought is bankrupt, their ethical values are obsolete, their dogma is an angry anachronism. A new social philosophy is necessary for a new world. Let us admit it can be born only of a new social order.

Do you ask why? In the deep tempest of the Civil War Lincoln gave the answer. "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves." *We must disenthrall ourselves;* I venture to repeat those words. In no other fashion can we face this challenge with the proud confidence of free men.

America's Case at Nuernberg

BY PETER DE MENDELSSOHN

(The Nation's *correspondent at the war trials)*

Nürnberg, December 4

THE conclusion of the prosecution on Count I of the Indictment presents a suitable occasion for assessing the American contribution to this first phase of the Nürnberg trial. Listening for a fortnight exclusively to American voices in the Nürnberg courtroom led one perhaps to overlook the fact that the trial is a joint undertaking of four nations with widely different concepts and traditions of legal procedure. They may think along the same lines—they undoubtedly do—but that doesn't mean that they use the same language, actual or legal. Although the representatives of the four nations have obviously made some effort to attune and dovetail their approaches and techniques, the differences remain visible and are not the least fascinating aspect of this unique performance.

We have not yet heard the French or Russians, who will certainly contribute new features to the composite picture, but when on Tuesday Britain's new attorney general, Sir Hartley Shawcross, made his long opening statement on Count II in purest King's English, his clear, ringing voice came almost as a shock, though by no means an unpleasant one. At the same time a dark-haired, dreamy-eyed Russian youngster behind a glass panel, who turned out to be the American-educated son of the star Soviet correspondent, Troyanovski, was translating the speech into beautiful-sounding, deep-voiced, rumbling Russian, and it was exciting to switch back and forth between them. These are some of the minor but unforgettable thrills of this fantastic show.

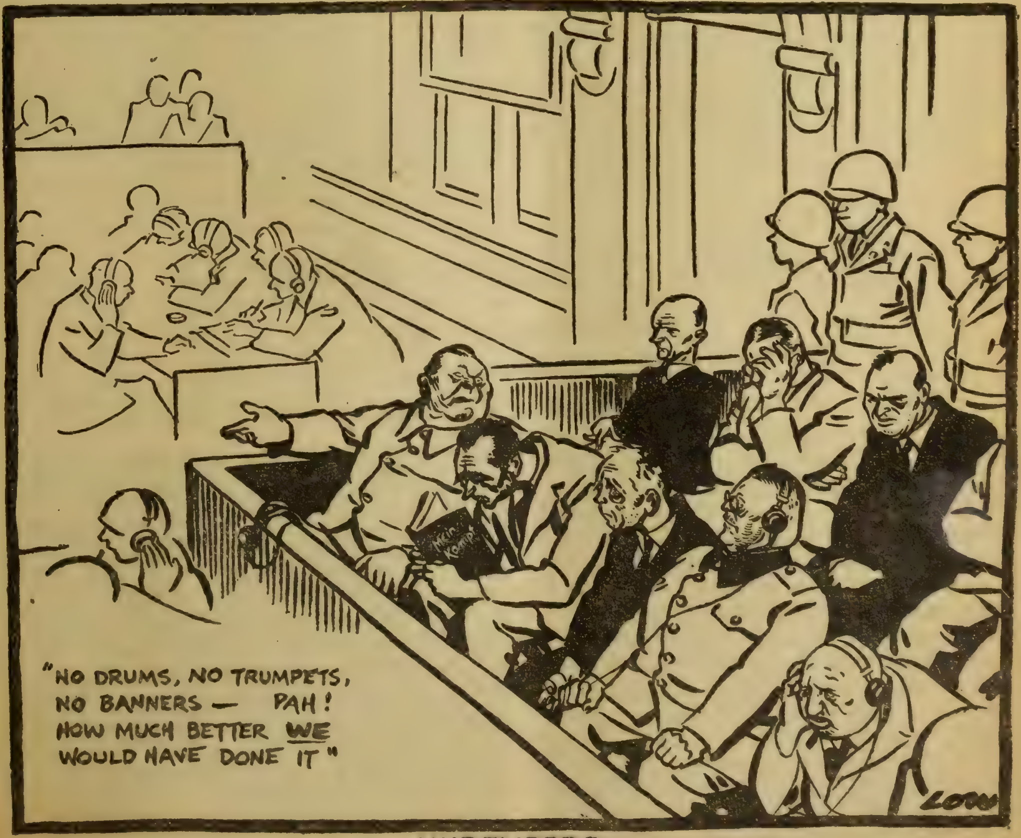
To say that it is not a purely American show is certainly not to say that the United States does not play an important and possibly predominating role. The United States had not only the opening move, which was bound to be a tricky thing in a wholly untried venture of this kind, but also the task of proving the most difficult and in many ways the most controversial part of the common charge.

The American prosecution's task was twofold: first, to establish in the eyes of the world the legitimacy of this trial, as based on the tribunal's charter and international law; second, to establish the legitimacy and admissibility of the new charge of "a common plan or conspiracy" and furnish watertight evidence thereof. Much controversy has raged and will continue to rage around both of these points. In contrast with Count I of the Indictment, Count II, which is the responsibility of the British, and Counts III and IV, which are the joint French-Russian charge, seem comparatively straightforward. (Count II is "crimes against the peace—that is, "breaches and violations of international treaties, obligations, and assurances; Count III is "war crimes," and Count IV, "crimes against humanity"—these comprise non-observance of the rules of war, acts of inhumanity, deportations, arbitrary looting, killings, and the like not connected with the conduct of war.) The Americans, therefore, took on themselves the most difficult and most important task. And if in the years to come the world has reason to be thankful that this trial was held, its gratitude will go in large measure to the United States.

In the fortnight that has passed since Justice Jackson delivered his long opening statement, its historic significance has become apparent. Whatever the future experts of international law work out—and the United Nations Organization must soon tackle this matter in practical detail—they cannot ignore the fundamentals laid down in Jackson's speech. As there stated, and as reformulated by Shawcross in his own speech with great felicity of phrase, the chief issue is: Are these defendants charged under a law which did not exist at the time they committed their crimes, and if so, what justification have the Allies for so charging them? Reduced to simplest terms, Jackson's closely knit, hard-hitting, and comprehensive answer was that these men are lucky to be given a trial at all. We are trying them not because we want to sentence them to death—that would be an easy matter on any one of the thousands of atrocity charges—but because they present us with the first opportunity to formulate and lay down a law which the world must hold to if it is to survive. If it is said that this is a new law, not authoritatively declared at the time the crimes were committed, and that its declaration has taken them by surprise, the answer is that they are really surprised that there is any such thing as law. These men ignored and defied all law. Their failure to understand the evolution of the legal thought of the world is no defense. If it is said that there is no judicial precedent for the tribunal's charter, the answer is that international law is more than a collection of abstract, immutable principles. We have the right in our own day to institute customs and conclude agreements that will themselves become the sources of a new and stronger international law.

As to individual responsibility for crimes committed at the order of a higher authority, in the name of a government or state, it has now become a truism, Justice Jackson declared, to say that "only sanctions which reach individuals can be peacefully and effectively enforced." "Of course," he continued, "the idea that a state commits crimes is a fiction. Crimes are always committed only by individuals. This trial represents mankind's desperate effort to apply the discipline of law to statesmen who have used their powers of state to attack the foundations of world peace; it is a juridical action of the kind to insure that those who start war will pay for it personally." I repeat his words here because all who heard him in the Nürnberg courtroom felt with a sudden thrill that with their utterance an all-important, irrevocable step had been taken. I believe their impact will be felt long after most people have forgotten the Nürnberg trial and Justice Jackson. If this were not true, the tribunal might as well pack up and go home, and mankind make its testament.

It was a long step down from Jackson's exposition to the actual presentation of evidence on Count I—a common



NUREMBERG

plan or conspiracy. The prosecution's thesis is that all twenty of the accused, "with divers other persons," participated in a conspiracy to prepare, instigate, and carry out a political-military program whose execution involved the crimes charged separately and specifically under the remaining three counts. It is common knowledge that when the Indictment was drawn up there was much argument over whether this count should be included at all. Many persons are still of the opinion, first, that it is a charge hard both to define and to substantiate, and, second, that it is entirely unnecessary for the purposes of this trial and introduces a dispensable complication. Crimes against the peace, plus war crimes and crimes against humanity, this school argues, would amply suffice to establish a legal precedent, which is the primary purpose of this tribunal, and to convict these twenty men, which is the secondary objective. The American delegation insisted that the conspiracy charge be included, and the immense mass of captured German files, documents, and correspondence introduced as evidence sustains their view. There can no longer be the slightest doubt that from the day Hitler assumed power he and his friends and associates knew what they were doing and intended to do. Few of the twenty will be acquitted of the conspiracy charge, least of all those who insist they had nothing to do with the "common plan," like Schacht, Papen, and Neurath.

It was with pained disappointment, therefore, that one watched the American prosecutors handle the magnificent documentary evidence in an utterly inadequate, uncomprehending way and throw away unique opportunities not only to pin certain crimes on certain defendants—mere child's play—but to teach that great history lesson for which the world was waiting. Here one of the basic faults in the plan for the trial came to light. The presentation of evidence was in the hands of three American lawyers, of whom Thomas Dodd, although he was apparently not very familiar with European or German history, was the least unequal to his task. Major Wallis, the Boston attorney, in presenting the evidence of financial conspiracy showed himself most unsure of his ground. But it was Sidney Alderman, general counsel for the Southern Railway, who finally compromised the prosecution through his grotesquely inept and amateurish handling of the material. If men of this caliber were to be given the job, they should have had the assistance of sound political advisers or, if none were available, of experienced foreign correspondents, in whom the court press gallery abounds. It was inexcusable for Alderman, after the long, detailed account of the aggression against Czechoslovakia, to be unable to give the date of the Munich agreement; it was painful to hear him admit, after a long account of secret German naval rearmament, that he had never heard of "the case of Captain Lohmann," one of the major scandals of the Weimar Republic, which revealed the navy's secret financial deals. Thus the trial defeated its own purpose. The issues are political as well as legal, and narrowing down the political aspect by a strictly legal approach, though it establishes the desired legal precedent, deprives the trial of most of its value. The political pattern, the military and diplomatic context, emerge only here and there, by accident.

A magnificent opportunity has been missed to unfold day after day before the entire world the breath-taking story of Europe during the past twelve years—the truth at last, nothing but the truth, and above all the whole truth—so that the common man in Germany might know why he is sitting where he is—on a rubble heap that once was his home. The lawyers have scored their points. But the world was entitled to expect more from Nürnberg.

Conflict in Latin America

BY MANUEL SEOANE

(Vice-President of the Peruvian Senate)

Lima, November 26

SOME months ago in an article in *The Nation* I expressed the view that at the end of the war the people of Latin America would show their determination to make the democratic victory a reality in their own countries. Recent events have justified my prognosis. In Guatemala last spring a liberal university professor, Juan José Arévalo, succeeded the sinister Juan Ubico as President. In Ecuador a democratic regime headed by José Maria Velasco Ibarra replaced the dictatorship of Arroyo del Rio. The Cuban elections ended the twelve-year-rule of Fulgencio Batista and brought Dr. Ramón Grau San Martín to office as head of a new liberal government. In Peru Dr. Bustamante y Rivero, supported by the forces of the left, won a smashing victory over his conservative rival, and the democratic Aprista Party became the strongest group in the Parliament. Then came the coup in Venezuela and the overthrow of Vargas in Brazil. Today Argentina, the Dominican Republic, and Paraguay are the only substantial bastions of totalitarianism in Latin America.

In the elections to be held on February 24, the Argentine people have a difficult but none the less imperative responsibility: Perón must be defeated. Judging by the present temper of the Argentine electorate, it is not wishful thinking to predict a victory for the anti-Perón coalition. One of the coalition parties, the Partido Radical, formerly claimed 60 per cent of the vote; today government attacks and the arrests of some of its leading members have increased its prestige and its voting strength. And it is supported by other powerful parties—the Socialist Party, which has always carried Buenos Aires; the Democráta Progresista, which has held a majority in the province of Santa Fé; the Communist Party; and even some of the old conservative groups alienated by the insolence of the Colonels' clique.

Perón has gathered around him a corrupt gang of turncoat Radicals, demagogic "labor" leaders, and jailbirds—only a few weeks ago the Peronistas staged a demonstration in Buenos Aires to demand the release of prostitutes, petty thieves, racketeers, and other prisoners convicted of misdemeanors. And he counts, too, on an ace in the hole—the support of international Nazi-fascism. Even so, he can muster only 40,000 followers in Buenos Aires, a city which numbers more than 300,000 voters. Undoubtedly election day will see bloody street fights provoked by Perón's *pistoleros,* but they will have to resort to fraud and ballot-box stuffing on a large scale to elect him.

In general the Latin American picture offers real hope of a democratic resurgence. But while several countries have ousted their dictators, reaction is still strong and thirsting for revenge. And unfortunately, it owes some of its present strength to the liberals. When fascists take power, they ruthlessly wipe out their opposition; when liberals win, they invariably guarantee freedom to everyone, including their enemies of yesterday. In Peru, for example, the Apristas organized a post-election victory celebration on May 20 at which they invited the right-wing opposition to cooperate in the reconstruction program. The defeated parties were dumbfounded; they could not believe in a generosity which they themselves had never practiced. Convinced at last that this was no trap, they declared themselves ready to cooperate with the government—and so far have used the liberties accorded them to sabotage national unity and prepare for a new assault against the incumbent regime.

Some Peruvian democrats, however, mindful of what happened in Europe as a consequence of the liberals' excessive generosity, have taken a strong stand against the policy of "liberty even to destroy liberty." As a result, the fascists have already begun to appeal to public opinion abroad, accusing the present regime of employing the same repressive measures which they themselves had used earlier. The charge is false. On the other hand, we have no intention of allowing them, in the name of democracy, to organize a fascist counter-revolution.

Until now the Peruvian fascists have not dared openly to defy the regime, first, because the government would take prompt measures to smash them, and, second, because the people of Peru, who have won a hard victory, would repudiate them. But they are working feverishly to create an atmosphere of mistrust abroad, particularly in the United States.

The Achilles heel of the new government is the difficult economic problem which it inherited from the previous regime. Upon taking office the Bustamante Cabinet announced that one of its first projects would be to settle Peru's foreign debt in order to reestablish the country's credit. To initiate a program of genuine economic reform, Peru needs the aid of foreign capital—and foreign capital, obviously, does not flow freely to countries which fail to pay their debts. The finance minister of Peru is now in the United States seeking to effect a settlement of the external debt. Upon the success of his mission depends the future of the regime and of the nation; if foreign capitalists can be induced to help develop Peru's enormous potential wealth, the country will enter a long-term period of prosperity. It is precisely this influx of capital which the reactionaries are hoping to prevent. At the same time within Peru they are endeavoring very discreetly to split the Frente Democrático Nacional, which supports the Bustamante government.

Here in Lima there is some anxiety about the attitude of England and the United States toward the Peruvian regime, particularly as it is reflected in the dispatches of the American and British news agencies. The Associated Press has as its representative in Lima the business manager of *El Comercio,* a conservative, anti-government daily. One of the owners of *El Comercio* is known as the "Goebbels" of Franco; he has carried on the kind of intensive propaganda campaign in behalf of fascist Spain that one usually associates with an official government agency. The head of the United Press in Lima is a brother of the A. P. representative, while the news editor of *El Comercio* is the Reuters correspondent. In short, all the news that reaches the United States and Great Britain through the channels of the major news agencies is written in the office of one of Peru's most anti-democratic papers!

Peruvian liberals will continue their all-out fight against the native fascists, but they are convinced that no country of Latin America can achieve full democracy as long as isolated fortresses of fascism like Argentina are allowed to survive and as long as Franco continues to misuse Spain's prestige in Hispanic America. In a recent declaration the Uruguayan Foreign Minister, Rodríguez Larreta, denounced the concept that within its own frontiers a government may act as it pleases, even if, as in the case of Argentina, its pleasure is to work for the overthrow of neighbor democracies. The Uruguayan position represents a healthy reaction against the vacillating policy enunciated in the Charter of Chapultepec. It courageously accepts the principle of intervention—intervention not by a single country but by all the countries of the Americas acting jointly in accordance with an accepted democratic agreement.

But future inter-American cooperation should not be limited to the political field. The Aprista Party of Peru has proposed an Inter-American Economic Congress; the history of foreign investment in Mexico, Central America, and even Peru makes clear the necessity of a coordinated hemispheric policy that will substitute social progress and economic democracy for exploitation, abuse, and counter-revolution. This proposal has been enthusiastically received by other Latin American countries; indeed, Chile has asked to be kept informed of all developments with regard to the project. But the Apristas count, above all, on the liberals in the United States to build up popular support for a policy of intelligent, democratic, and permanent inter-American cooperation that will make it impossible for reaction to destroy the people's victory before a single one of its fruits has been realized.

IN COMING ISSUES

The article on Wisconsin appearing on page 657 is the first of a series by Carey McWilliams, who is traveling through the Middle West and West.

Mr. McWilliams will report particularly on political thinking and political tendencies in the regions covered.

The Italian Crisis

BY LEO VALIANI

(Editor of the Milan daily Italia Libera *and a member of the Provisional Parliament)*

ON REPEATED occasions following the armistice with Italy in 1943 United Nations leaders promised the Italian people all possible aid in their efforts to set up a stable, democratic government. At the same time, the Italian anti-Fascist parties were asked to recognize the armistice signed by Marshal Badoglio, which placed the entire political and economic life of the Italian nation under the control of the Allies. Because Italian anti-fascism had faith in the promises of the democracies and wished to demonstrate its loyalty by making possible Italy's participation in the war against Germany, it recognized the armistice, though it had no part in concluding it. By so doing, the Italian anti-Fascists bound themselves, in the opinion of most Italians, to active and fruitful collaboration with the democratic powers. When the leaders of the partisan army then operating in northern Italy behind the German lines were asked by the Allied High Command to recognize the armistice, they agreed to do so because they placed the effective conduct of the war against the Nazis above all else.

In May, 1945, Allied representatives recognized that the Committee of National Liberation of Northern Italy had acquired great prestige throughout the country by having aroused and vigorously directed the anti-German and anti-Fascist revolt, and assured the committee that if it could reach an agreement with the political leaders in Rome and form a coalition government which would abide by the terms of the armistice, the abrogation of that document would be hastened and Italy would the sooner regain its place among free nations. These assurances contributed greatly to the formation of the government presided over by Ferruccio Parri, the most prominent leader of the resistance. When the Parri government was established, the Allies expressed approval of its democratic program and promised support.

By the terms of the armistice northern Italy, the richest and strongest part of the country, was to be ruled by the Allied Military Government as soon as the Anglo-American troops entered Milan, Turin, Genoa, and Venice, though these cities had liberated themselves by the armed insurrection of their inhabitants. This region should have been returned to the jurisdiction of the Italian government on September 1, 1945. Then the armistice should have been replaced by a treaty that would permit Italy to enter the United Nations Organization. This, of course, has not been done. To be sure, the Allies, particularly the United States, have contributed material help—UNRRA is greatly appreciated in Italy—but a country so devastated by war as Italy needs more than bread. (Even bread is very scarce: the daily allowance at present is 200 grams and will soon be reduced.) Without liberty and justice there can be no stable democracy and therefore no organic economic reconstruction.

All the factories saved by the partisans from German destruction are located in northern Italy. With the AMG in control there it is difficult for the Italian government to avail itself of the region's wealth, much of which has been sequestered because it was owned by Fascists but cannot, under AMG, be nationalized or sold to the profit of the state. Moreover, since AMG works through regional set-ups, the economy of northern Italy, which should function as a unit, is administered by five regional offices—Lombardy, Venetia, Piedmont, Emilia, and Liguria—without any central coordination. Under these conditions properly planned reconstruction is impossible.

Allied journalists in Italy often complain about the lawlessness and gangsterism. One reason is that the Italian government was deprived by the armistice of the right to acquire arms for its police. Yet one-third of the total Italian budget goes for military expenses because the armistice prevents the government from demobilizing the army and navy.

Italian relations with other countries are made very difficult by the armistice. It is clear that the French government is inclined to come to a democratic agreement with anti-Fascist Italy, but the latter is prevented by the armistice from undertaking the necessary *démarches*. Even commercial treaties, which might be concluded today with France, Switzerland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Latin America, are made difficult by the armistice. Until Italy is admitted to the United Nations Organization, it cannot adhere to the Bretton Woods agreements, by which the Italian currency might still be saved from uncontrolled inflation, or get back its merchant fleet.

The general elections in Italy are to take place next April. In these elections the people will decide the fate of the monarchy, which for twenty years was an accomplice of fascism. The majority of the people are undoubtedly for a republic; five of the six parties now on the political scene have already come out for one. However, we must expect the monarchy to use every possible method to save itself; its latest maneuver is to place the responsibility for the failure to abolish the armistice on the republican parties, and particularly on Parri. Old, conservative political leaders like Nitti and ex-Fascist newspapermen like the editor of *L'Uomo qualunque* were mobilized to blame Parri for the failure of his policy of cooperation with the democratic nations. Public opinion is naturally perplexed; it may give ear to the neo-nationalists if it becomes convinced that Italian democracy is not supported by the great democratic powers.

The Liberal Party, which is in reality the conservative and monarchical party, used this charge in its attack on the coalition government of which it was a part. According to the Liberal Party, the repercussions of the international situation are more vital in Italian public opinion than the anti-fascism which still animates Parri. At the last moment, the powerful Catholic Party headed by Alcide de Gasperi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, joined the Liberal-Conservatives and asked Parri to resign.

A few hours before this crisis was reached in Rome, Ernest Bevin made his speech on foreign policy before the House of Commons. It would have been simple for the Labor Foreign Secretary to strengthen the position of the Italian democratic government. Instead, he limited himself to advising the Italian people to place reconstruction problems above political problems. His statement could have been interpreted as favorable to Parri, who is known as a student of economic problems rather than as a professional politician. But the Liberal-Conservatives were able to use it to support their thesis that the anti-Fascist government, which was of course a political government, should make way for a government of so-called technicians—among whom might be found a large number of monarchists. Thus Bevin's words, contrary to the speaker's wishes, not only failed to avert the Italian governmental crisis but actually hastened it. It is reported in Washington that the State Department recently proposed to London and Moscow that the Italian armistice be abrogated and an "interim peace arrangement" concluded. It is a pity that this step, which had been urged by Parri several months ago, was not taken in time to save his government.

As I write, De Gasperi is trying to form a new government. This solution of the crisis is a step toward the right, although the leftist parties will undoubtedly hold important posts in the new Cabinet. De Gasperi has always been an opponent of fascism but is still hesitating with respect to the abolition of the monarchy.

The political trend in Italy is inseparably connected with Italy's position in the world. A progressive, democratic, stable government presupposes that Italy becomes a free member of a democratic United Nations Organization.

The Wisconsin Riddle

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

(A contributing editor of The Nation*)*

Milwaukee, December 6

A CROSS-COUNTRY trip that has taken me into a dozen or more communities in eight states has convinced me that political alignments in the 1946 Congressional elections are likely to be as unsettled and confused as ever before in our history. In every state I have visited political leaders have told me that "the fences are down" and that "the situation is wide open." The personal popularity so long enjoyed by Franklin D. Roosevelt had many curious effects on political allegiances. It held together various bizarre alliances, retarded to some extent logical political tendencies, and in a number of states actually prevented the formation of compact Democratic Party organizations. Roosevelt's death, therefore, created a vacuum which is only now beginning to be filled by the establishment of new alliances and organizations. I believe that 1946 political alignments throughout the country are more interestingly foreshadowed in Wisconsin than in any other state I have visited. Solve the present Wisconsin riddle, and you might be able to forecast the 1946 elections.

The principal reason why Wisconsin possesses this exceptional interest is that it is the only state in which a functioning third party exists—the La Follette Progressive Party. Everywhere I went I found evidence that pointed pretty conclusively to the likelihood of a third-party movement, if not in 1946, then in 1948. With so much "third-party talk" in the air, the question of what the La Follettes will do in Wisconsin acquires national importance. At the moment Milwaukee is buzzing with excitement over a recent resolution adopted by a local Republican organization inviting the La Follettes back into the Republican Party. After considerable debate the wording of the resolution was finally changed so as to substitute "welcome" for "invitation." It is interesting to note that the author of the resolution was Lansing Hoyt, chairman of the Third Ward Republican organization in Milwaukee and chairman in pre-Pearl Harbor days of the America First movement in Wisconsin—in active association with Phil La Follette. At present Mr. Hoyt is devoting much of his time to a new organization whose purpose is to "safeguard the atomic-bomb secret for America." It is also interesting to note that his invitation to the La Follettes to join up with the Republicans was eloquently seconded by "Ham" Fish, who just happened to be in Milwaukee at the time.

An invitation to the La Follettes from the Democratic Party ranks has come from Daniel W. Hoan, long Mayor of Milwaukee, and the nominee of the Democratic Party for governor in 1944. In recent months Mr. Hoan has been building up a liberal league within the Democratic Party—he claims an organization now in some thirteen counties of the state. From time to time he has suggested that the La Follettes should come into the Democratic Party. With the two parties apparently actively wooing the brothers, whose Progressive Party organization was nearly liquidated in the 1944 election, the political prestige of both Phil and Bob has been enhanced. Able politicians that they are, both, of course, are remaining silent and permitting the speculation to spread. It has been intensified by Phil's return to Wisconsin, following his release from service on the staff of General MacArthur. He has been speaking to numerous service clubs and business organizations, using as his principal themes distrust of the Soviet Union and praise for the genius of Douglas MacArthur. No one with whom I talked in Milwaukee believes that Senator La Follette's views and political beliefs can be separated from those of his dynamic brother, who is generally regarded as "*the* La Follette mind." I was told in all quarters that Phil La Follette is the strategist, the brains, the real force in the Progressive Party.

Most people incline to the belief that Phil La Follette, noting the trend toward a third party, hopes to head off the drive for a really progressive third party by seizing the leadership of the movement now or by organizing, if necessary, a demagogic third-party movement of his own. Whatever he does is likely to confuse any effort to further a third-party movement, now or later, by the C. I. O.-P. A. C. and the N. C. P. A. C. Those persons who believe that the La Follettes will return to the Republican fold reason that Phil La Follette is merely using MacArthur as a front to disguise his own ambition to become a key figure in the 1948 Republican convention—and its nominee, if not for the Presidency, then for the Vice-Presidency. My own conclusion, reached after talks with a large number of people, is that the La Follettes intend, if possible, to seize control of the developing third-party sentiment in the country.

The evidence supporting this view is pretty convincing. According to responsible political observers in Milwaukee, President Roosevelt had an important conference with the La Follettes in 1936. At this conference he is supposed to have invited them to join the Democratic Party, to have offered Phil La Follette the appointment as ambassador to the Soviet Union, and to have said that he regarded Senator La Follette as his eventual successor. It seems, however, that Phil wanted to be named director of the WPA, a position to which the President was reluctant to appoint him. In consequence, the merger fell through, and in 1938 Phil La Follette, with great fanfare, attempted to launch his ill-fated National Progressive Party. In the light of these facts it seems improbable that the La Follettes would now swing into the Democratic Party. But what about the Republican offer?

In 1946 Senator La Follette will be up for reelection—it is generally assumed that he will run. In a non-presidential year he is hardly likely to surrender his pivotal position as a Progressive by joining either the Republicans or the Democrats. Moreover, despite the current efforts to lure him into the Republican Party, it looks as if he would have difficulty in obtaining the Republican nomination if he should decide to run as a Republican. In the last senatorial contest in Wisconsin Captain "Joe" McCarthy, although in the service and therefore absent from the state, gave Senator Wiley a close race for the nomination. McCarthy, a Circuit Court judge, enlisted in the marines as a private and rose to the rank of captain. He is now back in Wisconsin and actively campaigning for the Republican nomination, speaking all over the state *against* compulsory military service in peace time. A likable person and a good campaigner, McCarthy, I was told, is extremely popular. Thus if Senator La Follette abandoned his position as a Progressive, he would be staking his political future on a contest in the primaries in which he might be defeated.

The leading candidate for the 1946 Democratic senatorial nomination seems to be Howard MacMurray, now back at the University of Wisconsin as an instructor. MacMurray is conceded a good chance of winning the nomination but not of being elected. He is an advocate of Union Now, and when he ran last time, he disappointed many of his followers by trying to keep his campaign dissociated from Roosevelt's. In a race between McCarthy, La Follette, and MacMurray—as Republican, Progressive, and Democratic nominees—the labor vote would be split between La Follette and MacMurray, and McCarthy would have an excellent chance of being elected. Some of the labor leaders with whom I talked freely admitted this possibility but said that their primary objective in supporting MacMurray would be the defeat of Senator La Follette. This may sound strange to liberals and progressives outside Wisconsin, but I found widespread distrust of Senator La Follette in the Milwaukee labor movement and a belief that he is the pawn of his ambitious brother. Labor also shows great resentment of the fact that Progressive Party elements brought about the election of Senator Wiley by splitting the labor-progressive vote. Senator La Follette apparently retains strong support in the farming areas, among the leadership of the A. F. of L. unions, and in certain sections of the C. I. O. The left-wing elements in Milwaukee, however, are out to liquidate what they term the "phony liberalism" of the La Follettes. They also believe that in trying to build up a liberal league within the Democratic Party Dan Hoan has it in mind to swing these groups, largely the old Socialist element, behind Senator La Follette at the last moment. Neither the Hoan Democrats nor the La Follette Progressives look with favor on the C. I. O.-P. A. C. or the N. C. P. A. C.

John L. Lewis, in 1940, predicted a four-way split in American politics—the rise of a people's movement to the left of the Democratic Party and of a demagogic movement outside the Republican Party. (As I said above, the political situation in many parts of the country is extremely confused: in Illinois a fight is on in Republican ranks between Governor Dwight Green and Attorney General George F. Barrett over the Green-Kelly coalition; in Minnesota it is rumored that Stassen may support Senator Shipstead for reelection in 1946; in California Governor Warren is playing ambivalent "non-partisan" politics.) Many Milwaukee labor leaders associate Lansing Hoyt's demagoguery about the atomic bomb with "Ham" Fish's appearance in Milwaukee and with Phil La Follette's beating of the drums for General MacArthur—who still retains residence in Wisconsin—and also with the recent conference in Washington between Charles Lindbergh and fifteen isolationist Congressmen. They foresee a fancy nationalist coalition in 1946, with third-party "liberal" trimmings, under the leadership of Phil La Follette. They believe that the La Follette Progressives, at their April conference, will decide to remain independent, and that Senator La Follette will run for reelection as a Progressive.

As an organization the Democratic Party in Wisconsin is weak and formless. Many liberals believe that the party leaders have purposely kept the party weak. They point out that Leo Crowley, who brought about the last-minute support of Senator La Follette for Roosevelt in 1940, has given most of the patronage of the state to the La Follettes. They insist that in 1940 President Roosevelt did not need Senator La Follette's support; that, on the contrary, it was the Senator who, as the final vote showed, badly needed identification with the President. However, the Democratic Party is being reconstituted; on November 10 State Senator Robert Tehan was chosen National Committeeman over Lavy Dilweg, the Dan Hoan candidate, by a vote of forty-two to seven. Senator Tehan, I am told, is friendly and cooperative toward the C. I. O.-P. A. C. and the N. C. P. A. C. Obviously the "fences are down" in Wisconsin, and what happens there in 1946 may have an important influence on the developing new alignments looking toward 1948.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Wool-Gathering in Washington

WILLIAM C. CLAYTON, Assistant Secretary of State in charge of economic affairs, is one of the busiest men in Washington and, I imagine, one of the most sorely tried. For the past ten weeks or so a good deal of his time has been taken up by the economic-financial negotiations with Britain. On his shoulders has fallen the major burden of trying to persuade Britain to abandon its restrictionist trade policies and lend its support to the State Department program for implementing the fourth clause of the Atlantic Charter. It has been necessary for him to hold forth at length on the evil consequences to world trade of such devices as import quotas and government bulk purchasing. Mr. Clayton appears to have succeeded in this task by securing British indorsement of American proposals for an international trade organization. But it must have been embarrassing for him, to say the least, to be forced, more than once during the negotiations, to rush down to the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue in an attempt to head off some Congressional scheme completely at variance with the principles he was urging on the British.

As an example, let us take a look at the current campaign to save the sheep farmers from "ruin." Under pressure from the American Wool Growers' Association a special Senate Wool Committee has been organized, with Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming, one of the leading pastoral states, as chairman. Although the sheep herders have the benefit of a very large tariff on imported wool, they complain that they are persistently undersold. After paying duty, Australian wool, it is asserted, is quoted at 7 to 11 cents a pound below domestic ceiling prices, even though these do not cover American production costs. Consequently, it is alleged, the sheep-herding industry is rapidly declining, with the ranges now carrying 40,500,000 head against a ten-year average of 46,406,000.

This decline has taken place in the face of special support given to wool-growers during the war, first, by the policy of specifying domestic fiber for service requirements whenever possible, second, by a commitment of the Commodity Credit Corporation to buy all wool offered at the ceiling. Next June 30 this guaranty will expire, however, which is one reason why the wool-growers are pressing for action now. Another is the existence of the huge stocks of wool held by the Empire Wool Pool, controlled by the British government, which bought dominion war-time crops at a guaranteed price. The pool holds 3,300,000,000 pounds, which compares with a normal annual world production of 4,000,000,000. A surplus of this size is bound to discourage rising prices.

A number of different proposals have been placed before the special Senate committee. The one most favored by the wool-growers is a quota system which would place a definite limit on the amount which each exporting country could ship into the American market each year. If this were to be supplemented by a tariff increase, so much the better, but import duties by themselves, it is argued, would not suffice to safeguard what is euphemistically called the "competitive position" of American wool. A more original plan has been worked out by Dean J. A. Hill of the University of Wyoming, who has suggested that the government should monopolize the purchase and sale of all wool, domestic and foreign, consumed in this country. The advantage of this scheme is that it would enable the government to average the price and resell at something between a high domestic quotation and a comparatively low foreign one. On the other hand, it would put the government into the business of wholesale trading, which, when undertaken by Britain, evokes the condemnation of all right-minded supporters of free enterprise.

Obviously none of these solutions for wool are acceptable to Mr. Clayton. The imposition of import quotas, he told the Senate committee on November 20, "would be contrary to everything the State Department is trying to do to open up the channels of international trade." According to orthodox free-market economics, in which Mr. Clayton is reported to believe, the proper course would be to let the forces of supply and demand settle the volume of American wool production. But since such a proposal would certainly be badly received in the Senate, Mr. Clayton suggested a subsidy—probably the least harmful method of protection.

A subsidy would be a burden on the citizen as taxpayer but a lighter, if more visible, burden than that which would be imposed on the citizen as consumer by the quota-tariff plan. For the latter would add directly to prices and mean increased margins at every point from the sheep to the tailor. Moreover, with the cost of their raw material increased, woolen manufacturers, already uneasy about post-war foreign competition, would almost certainly clamor in turn for higher import duties, even though these already amount to almost 100 per cent on some types of cloth.

It is rather quaint that Senator O'Mahoney, who is apparently committed to more protection for the wool-growers, should be urging broader uses for wool as a solution for the surplus problem. It seems improbable that an additional charge of, say, $5 to $10 a suit is going to encourage me to buy more clothes. Nor is a policy which will exaggerate the difficulties of countries producing large export surpluses calculated to make them prosperous and better able to buy American goods.

Another point that the wool-growers and their Congressional supporters have overlooked in their anxiety for higher prices is that they are beginning to meet competition from a source which cannot be stifled by trade barriers. The weight of rayon consumed in this country is already greater than the weight of wool. Aralac, a synthetic fiber made from milk casein, is on the market at 64 cents a pound, not much more than half the price of wool, and several other processes for manufacturing protein fibers of a wool type, either from such vegetables as the soybean or from animal substances, are ripe for development. Instead of wool-gathering in Washington the sheep farmers ought to be searching intensively for cheaper ways of producing better wool. Otherwise they may find in a few years that they and their flocks have been by-passed on the road of technical progress.

KEITH HUTCHISON

The People's Front

THE fiftieth anniversary of the Coronation of the Virgin of Guadalupe was a feast of folklore, rich in the music and rhythm and visual beauty through which the temperament of Mexico finds expression. But behind the emotion and pageantry was a carefully prepared political mobilization by the Catholic church against the principles that gave birth to the Mexican Revolution.

From sun-up until far into the night of Sunday, October 7, an almost unending stream of 300,000 Mexicans thronged the road leading from Laredo to Mexico City. Ten thousand cars clogged the highway. In the square before the basilica of the Virgin the strains of the Mexican national anthem mingled with those of popular tunes and hymns. The massed flags of Mexico and the Vatican seemed almost to fuse in the breeze. The two most energetic reactionary organizations, Acción Católica Mexicana and the Caballeros de Colón, were on hand, establishing the political character of the celebration. An atmosphere of expectancy held the crowd as they awaited the arrival of the special papal emissary, Cardinal Villeneuve, Archbishop of Quebec. Here, side by side, stood the church mystical and the church militant. But throughout the week-long celebration it was the church militant which dominated the scene.

In direct violation of the Mexican constitution, which provides that "ministers of religion will not be permitted, either in private or in public meeting, to criticize the basic laws of the country, the authorities, or the government," the celebration was a bitter attack on the accomplishments of the revolution. During one week Mexico seemed to be retreating a hundred years to the days before Benito Juárez proclaimed the freedom of conscience and drove the clergy back into the churches. On October 8 inside the basilica a demonstration took place against the Spanish republic in exile, which has been officially recognized by President Avila Camacho. To the music of the Spanish monarchist anthem played on the church organ old Spanish residents who are Franco sympathizers paraded through the church carrying the flag of the monarchy. As they filed past the altar, a Mexican bishop exclaimed with joy, "There is the true Spain."

The clerical offensive staged at the shrine of Guadalupe is not limited to Mexico. It is under way throughout the entire Western Hemisphere. In the final ceremony on October 12, which was attended by sixty-six Mexican and foreign prelates, the Archbishop of Mexico, Monseñor Luis María Martínez, declared, "Our Virgin asks more than a temple in Mexico. She wants as her temple the whole American continent. This we did not understand until now." The Archbishop might have been enlightened earlier had he read a cable by Karl von Wiegand which the Mexican press published shortly before the celebration. Writing from Madrid, an excellent sounding-board of Vatican intentions, the Hearst correspondent said: "Pius XII is studying the way to initiate a reorientation of the Holy See toward the American countries." The Catholic church is worried, he continued, by the advance of communism in Europe. It has lost Poland, and its situation in Rumania and Hungary is becoming increasingly precarious. For that reason, "Rome is busy creating a new papal diplomacy able to deal with North and South America." Actually it is not new, for hundreds of Spanish priests dispatched by Franco to South America have long been engaged in this kind of diplomacy, with no small measure of success, as events in Argentina testify.

Spurred by the success of the Guadalupe celebration, the clerical campaign mounted in intensity. A few weeks later a church-inspired student strike broke out in the University of Mexico. Defying the police, the students intrenched themselves in the university buildings and declared a hunger strike. What they wanted was a head-on clash between strikers and police that would provoke a wave of anti-government sentiment. But with admirable forbearance the rector of the university, Professor Fernandez MacGregor, refused their challenge to violence, and the strike began to peter out. At this point the parents took over from the students and carried on the agitation even inside the university. They created the Sociedad de Padres de Alumnos Universitarios, ostensibly in opposition to the rector, but clearly anti-government in character. I spoke to several professors none of whom can be classified as radical; they were all convinced that the Jesuits had had a hand in the affair.

During the Guadalupe festival the metropolitan press was almost solidly on the side of the church. An outstanding exception was the magazine *Tiempo*, whose editor, Martín Luis Guzmán, wrote, "If the Mexican Revolution is sincerely disposed to leave the Catholic church in peace, it is on condition that the church leave the revolution in peace. It is naive to expect the revolution to stand by passively while reaction exploits a fanatical section of the population to destroy Mexico's nascent democracy."

To counteract the pro-clerical press campaign, a group of independent intellectuals immediately launched a new magazine entitled *1945*. The first issue contained a double-page poster reproducing flaming headlines from the major newspapers during Guadalupe week. The caption read: "Day before yesterday this press was eagerly accepting all the money that Nazi-Fascist agents could offer it. Yesterday, when the victory of the democracies became certain, it dipped into the purses of the most imperialist section of the winning coalition. Today it turns to the clergy for largess. And what has it to give in return? The most vital interests of the 'Mexican fatherland' and 'our beloved country.'"

I was in Canada when Cardinal Villeneuve returned from his mission to Mexico. In public statements and private conversations he boasted of the great victory achieved by the church. But His Eminence forgot one thing—Mexico is not Quebec, and Mexican reaction has always paid with blood for every provocation.

DEL VAYO

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

GREECE—THE E. A. M. WHITE BOOK

BY L. S. STAVRIANOS

ON FEBRUARY 1, 1945, in the little provincial town of Trikkala, Thessaly, the Greek National Liberation Front (E. A. M.) published its White Book.* This was a collection of 108 documents covering the period from the Lebanon conference of May, 1944, to the conclusion of the armistice between General Scobie and the E. A. M. in January, 1945. The cumulative effect of these documents is devastating—for British Toryism and Greek reaction. If there was ever any question about the nature of British policy in Greece and the responsibility for the tragic fighting in Athens in December, 1944, this book provides a conclusive answer.

Before the liberation of Greece in October, 1944, the principal problem was to establish a national government which would include not only King George's ministers but also representatives of the E. A. M. resistance movement. Various issues delayed the organization of such a government, and British and Greek government spokesmen accused the E. A. M. of obstructionism. The E. A. M., on July 29, 1944, waived all its conditions for entering the Papandreou government except one—that Papandreou be displaced as Premier. Papandreou himself replied by wire on August 5: "I, personally, give you the assurance that . . . the person of the present Premier of the government will not constitute an obstacle to national unity." Naturally this was taken to mean that Papandreou was ready to retire from the scene, and accordingly the E. A. M. made preparations to send representatives to join the Cabinet.

But on August 10 the E. A. M. received the following telegram: "Because of official confidential communication of British government refusing to accept change of government's Premier on the eve of liberation, the Liberal, Progressive, Agrarian, and Democratic parties are making a final appeal to send your representatives to assume their places in the government as it now stands." This was signed by four Ministers—Venizelos and Rentis of the Liberal Party, Sakalis of the Progressive Party, and Mylonas of the Agrarian Democratic Party—none of whom have challenged the authenticity of the dispatch. In other words, even while Greece was still under Nazi rule, the Churchill government was ready to sacrifice Greek national unity to keep its puppet, Premier Papandreou, in office.

After the liberation of Greece the chief task was to obtain, in the words of Papandreou, the "arming of the state and the disarming of the organizations." All parties accepted this formula; the issue was whether the resistance forces alone should be disarmed or whether, as the E. A. M. insisted, the disarmament provisions should be extended to include the Greek government's Mountain Brigade, which was known to be rabidly royalist and bent on the return of the King (see *The Nation* of December 23, 1944). It was this dispute which disrupted the negotiations and led to armed strife. Hitherto the details of these all-important negotiations have been unknown. The E. A. M. documents show clearly who was responsible for their breakdown. On November 2 Papandreou initialed a plan for the demobilization of the Mountain Brigade as well as the resistance forces. This was acceptable to the E. A. M., and a settlement appeared imminent, when suddenly Papandreou reversed his position and insisted that the Mountain Brigade be preserved, explaining that "this is the opinion of the British government and of the Allied High Command." Although the E. A. M. proposed a compromise plan to break the deadlock, Papandreou refused to budge from his position, and the result was civil war. Evidence from other sources bears out this statement concerning British responsibility for the bloody Battle of Athens. Leland Stowe, after a first-hand investigation in Greece, reported in the New York *Post* of February 15, 1945, that Papandreou "gave an E. A. M. minister a letter from Scobie which said Prime Minister Churchill would not permit the royalist Mountain Brigade to be disbanded. This is why the attempt to disarm the political factions in Greece first failed, as confirmed by the American ambassador in Greece."

Once hostilities had broken out, the problem was how to end them at the earliest possible moment. Papandreou, apparently frightened by the violence and bloodshed, decided to resign, and the Liberal Party leader, Themistocles Sophoulis, was ready to form a new government with the express support of the E. A. M. But British intervention once again prevented the Greeks from settling their differences peacefully. This is the testimony of Sophoulis, who, incidentally, is an octogenarian, very conservative, and anti-E. A. M.:

> On December 4 I was asked by Mr. Papandreou to form a new government. The left wing and the other parties consented to this, that is, that I head the government. I agreed, as I saw in this step a good solution for the problems which had arisen. On December 5 the British Ambassador informed me that according to the latest instructions he had received, the British Premier was not in accord with any changes in the person of the president of the government in the present situation. General Scobie requested that I support Mr. Papandreou, and I told him that if I consented to support the Papandreou government this would mean that I would be supporting the dictatorship, a thing which I cannot do.

Churchill had his way. Papandreou remained Premier, but the fighting continued; and before it ceased, 11,000 persons were killed, 6,500 of them civilians.

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* "E. A. M. White Book. March, 1944-March, 1945." Reprinted in Athens. Translated and published in the United States by the Greek American Council, 152 West Forty-second Street, New York. $1.

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In order to neutralize outraged world opinion British "public-relations" experts were sent to Athens, where they immediately began to put out stories about the barbarity of the E. A. M. fighters and especially about their uncivilized practice of taking civilian hostages. Here are the facts concerning these hostages. After the first few days of fighting, when it became clear that the "silly little band of Communists"—Ambassador Leeper's estimate of the E. A. M.—was not going to give up easily, General Scobie began to take civilian hostages from the working-class districts, shipping some to North Africa and keeping others in concentration camps in or about Athens-Piraeus. By December 10 the number of British-held hostages exceeded 10,000. The E. A. M. Central Committee protested repeatedly to Archbishop Damaskinos and others, but the arrests continued. In mid-December, therefore, the E. A. M. as a necessary measure of defense for its sympathizers, ordered that civilian hostages should be taken, but on December 28 and on several other days it offered to release all its hostages if Scobie would do the same. No reply to this offer was ever received. While I am on the subject, it may not be irrelevant to mention that at the moment of writing several thousand Greek anti-fascists are held in British concentration camps in Egypt, Libya, and East Africa, their crime being that they "mutinied" in April, 1944, in order to force the British and their puppet, King George, to allow E. A. M. representation in the government in exile (see *The Nation* of May 13, 1944).

The "White Book" contains many other surprising documents, such as the almost unbelievable telegram of Regent Damaskinos to the E. A. M. Central Committee informing it that it must send an exclusively Communist delegation to the Varkiza peace conference, and even naming two of the three delegates. It is not difficult to imagine how quickly this additional proof of its domination by Communists would have been broadcast had the E. A. M. complied with the Regent's demand.

The Varkiza agreement was signed on February 12, 1945. In return for surrendering its arms the E. A. M. was promised freedom to engage in political activities, and the government guaranteed civil and political liberties and undertook to organize a non-political national army. It is worth noting here that the E. A. M. later published a second White Book—"Violations of Varkiza, February-June, 1945" (Athens, 1945)—showing that the Varkiza agreement had not been carried out. This second collection of documents has not been translated, but it is no secret in this country that the provisions of the agreement were not fulfilled (see *The Nation* of November 3, 1945). The persecution of liberal as well as left-wing elements in Greece, has approximated a nation-wide reign of terror; the Minister of Justice admitted in July that 13,000 persons were in jail. The new army now being organized is royalist from top to bottom, the National Guard includes a large number of quisling Security Battalion men, and the chief of the Athens police force is a notorious collaborationist who, after serving under Metaxas, retained his position during the occupation. It might be added that an estimated 70,000 British troops are being maintained in Greece to preserve "law and order."

The comprehensiveness and authority of the E. A. M.

White Books become evident when they are compared with the British and Papandreou publications. Papandreou's "The Liberation of Greece" (Athens, 1945) contains documents covering the period from December, 1943, to his resignation as Premier in January, 1945. It is a pity that this collection has not been translated, for one seldom reads an apologia which so thoroughly damns its author. The documents Papandreou excluded are not more damaging to him than those he included. For example, he gives the text of a telegram to Churchill and Eden in which he declared that he was "seriously disturbed by the situation developing in Greece, where the regions evacuated by the Germans are being occupied by the E. A. M." "I consider it my duty," he said, "to communicate to you my conviction that in the face of this developing critical situation, political means for coping with it are no longer adequate. Only the immediate appearance of impressive British forces in Greece, and up to the Turkish frontier, will suffice to alter the situation." The date of this telegram was September 22, 1944. The E. A. M. representatives had entered the government on September 2. Obviously Papandreou could not have consulted them before sending this message to the British leaders. In other words, the Greek Premier, on his own initiative and without the knowledge or consent of his Cabinet, was appealing to the heads of a foreign state to furnish armed forces to be used against an organization which he had invited into his government and to which he had given six of twenty Cabinet seats. A comparison of the Papandreou and E. A. M. documents reveals also that Papandreou failed to publish the key documents concerning the most significant event of his premiership, the outbreak of armed hostilities.

The British government has presented its side of the story in a White Paper entitled "Documents Regarding the Situation in Greece" (London, 1943). This consists of depositions of prominent Greeks and of British diplomatic and military representatives to the effect that the E. A. M. was taking hostages and committing wholesale atrocities. The hostages have been dealt with above. The reports of atrocities seem to have had some influence; they were repeated by Sir Walter Citrine after his mission to Greece to investigate the conditions of Greek trade unions ("Interim Report of Delegation from the British Trades Union Conference," London, 1945). The evidence indicates clearly that undisciplined elements on both sides were guilty of atrocities. But there is no more reason for believing that the E. A. M. excesses were authorized or condoned by the E. A. M. leadership than for holding General Scobie responsible for the excesses of the British and Greek-government troops. And if any reader doubts that both British officers and soldiers committed atrocities in Greece, he is invited to read Document 95 of the "E. A. M. White Book."

Fundamentally, however, the whole atrocity issue is beside the point. This was noted by Sir Richard Acland in his speech in the British Parliament on January 19, 1945. "In any civil war," he said, "the question is never to be settled . . . by asking the question, 'Who has committed the most atrocities?' or 'Who committed any atrocities?' The question is, 'Which party pushed the whole situation over the dividing line which separates the possibility of discussion and compromise from the impossibility of discussion and compro-

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mise?' " In other words, the important question is not how each side behaved after the shooting started, but which side was primarily responsible for the beginning of the shooting. It is significant that this question has been evaded both in the British White Paper and in the parliamentary speeches of Churchill and Eden. If the British have a case, it is time they produced the evidence. Until they do so, the E. A. M. version remains unanswerable.

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

ON THE WAY to the station the rain whipped my face, the wind whirled my hat away. When, completely disheveled, I finally boarded the Third Avenue local, I was disgusted with the world and the weather. I opened the newest copy of *Horizon,* which I had picked up as I left the office, and found this poem by Dylan Thomas.

FERN HILL

Now as I was young and easy under the apple boughs
About the lilting house and happy as the grass was green,
The night above the dingle starry,
Time let me hail and climb
Golden in the heydays of his eyes,
And honored among wagons I was prince of the apple towns
And once below a time I lordly had the trees and leaves
Trail with daisies and barley
Down the rivers of the windfall light.

And as I was green and carefree, famous among the barns
About the happy yard and singing as the farm was home,
In the sun that is young once only,
Time let me play and be
Golden in the mercy of his means,
And green and golden I was huntsman and herdsman, the calves
Sang to my horn, the foxes on the hills barked clear and cold,
And the sabbath rang slowly
In the pebbles of the holy streams.

All the sun long it was running, it was lovely, the hay-
Fields high as the house, the tunes from the chimneys, it was air
And playing, lovely and watery
And fire green as grass.
And nightly under the simple stars
As I rode to sleep the owls were bearing the farm away,
All the moon long I heard, blessed among stables, the nightjars
Flying with the ricks, and horses
Flashing into the dark

And then to awake, and the farm, like a wanderer white
With the dew, come back, the cock on his shoulder: it was all
Shining, it was Adam and maiden,
The sky gathered again
And the sun grew round that very day.
So it must have been after the birth of the simple light
In the first, spinning place, the spellbound horses walking warm
Out of the whinnying green stable
On to the fields of praise.

And honored among foxes and pheasants by the gay house
Under the new made clouds and happy as the heart was long
In the sun born over and over,
I ran my heedless ways,
My wishes raced through the house-high hay
And nothing I cared, at my sky blue trades, that time allows
In all his tuneful turning so few and such morning songs
Before the children green and golden
Follow him out of grace.

Nothing I cared, in the lamb white days, that time would take me
Up to the swallow-thronged loft by the shadow of my hand,
In the moon that is always rising,
Nor that riding to sleep
I should hear him fly with the high fields
And wake to the farm forever fled from the childless land.
Oh as I was young and easy in the mercy of his means,
Time held me green and dying
Though I sang in my chains like the sea.

It is not a perfect poem. But anyone who doesn't "understand" it, who isn't transported to "the fields of praise" should take out papers in the League for Sanity in Poetry and stay there.

EVA BRAUN'S poor little diary of her romance with Adolf Hitler seems to me one of the more pathetic shards thrown up by the massive explosion of World War II. Eva took pride in the fact that she was "the mistress of Germany's and the world's greatest man," but she will cut a curious figure in the gallery of the mistresses of the great. Yet it is appropriate, no doubt, that Hitler's paramour should have been a simple, rather dowdy little fräulein who sought neither power nor riches from her great connection but only the conjugal affection and attention which are a woman's due in the best of all petty bourgeois worlds.

Instead, Adolf breaks promises and forgets her birthday, leaves town without saying goodby, and hurts her feelings by treating her as if she were his mistress.

> Yesterday we were invited for supper at the Hotel Vierjahreszeiten. I'd sat next to him for three hours and couldn't say a word to him. When taking leave, he handed me an envelope containing money, as he'd done once before. If only he'd at least added a greeting or a kind word I'd have been so happy, but he never thinks of anything like that.

She can't understand why he is so "mean." She is "mortally unhappy" and wishes she had a dog. "If only I had a dog."

Then a rival turns up. The name of the rival is "Walküre," unbelievably, and Eva says "she looks it, including her legs." "If this is true," says Eva, "he'll soon have annoyed her until she is slim." I'm sure Eva burst into tears after she wrote that. . . . She talks of suicide.

Then the diary ends. This was 1935. But Eva stood it for ten years more. She took poison in the Chancellery only after it had been surrounded by enemy troops. And I'm inclined to think that Eva's suicide is "internal evidence" that Hitler is dead. For she would never have deserted him. On the contrary she would have clung to life as long as she thought that he by any chance might be still alive—and savable.

Eva Braun was probably the only human being in the world who loved Hitler "for himself." That is her small distinction. It is also Hitler's only claim to human status. Too good for him—but who can fathom or ever quite dismiss the love of a woman for a heel?

I HAVE ONLY A VAGUE IDEA of what the new philosophy of existentialism is all about. I can only say that it exists. Witness the following news dispatch:

> *Paris, November 13* (ONA)—The existentialists, new Paris literary sect, finally found an "angel" to back one of their plays, but he turned out to be a swindler who had stolen the 100,000 francs he advanced them, resulting today in the arrest of one of their leaders on charges of receiving stolen goods.
>
> The arrested leader is Simone Beauvoir, author of the existentialist play "Bouches Inutiles," the play the "angel" was to have backed. The swindler in "angel's" clothing identified himself to authorities as one Néron, "a poet in my spare time." When Jean Sartres, head of the sect, rushed to jail to bail out his deluded assistant, he found her in a cell hard at work on a new play, unmindful of her grim environment.

A friend who reads *Les Lettres Françaises* passed on another existential item which should amuse everyone but Orville Prescott. It is a cartoon in which two intellectuals greet each other opposite the Café de Flore. One says to the other, "Comment ça va, l'existence?" "Oh," says the other, "comme ci comme Sartre."

An essay on existentialism in its literary aspects will shortly appear in these pages.

A CORRESPONDENT IN BOSTON writes me anent my remarks about the language of censors, as set forth in the decision which found "Strange Fruit" guilty of being obscene.

> But these judges of our Supreme Judicial Court are long-winded, fussy, and not always clear when they are expounding the law of the land, even when they are not censors. Unhappy we, not to be living in the days of Shaw and Holmes—who struck at the jugular vein, who reduced the issues of law involved to a happy epigram.

He adds that the name of the dissenter in the case of "Strange Fruit"—that phrase sounds like publicity for the Fruit of the Month Club—is Henry T. Lummus, "who is capable of wit and the bon mot." It was given as Charles Lumus in the item on which I based my comment. I'm sorry.

FROM OVERHEARING, not listening, to the radio I gather that the thing to do is to take a powder. It makes you attractive. And if it doesn't work in just twelve days your headache will be cheerfully refunded.

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BRIEFER COMMENT

The Peoples of America

MUCH THAT IS WRONG with Louis Adamic's "A Nation of Nations" (Harper, $3.50) derives from the fact that its approach to the history of American ethnic groups is a good deal behind the times. In the past, certainly, American peoples of non-English ancestry were pretty much disregarded by historians—partly because historians are likely to be preoccupied with events rather than peoples but partly also because the prejudices of the Anglo-American background were incorporated in their work. Today, however, most American historians recognize the composite character of the American nation and write accordingly. Yet Adamic reverts to the late nineteenth century in order to assail Henry Cabot Lodge and John Fiske for having failed to acknowledge that a sufficient number of Irishmen stood by Washington when the going was tough.

Had Adamic's sense of outrage over the past errors of American historians been tempered by an awareness of recent developments in the field of ethnic historiography, his account might have contained more comment on the social life of ethnic groups and fewer sketchy biographies of prominent people who have come out of them. He should realize that the outstanding individual very likely gains success by casting off the group culture and adopting the dominant *mores,* and that his accomplishment is therefore but an imperfect reflection of the group. The fact, for example, that "one of Edward R. Stettinius's grandmothers was a Reilly" has not even incidental bearing upon Stettinius's career and tells us nothing about the character of the Irish as an ethnic group. Moreover, Adamic places greater stress upon group contribution than upon group participation and for the most part ignores the acculturative process. Thus, by indirection, he endows ethnic groups in the American environment with a stability they do not in fact possess. Finally, he writes of ethnic achievement in a manner to encourage minority chauvinisms which are as dangerous as the notion of Anglo-Saxon superiority. This is particularly true of the section on the Irish, which is geared to the findings of the American Irish Historical Society and ignores Oscar Handlin's realistic account of Irish impact on Boston.

Over a period of years Adamic has done much to broaden our understanding of the problem of ethnic groups. However, before he proceeds with the ambitious task of editing the Peoples of America Series, to which the present volume is prefatory, he would do well to read Marcus Hansen and Caroline Ware on the writing of the history of ethnic groups.

EDWARD N. SAVETH

Desert Exploit

THE SOMEWHAT ROMANTIC INTEREST in the Near East which causes me to keep on my shelves the books of Lawrence, Bell, Doughty, Stark, and others makes it difficult to arrive at a sound judgment concerning Somerset de Chair's "The Golden Carpet" (Harcourt, Brace, $3.50). The astonishing exploit it describes—the capture of Bagdad in 1941 by the tiny British column that pitted itself against forty thousand pro-Axis Iraqi troops—is itself enough to make the book worth reading. Yet I was disappointed. The desert, because it excludes the machine and imposes great hardships, has a way of pointing up the valor and the wilfulness of action. It was not the fighting in France nor yet Allenby's great drive to Damascus that produced the great book of the last war, but the Arab skirmishing to the south. Exciting as it sometimes is, "The Golden Carpet" contains no trace of the deep thrill of the "Seven Pillars." There is vigor in the telling, though the intrusion of meaningless detail is oftentimes an annoyance. The desert, which almost always compels the true artist to evolve a special style, has had no such effect on De Chair. And, indeed, the desert is strangely missing from this book, the style of which is racy and practical, though frequently marred by patches of really bad writing. There is little of that portrayal of character which is so fascinating in Lawrence. And for all the explicit statement to the contrary, a sense of momentousness is lacking. That the "Kingcol" expedition as described here is an exploit and not a part of history is due to the fact that the author is not concerned with the drama of emergent and conflicting freedoms, as was Lawrence. I know that the conventional military opinion is that the "Seven Pillars" would have been better without the introspective searching and the "wisdom." Captain de Chair's book will stand as one of the best military books of this war, but it is a Golden Carpet without the magic of flight.

RALPH BATES

Labor's Problems and Prospects

THE MAJOR ACTIVITIES AND POLICIES of labor during the war and the outlook for the immediate future are examined in "Labor Today and Tomorrow" by Aaron Levenstein (Knopf, $2.75). Using Sewell Avery as a symbol of the past Mr. Levenstein traces the background of labor's no-strike pledge and the success with which it was carried out. The fight over the issue of union security and the elaboration of the compromise, the maintenance of membership provision, are described. The forms in which this provision were granted by the War Labor Board are not indicated, but the opposition of some managerial groups, notably Sewell Avery, is discussed.

A chapter devoted to the division in the ranks of organized labor does not add much that is new to our understanding; as for the chapter on the influence of Franklin D. Roosevelt, it would be regarded as below standard even in a mediocre book. The aggressiveness of management in the post-war period, its obvious confidence that it can "take on" and lick the unions if necessary, is not unrelated to the departure of Roosevelt. It is not necessarily unwise to postpone domestic controversy, or at least to reduce it to a minimum, while the nation is fighting for its existence. The best and most informative chapter is the one dealing with the influence and policies of the Communists in the labor movement. Mr. Levenstein follows the zigzags of the party line from the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact to the summer of 1945, and the latter-day patriots are revealed for what they are, unprincipled, brazen, and fairly effective. While the book is frequently interesting, it is a bit disappointing. The author knows a great deal about labor, and his judgment is usually

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sound. Yet his volume is not well integrated, and he is inclined, especially in the first chapters, to "write down" to his readers. Nevertheless, this volume is a reasonably worthwhile addition to the literature on the current labor movement.

PHILIP TAFT

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East Meets West

MOST WRITERS ON THE FAR EAST either deal with some particular section of the Orient as an isolated entity or devote their attention predominantly to the impact of the West on the East. In "New Frontiers in Asia" (Knopf, $3) Mr. Jaffe takes as his initial point of reference the significance of the Orient, particularly India, China, and Japan, for the United States. From the standpoint of economics, and to a lesser extent politics, he makes it clear that the well-being of the American people will be largely determined by the wisdom of our Far Eastern policies. And in the process of this demonstration he provides us with a wealth of information on what is wrong with current American and British policies toward India and the Empire and with American policy toward China and Japan. As the first general book on the Far East to appear since the end of the war, it is particularly helpful in furnishing the background for the post-war crises that have developed through the East. Mr. Jaffe lays much of the blame for these crises on the shortsightedness of British imperial policies. He believes that the Indian and colonial problems could be resolved, and a large part of Anglo-American friction dissipated, if the British would devote their efforts primarily to a modernization of their industrial plant and cooperate actively in the expansion of world economy through a raising of living standards. Apart from the fact that it tends to be somewhat harsher in its criticism of British imperial policies than of corresponding flaws in our own policies, Mr. Jaffe's analysis is both sound and illuminating. The only conspicuous omission, from this reviewer's standpoint, is the author's failure to give more space to the implications of American and British Far Eastern policies with respect to the system of political democracy which both profess to cherish.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

Coming Next Week!

ATOM BOMB
SUPPLEMENT

as part of the regular December 22 issue, reporting on the recently concluded *Nation* conference.

You will want to read the views of Dr. Henry De Wolf Smyth, Leo Szilard, Herbert Evatt, Walter Millis, Helen Gahagan Douglas, Boris Pregel, Thurman Arnold, Charles Bolté, and a host of others on the challenge of atomic power and international cooperation.

THE NATION

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

IT IS seldom that so many great pictures can be seen together as at the Brooklyn Museum's present "Landscape" show (through January 1). Starting—a bit paradoxically—with a superb little "Crucifixion" by Lorenzo Monaco in the fourteenth century, it progresses through the Renaissance, the baroque, and the nineteenth century, to come to an anti-climactic stop with a dead bird in the grass executed with meretricious and astounding precision by the young American Andrew Wyeth. The great climaxes on the way are Van Goyen's gray-on-brown portrait of a cloudy sky, called "View of Rynland"; Guardi's "View of Mestre"—rectangular forms suffused with pink, pearl-gray, and light sienna or umber—and Matisse's magnificent "Paysage du Montalban," in which effects are massed not only by design but also by color, green being summarily transposed into black, umber, and gray, and the trunks of saplings dealt with in cerulean blue.

Around these masterpieces are gathered other lesser ones—only to be called lesser because of the presence of the first three—by Sassetta, Veronese, Breughel, Annibale Carracci (who on the evidence of the sample here might have become one of the greatest of all landscapists had not his period and mistaken ambition forced him to pursue the grand style), Seghers, Ruysdael, Rembrandt, Fragonard, Constable, Corot, Courbet, Eakins, Cézanne, Henri Rousseau, and several others.

There are some disappointments: notably the two Claude Lorrains, which in spite of excellent passages are wooden. Renoir, who painted some of the best landscapes of all time, is represented by a picture in which only the foreground is inspired. And the hysteria in the Van Gogh street scene is merely mechanical.

Not all the paintings here are landscapes in the strict definition of the term, but one is grateful in the main for the broadness with which that term has been applied. Yet the looseness of terminology or slackening of taste that induced the museum to include Tchelitchew, Tanguy, Seligmann, Ernst, Berman, Burchfield, and Wyeth in the show cannot be forgiven. Since the museum was willing to go that far, room might also have been made for Mattson, Henry Varnum Poor, Russell Cowles, and Arnold Friedman. The first three are tame, it is true, but at least more solidly in possession of their genre than any other conventional American landscapists of the moment; while Friedman's rose and green mountain scenes can hold their own with anything in the line of open-air painting being produced right now (exception made for two or three Frenchmen). Incidentally, why were Pissarro, Sisley, Derain, Vlaminck, Utrillo, Segonzac, and Bonnard left out? To make room for Thomas Moran, Regis Gignoux, Ben Shahn, Walter Stümpfig, Jr., and a very doubtful and inferior Giorgione?

Käthe Kollwitz died in Germany two months ago and is being commemorated by two shows, one at the Galerie St. Etienne (through December 23) and the other at the Tribune Book and Art Center (through December 17). Apparently a strong talent, she was deflected as well as inspired by her sympathy with the suffering and the oppressed. The problems she proposes herself in her etchings and lithographs are solved sometimes with considerable success, but always within the academic framework, with light and shade used much as Rembrandt would have used them—only more nervously. It is in her woodcuts, where silhouette and texture show Munch's influence, that she tries to attain a greater intensity of expressiveness. Here the power is such that one is disappointed that it is not more. The passion inspired in her by her theme required a complementary passion for her medium, to counteract a certain inevitable excess. Because this excess remains—in our failure to be stirred as much as we feel we ought to be—her art never quite manages to soar into that sphere where Goya and Daumier move. Nevertheless, Käthe Kollwitz will not be forgotten; her seriousness and moral passion suffice to create a lasting personality if not a lasting art.

The oil-painting instalment of this year's Whitney Annual (through January 10) is a cut or two above the "Portrait of America" fiasco at Rockefeller Center, but this does not prevent it from sinking to what seems a new low—but I have this impression every year. Abstract art is copiously represented, but its practitioners do just as badly as everybody else—with a few exceptions, who are Gorky, Adolph Gottlieb, Feininger, and Karl Knaths. There is also a very good seascape by Marin, and a passable picture by Sol Wilson. Léger's large decoration is on a high level but disintegrates around a red-white-and-blue cocarde (the artist's answer to current events).

One's first impulse as a result of this show is to write off a whole generation of American painters. But perhaps here again the jury is to blame—by jury I mean the museum's staff. Or perhaps we have no right to expect anything much better. I don't know. It is possible that I have a jaundiced eye. But I do know that I am fed up with contemporary American art in wholesale quantities.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

HERE is my pre-Christmas list of important works—well performed and recorded unless I say otherwise—that have been issued on records through November of the past year (the important December recordings I will review very shortly):

Bach: Concerto in D minor for 2 violins; Busch and Magnes with Busch Chamber Players (poor performance, poorly recorded); C Set X-253, 2.50.

Beethoven: Quartet Opus 18 No. 4; Budapest Quartet (recorded sound cold and hard); C Set 556, $5.50. Sonata Opus 57 ("Appassionata") for piano; Rubinstein (bad performance, imperfectly recorded); V Set 1018, $3.50. Symphony No. 7; Ormandy and Philadelphia Orchestra (poor performance; recorded sound strident on wide-range machine); C Set 557, $5.50. Symphony No. 9: Ormandy and Philadelphia Orchestra (poor performance, but preferable to other available versions); C Set 591, $8.50.

Bellini: Mira, Norma duet from "Norma"; Milanov and Harshaw (poorly sung by Harshaw); V 11-8924, $1.

Berlioz: Symphony "Harold in Italy"; Koussevitzky and Boston Symphony (poor performance, imperfectly recorded); V Set 989, $5.50.

Bizet: Excerpts from "Carmen" (including Stokowskian transcriptions of arias); Stokowski and New York City Symphony (bad performance); V Set 1002, $4.50.

Brahms: Symphony No. 3 (for second and fourth movements); Koussevitzky and Boston Symphony (not a good performance of these movements); V Set 1007, $4.50. Symphony No. 4; Ormandy and Philadelphia Orchestra (poor performance; recorded sound strident on wide-range machine); C Set 567, $5.50.

Chopin: Polonaise Opus 53; Iturbi (bad performance, badly recorded); V 11-8848, $1. The same work; Petri (poor performance, poorly recorded); C 17377-D, $1.

Debussy: Piano Music; Rubinstein (not well-performed; imperfectly recorded); V Set 998, $3.50. "Nuages" (poorly performed and recorded) and "Fêtes" (brashly recorded); Ormandy and Philadelphia Orchestra; C Set X-247, $2.50.

Franck: Prelude, Chorale, and Fugue for piano; Rubinstein (imperfect performance, imperfectly recorded); V Set 1004, $2.50.

Gershwin: "An American in Paris"; Rodzinski and New York Philharmonic (performance fair, poorly recorded) C Set X-246, $2.50.

Grétry: Airs de Ballet from "Céphale et Procris"; Defauw and Chicago Symphony; V 11-8825, $1.

Lalo: Symphonie Espagnole; Milstein and Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy (poorly recorded); C Set 564, $3.50.

Mendelssohn: "Fingal's Cave" or "Hebrides" Overture; Fiedler and Boston "Pops" Orchestra; V-11-8745, $1. Violin Concerto; Milstein and New York Philharmonic under Walter (performance too tense; recorded sound cold and dull); C Set 577, $4.50.

Mozart: Symphony K. 551 (known as "Jupiter"); Walter and New York Philharmonic (recorded sound strident on wide-range machine); C Set 565, $4.50. *Porgi amor* and *Dove sono* from "The Marriage of Figaro"; Steber (orchestral accompaniment not good); V 11-8850, $1.

Mussorgsky: Excerpts from "Boris Godunov" (Rimsky-Korsakov version); Kipnis with orchestra and chorus under Berezovsky; V Set 1000, $5.50. Superior to C Set 563 ($5.50) with performance by Pinza and Metropolitan Opera chorus and orchestra under Cooper.

Rimsky-Korsakov: Suite from "Le Coq d'or"; Mitropoulos and Minneapolis Symphony (performance and recording fair); C Set X-254, $2.50.

Schumann: Piano Concerto; Arrau (poor performance) with Detroit Symphony under Krueger; V Set 1009, $4.50.

Strauss: "Till Eulenspiegel"; Koussevitzky and Boston Symphony (poor performance); V Set DV-1, $4.50 (plastic records, to be used with light pickups only). "Tod und Verklärung"; Stokowski and N. Y. City Symphony (poor performance, imperfectly recorded); V Set 1006, $3.50.

Tchaikovsky: Symphony No. 6 ("Pathétique"); Rodzinski and New York Philharmonic (poor performance; recorded sound strident on wide-range machine); C Set 558, $5.50.

Verdi: Pace, pace, mio Dio from "La Forza del Destino" Milanov; V 11-8927, $1. *Parmi veder le lagrime* from "Rigoletto," and *De' miei bollenti spiriti* from "*La* Traviata"; Peerce; V 11-8926, $1.

Wagner: Prelude to "Lohengrin"; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony (imperfectly recorded); V 11-8807, $1. Excerpts from "Tristan und Isolde"; Rodzinski and New York Philharmonic with Traubel (poor performance, poorly recorded); C Set 573, $5.50. Brangäne's Warning from "Tristan"; Thebom; V 11-8928, $1.

JAZZ: NEW PERFORMANCES

Davison, Brunis, Schroeder, etc.: "Tin Roof Blues" and "Royal Garden Blues"; Commodore 556, $1.

Butterfield, de Paris, Bowman, etc.: "How Come You Do Me" and "Struttin' With Some Barbecue"; Commodore 561, $1.

Spanier, Mole, Schroeder, etc.: "Memphis Blues" and "Sweet Sue, Just You"; Commodore 1518, $1.50.

JAZZ: REISSUED PERFORMANCES

Armstrong, Dodds, Hines, etc.: "Wild Man Blues"; Decca 80059, $.75.

Teschmaker, Spanier, Sullivan, Krupa, etc.: "There'll Be Some Changes Made" and "I've Found a New Baby"; Decca 80063.

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Books in Short

"Studio Europe," by John Groth, illustrated by the author (Vanguard, $3.50). A professional artist and amateur reporter summarizes with pencil and typewriter his personal experiences on the way from the Normandy beaches to Berlin, where he made an unofficial entry ahead of the crowd to the displeasure of the brass hats. Mr. Groth's sketches, which incline toward caricature and show him to be a disciple of Daumier, are admirable. As a writer he is less sophisticated, but he tells his story in a straightforward and engaging manner.

"The Cossacks," by Maurice Hindus (Doubleday, Doran, $3). Before the Russian revolution the Cossack was a symbol of tyranny, although, as Mr. Hindus explains, the Cossack peoples originated as bands of outlaws, political fugitives, and escaped serfs who founded a breed of fierce individualists. Only after they had fought the Czars for centuries did they come to terms with them. After 1917 the majority of the Cossacks fought the Soviet government too, and they bitterly resisted collectivization of the land. But once forced to accept the new regime, their drive and daring restored them to a leading role in peace and war. In this book Mr. Hindus gives a brief account of their history, but most of his space is devoted to "the Cossack of today," of whom he writes with first-hand knowledge.

"Hahnemann: The Adventurous Career of a Medical Rebel," by Martin Gumpert (L. B. Fischer, $3). Written in the breathless present tense which is all too popular with modern biographers, this book gives an impressionistic account of Samuel Hahnemann, founder of the homeopathic school of medicine. As a medical man himself, Dr. Gumpert is well qualified to discuss the scientific contribution of his hero. It is a pity, therefore, that he felt it necessary to wrap up what he wanted to say in a more than homeopathic coating of popularization.

"Thomas Jefferson," by Claude G. Bowers (Houghton Mifflin, $10). Ambassador Bowers's biography was previously issued in three separate volumes—"The Young Jefferson," "Jefferson and Hamilton," and "Jefferson in Power." Reviewing "The Young Jefferson" in these pages Henry A. Wallace recommended it as a help to understanding "how deeply imbedded is the essence of American democracy." This applies to the complete work, which in this new and most attractive edition should make a still wider appeal.

CONTRIBUTORS

L. S. STAVRIANOS, a member of the Department of History at Smith College, worked with the Office of Strategic Services during the war. He is the author of "The Balkan Federation: A History of the Movement for Balkan Unity in Modern Times" and "Greece, the War and Aftermath."

EDWARD N. SAVETH, now engaged in research in New York, formerly taught history at City College. He has contributed to the *Political Science Quarterly* and the New York *Times Book Review.*

RALPH BATES is the author of "The Olive Field," "The Undiscoverables," "The Fields of Paradise," and other novels.

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MAXWELL S. STEWART is an associate editor of *The Nation.*

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Letters to the Editors

Presenting the Vatican

Dear Sirs: The controversy over Professor Laski versus the Catholic church is welcome because it affords every American an opportunity to form an opinion on a vital subject. The debate revolves around these points: (1) Has the Vatican state any right to participate in international political action? (2) Is the Vatican state in favor of the Spanish government for selfish motives?

There should be no disagreement on the first. The Vatican state, as created by the Lateran Agreements of February 11, 1929, is by its own right a subject of international law, and is therefore entitled to the same rights and privileges as other subjects of international law.

In connection with its attitude toward Franco Spain, it is important to distinguish certain characteristics of the Vatican state in order to avoid erroneous interpretations and conclusions. The Vatican state is an absolute monarchy; this is evident from the fact that the three fundamental powers—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial—are vested solely in the supreme Pontiff. The territory is his; the subjects swear obedience to him; the laws he can abrogate at will. The Vatican state is, nevertheless, an elective-constitutional monarchy—showing its kinship with democracy—inasmuch as the Pope is elected by the College of Cardinals.

The Vatican state is entirely neutral—it abstains from competition for territory. It is a patrimonial state—its territory is the personal estate of the head of the Roman Catholic church. It is a confessional state—it openly confesses its dependence upon God. This means that it professes only principles and dogmas of the Roman Catholic church. The Vatican state has relations, as a state, that are international as well as internal—these are subordinated to what we have explained as its confessional character.

The Vatican state and the church are of the same judicial and moral identity; here we are confronted with the union, real and otherwise, of the two institutions. Canon law, the codification of divine laws, governs both state and church. Relations between the Catholic church and the Vatican state are those established by ecclesiastic doctrines: the state is sovereign in temporal matters, the church in spiritual matters. Conflicts between the two institutions cannot arise since the Pontiff is sovereign of both.

This unique connection between the Vatican state and the church has no replica in modern states.

Strange as it may seem because of the confessional character of the Vatican state, the church, in its relations with all nations, deals with a devil—as Christ did in the desert—for the good of souls. This was one reason which induced Pius XI to agree to the Lateran truce with another dictator, Il Duce; this explains the church's condemnation of pagan Nazi Germany and its life-and-death struggle with atheistic Bolshevism.

The Catholic church reaches the farthest corners of the world; it deals with all kinds of government, disregarding their political structure, on condition that religion is held in due esteem or that at least it is confined to its proper sphere in the life of nations. The church cannot show preference for any one form of government without exposing itself to a protest that might lead to schism and even bloodshed.

Professor Laski has a weak point when he attacks the vested interests of the church. The vested interests of the Holy See are no more venal than the vested interests of any one of the great powers. Winston Churchill openly expressed approval of the Franco regime during the Second World War. Franco was not a menace to the British Empire.

In a world in which capitalism is recognized as legitimate, vested interests cannot be set aside. In this respect the church acts like any incorporate organization striving to survive. In showing dissatisfaction with its vested interests, Professor Laski overlooks the acknowledged concern of the Roman Catholic church for mankind's universal needs.

GIUSEPPE DI GIOIA

New York, November 23

Memo from Indo-China

Dear Sirs: We have read with a great pleasure Andrew Roth's article about Indo-China, published in *The Nation* of October 27 and reprinted in the New York *Herald Tribune's* continental edition on November 18. Knowing Mr. Roth of old from his book "Japan Strikes South," we make ourselves bold enough to thank him sincerely in the name of the 25,000 Indo-Chinese resident in France and of our fellow-countrymen at home.

Mr. Roth is one of the staunchest champions of democracy and freedom, and his writings about Indo-China's problems will compel the attention of French and British reactionaries and imperialists.

All of us shall be happy to read more articles of his.

DR. HOANG-XUAN-MAN

General Delegation of the Indo-Chinese
Paris, November 20

Unsolved Political Murder

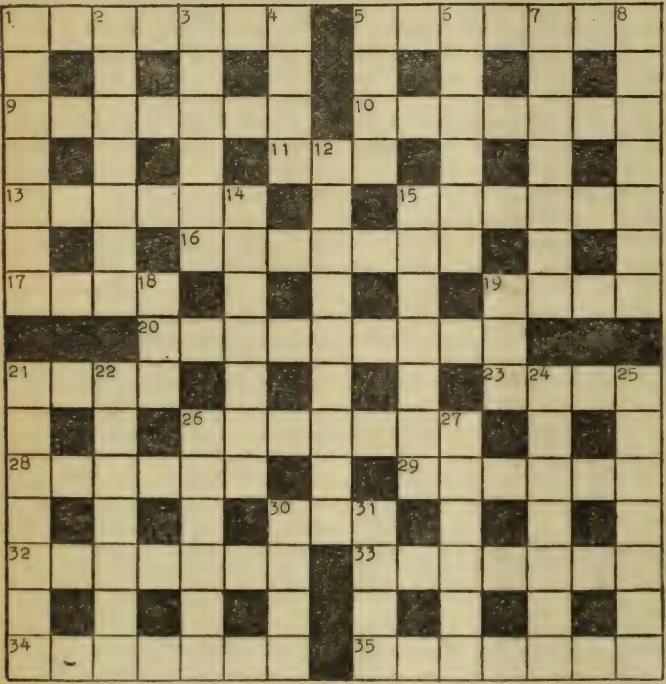
Dear Sirs: With due allowance for the pressure of world events, we are puzzled by the scant attention given by the daily press to a recent report by nineteen responsible individuals of an inquiry into the causes of the delay in finding the slayers of Carlo Tresca, editor of the Italian journal *Il Martello (*the *Hammer).* The report was issued in pamphlet form by the Tresca Memorial Committee, 112 East Nineteenth Street.

We feel keenly that the public is entitled to know what we discovered about this unsolved murder case. Objectively written, our statement was a conscientious effort to serve the cause of justice by a group which sees great social peril in unpunished political murder.

We pointed to some remarkable circumstances connected with District Attorney Hogan's investigation of the Tresca killing—especially the fact, of which we have documentary evidence, that Assistant District Attorney Louis Pagnucco, long in charge of the Italian end, had received honors and awards from Fascists. Obviously Pagnucco did not belong in a case in which Fascists were under strong suspicion from the start. Yet for many weeks Mr. Hogan refused to do anything about this, acting only when he learned that 117 citizens were about to petition the Governor for a special prosecutor. Then he promised a new inquiry, with Assistant District Attorney Lipsky in charge. But that didn't begin for more than two months, and a few weeks later Mr. Lipsky was working on another murder. Since then a deep fog of official silence has settled over the Tresca killing, committed nearly three years ago. One friend with intimate knowledge of Tresca's political conflicts, whose name was known to the prosecutor's office soon after the crime, has never been questioned.

Crossword Puzzle No. 139

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Wrote *The Night the Bed Fell On Grandfather*
5 Old name for Scotland
9 One boy is a blessing to Benjamin
10 The strawberry-tree
11 Essential heart of a thingummybob
13 Red cod in a bale
15 Of a sour temper
16 Formerly the eldest son of French kings
17 Evidently not paid
19 Long-haired Scotch terrier — so long-haired it's hard to make head or tail of it!
20 Be less dear than another
21 America's principal street
23 Three-foot enclosure?
26 Tells or sells
28 When *he* starts shaking his head it's usually all up with you
29 Ward of Ko-Ko whom Nanki-poo was going to marry (hyphen, 3-3)
30 Easier to catch than to hold
32 Clown in *Love's Labor's Lost*
33 It appears on the book's title page
34 President who vainly endeavored to avoid war with England in 1812
35 Presage

DOWN

1 Put that in your pipe and smoke it!
2 Enfeeble
3 Being completely smashed, no wonder she is in bad!
4 What would you call one of the handles on a ship's steering-wheel?
5 He offered to share his savings with Orlando (*As You Like It*)
6 In calling Louis XIV of France this, was Arbuthnot trying to make a monkey out of him?
7 One of the big radio systems, probably
8 Severely simple, or simply severe
12 A capital compartment (two words, 5 & 4)
14 Don't look for any lightning moves from him!
15 Very near
18 It's your money he's after!
19 A tinker, and a sad drinker, in *The Taming of the Shrew*
21 I cod Mum just a little
22 Indices (anag.)
24 At no particular moment (two words, 3 & 4)
25 Reduced in rank for a witty remark in deed!
26 They installed central heating, warmed swimming baths, and the like, nearly 2,000 years ago.
27 Tommy Tucker had to sing for his
30 Shakespeare once likened England to this semi-paradise
31 It looks like 50 to 1 on the military policeman

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 138

ACROSS:—1 FULL STEAM AHEAD; 9 UNMINED; 10 DEVOTEE; 11 YODELS; 12 TRICKERY; 14 GATELEG; 15 TOSTI; 17 SEVEN; 19 CORRALS; 21 FOREPAWS; 23 ISRAEL; 25 EVINCED; 26 TWOFOLD; 27 BORROWED PLUMES.

DOWN:—1 FOUR YEARS; 2 LAME DOG; 3 SINGLETON; 4 EDDY; 5 MODERN GIRL; 6 HAVOC; 7 ANTHEMS; 8 DEWY; 13 BLACK WIDOW; 15 TOADSTOOL; 16 INVALIDES; 18 VERTIGO; 20 SEA FOAM; 21 FLEE; 22 PACER; 24 STUD.

Mr. Hogan owes it to the whole community to demonstrate clearly that he is doing something definite toward apprehending Tresca's murderers.

JOHN DEWEY
NORMAN THOMAS

New York, November 1

Discontent in Luzon

Dear Sirs: The September 15 issue of *The Nation* just arrived here and I read the article Who Bosses the Philippines? with a great deal of interest. I have been stationed in Pampanga Province, about sixty miles north of Manila, and have observed much agrarian discontent in this sugar-cane and rice-growing province; I am afraid it will flare up into open violence once the Americans pull out. The big landowners, some of whom were fighting the guerrillas during the Japanese occupation, find it now more prudent to stay in Manila. The same people are dead set against independence.

The army authorities show much naivete in evaluating progressive movements and easily succumb to the red scare. More articles of the kind are needed to give the G. I. a better understanding of the setup over here.

SOLDIER

Luzon, P. I., November 15

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The Shape of Things

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S STATEMENT ON CHINA enunciates a policy which, if adhered to, will have sweeping effects. In so many words it demands unified democratic rule as the condition of American economic aid. This means that the Kuomintang, in order to survive, must not only make peace with the Communists and the lesser democratic groups but take them into the government. It means that the Communists must not only enter the government, as they are entirely willing to do, but relinquish their claim to autonomous rule in the provinces they now dominate. It means the end of separate armies. There are those who will oppose the new policy as interventionist—and understandably, for American intervention, political or military, calls up ugly associations in many parts of the world. But today, despite Mr. Welles, intervention is not to be avoided. Whether we give or withhold diplomatic recognition, or goods, or loans, our action spells stability or collapse to smaller or weaker states. By merely selling a nation oil we can keep a dictator in power. Our liberal non-interventionists are defending a cause that was lost before 1939. The undeniable danger that pressure will be exercised in support of private interests or reactionary political groups is no longer to be averted by attacking intervention as a policy. It can be averted only if the people of the United States insist that this country's immense influence be used—as the President apparently proposes to use it—to back the effective popular elements in other less powerful nations. Mr. Truman's pronouncement will echo in capitals far from Chungking: if seriously applied it will force Franco and Perón out of power and establish democratic rule at Madrid and Buenos Aires. Its implications should be thoroughly discussed at Moscow, for eventually, if it is to be more than a beneficent form of big-power domination, the policy of intervention in support of representative government must be elaborated and applied by the UNO.

*

THOUGH THE RUSSIAN DEMAND THAT FRANCO be named a war criminal aroused little enthusiasm on the part of its Allies, the Franco regime is on trial at Nürnberg just the same. By using Count Ciano's diary as evidence the Interallied Military Tribunal has established the authenticity of that astonishing document, with its important revelations of the role played by fascist Spain during the war. "By September, 1940," says the diary as summarized in the New York *Times* last July, "the grandiose plan for an invasion of England was scrapped. Italy and Spain each wanted a share in the glory of defeating Great Britain. Having previously turned down Italy, Hitler also rejected Franco's help in the enterprise because he said it would cost more than it was worth to have Spain's cooperation." Probably the chief reason why Hitler rejected Franco's offer was that he had already committed his country to its greatest blunder—abandoning the plan to invade Britain in favor of an attack on Russia. But the offer was there. Later Franco contributed the Blue Division to the Russian campaign and made the most of this gesture in his anti-Soviet and anti-Allied propaganda in Latin America. Another later Nazi idea, to seize the Canaries and the Azores as a preliminary move against the United States, called for the active participation of Spain. Ciano's assertions, now accepted by the Allies, finally disposed of Franco's cynical pretense that he always opposed war with the United Nations. Apart from all the earlier evidence against him, these revelations provide sufficient material to justify a general break with fascist Spain. The French proposal of a conference with Britain and the United States on the question of relations with Franco suggests that the present anomalous situation cannot last indefinitely. And further encouragement was provided by the visit last Saturday of Dr. Juan Negrín to Acting Secretary of State Acheson, an event which aroused intense interest and speculation in diplomatic circles.

*

THE WORTHLESS MEASURE SUBSTITUTED FOR the original Full Employment Bill by its opponents in the House, and then passed last week, eliminates the principle of government responsibility for full employment and merely sets up a fact-finding mechanism to advise the President on employment prospects. The President is permitted to make recommendations on the basis of this advice, but chiefly as to means for encouraging private enterprise. In emphasis and outlook it is a profits-for-all, not jobs-for-all measure. Rather than oppose this sham bill and make full employment the chief issue of the 1946 elections, the Administration compromised in the hope of salvaging something out of the wreckage in a Senate-House conference. But experience has shown that, in the matter of creating jobs, half a loaf is not necessarily better than no loaf at all. Half-hearted measures for increasing employment such as were taken during the 1930's often have the effect of disturbing business "confidence" without creating the purchasing power necessary to maintain production at a high level and assure employment.

*

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS HAS APPROVED BOTH the Anglo-American loan agreement and Bretton Woods, but it has done so without enthusiasm. For reasons which our London correspondent, Aylmer Vallance, explains on page 679, many Britons regard the loan terms as harsh and fear they include commitments which will be difficult, if not impossible, for Britain to fulfil. A good many people in this country, among them the editors of *The Nation*, share this view, though they realize that the prevailing state of American opinion ruled out a more generous agreement. Mr. Vallance shows that while the loan offers certain immediate advantages, it may well involve Britain in a financial crisis early in the fifties unless meanwhile the United States adapts its economic policies to its creditor status and takes positive steps to acquire a permanent import surplus. Since this will require not only a reversal of traditional American commercial policy but the achievement of a high and stable level of employment, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that Britain is being asked to gamble on a "miracle." Yet it should be pointed out that if Britain had refused the loan and rejected the concomitant policies of cooperation with the United States, it would have involved itself, and the world, in an even more dangerous gamble. It would then have been forced to organize a self-sufficient economic bloc with the Empire as the nucleus. It would have had to use pressure tactics to induce countries whose supplies and markets it needed to deal with it on a barter basis. It would have been caught up in a Schachtian web of discriminatory practices bound to create serious political tensions. In such circumstances it would be still harder for Britain to lighten its international and imperial liabilities, a step which may well be as Mr. Vallance argues an essential condition of its future political and economic solvency.

*

AS THE LABOR SITUATION GROWS MORE ACUTE, it also becomes simpler. Masks are dropped by both sides; the class struggle is back, no longer concealed under wartime camouflage. The country needs industrial peace almost as much as before V-J day, but the relaxation of public pressure, the lay-offs and cut-backs, the failure of Congress to pass any of the measures designed to cushion the shock of reconversion doomed the hope of a peaceful transition. And business seems to have made up its mind that this is the time for a showdown. To those with good memories, recent weeks have recalled the ugly period after World War I when big industry girded its surpluses for a fight to the finish with organized labor. Industry won then, at least temporarily. Today it is equally sure, equally determined. United States Steel turned down the union's proposals with an arrogance that has not been encountered since 1933. The mood of General Motors was dramatically summed up in the exchange of remarks by Vice-President Anderson of the company and Vice-President Reuther of the union during last week's negotiations. The transcript of that discussion, released by G. M., epitomizes the whole industrial conflict in America in a few angry words. Here you have capital, superior and confident, labor, angry and defiant; and yet, underlying it all a foundation of human equality that might be built upon if the deadlock could be broken. (Reuther throws Anderson's $90,000 income in his face, but when Anderson insists he has worked for it as hard as the "guys in the plants" Reuther remonstrates "Oh Harry!") President Truman's excellent fact-finding board starts hearings this week. Reuther has agreed to submit the union's full case. If G. M. is prepared to present the facts it has so far stubbornly refused to reveal, then we may get somewhere. Otherwise it looks like 1920 over again.

*

AN IMPORTANT PART OF AMERICAN INDUSTRY has set Christmas back to January 1. That is the date when it will go into serious production and begin to let its products move to the storekeepers' shelves. For January 1, 1946, marks the end of the excess-profits tax; from then on industry will pay a tax of only 38 per cent of profits, instead of the 85½ per cent on all profits made above the pre-war tax base. That certain industries have engaged in a deliberate sit-down strike is an indisputable fact but one immensely difficult to document. Good reporters have tried it, only to find that the most elaborate and exhaustive sort of investigation is necessary to disprove the plausible but phony excuses that each plant gives for its failure to produce. But reporters, particularly those on the conservative business journals, know that there has been a manufacturers' sit-down, and so does the OPA. Most certain of all in their knowledge of the situation are the workers in the plants, who cannot be fooled on what production and delivery schedules should be. As a matter of fact, the public, too, has sufficiently convincing proof. No refrigerators, irons, radios, or miscellaneous electrical gadgets are to be bought, and supplies of textiles are below a bare minimum. Yet in all these industries, by their own confession, mechanical reconversion was no problem and took practically no time. In many cases the factories have simply held back in the hope of bludgeoning the OPA into higher price ceilings; in others because of tax considerations. When thwarted consumers grouse to dealers, they are told that the desired product is not available because of "those damned strikes." The dealers' explanation, supplied gratis by the factories in lieu of salable goods, is a correct one, except that the "strikes" aren't the kind the newspapers are talking about.

*

AT THE MOMENT THE PUBLIC PRINTS ARE FULL of stories "exposing" Nancy Bruff, who wrote a "book" called "The Manatee" and used the services of Russell Birdwell, a high-powered, high-priced publicity agent, to promote its sale. "The Manatee" is apparently in a class with that other famous "book" entitled "Forever Amber," and its author is quite as glamourous. Moreover, the jacket of the book, which was published by that highly respectable firm, E. P. Dutton, is decorated with a ship's figurehead of a "bold female torso" which leaves nothing to the imagination. It's a scandal, of course, calling for public protests. But what really burns us up is the fact that all the righteous indignation, the ridicule, and even this belittling comment in *The Nation*—which did not even consider reviewing the book—will probably be pasted up in the scrapbooks of Mr. Birdwell's office as evidence of his success.

*

THE PLIGHT OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS reflected in the unanimity with which the newspapers have denounced the weasel-worded statement of policy indorsed by the Republican National Committee at Chicago. The New York *Sun* observed with classic restraint, "It is not remarkable that the statement runs to generalities." The *Herald Tribune* declared that it was "vague where it should be specific," and the independent Washington *Post* called it a "jumble of vague promises, shabby phrases, glittering generalities, and vacant viewings with alarm." A cursory reading of this remarkable document gives one the impression that its writers cribbed from the "Thesaurus" long lists of synonyms with an evil connotation to attribute to the New Deal, and assembled a parallel list of virtues which they claimed as exclusively Republican. The Chicago conference made it clear that the Old Guard is more than ever solidly in control of the Republican Party and has learned nothing from its fifteen years in the political wilderness. To judge from its strategy it has never heard of President Roosevelt's death. For the Truman Administration is denounced in exactly the same terms as was its predecessor—for its regimentation, its all-powerful bureaucracy, and, by implication, for its indorsement of alien doctrines. Instead of looking for vigorous, forward-looking leadership to challenge the pedestrian qualities of the present Democratic rule, the two Republicans most talked of at Chicago as available for 1948 were Bricker and Taft. Ex-Governor Stassen has inherited the Willkie mantle and appears to be getting even less attention than Willkie did four years ago. For those who still like to think of the Republican Party as the party of Lincoln, its present impotence must be extremely disheartening; but to those who think of it as the party of Lodge, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, and Dewey its condition appears the inevitable outcome of a long process of decay.

Post-Potsdam Germany

WITHIN the past few days Secretary of State Byrnes has issued an important statement formulating economic policy in regard to Germany. This document, intended for the guidance of our occupation authorities, declares that with a view to furthering the program adopted at Potsdam four immediate objectives must be pursued: (1) increased export of German coal to the liberated countries; (2) completion of the machinery necessary to execute the reparations and disarmament clauses of the Potsdam agreement, a task which involves "definition of the initial post-war German economy"; (3) organization of centralized German administrative agencies under Allied control in such fields as finance, transport, communications, foreign trade, and industry; (4) prevention of mass starvation in Germany subject to priority for the needs of the liberated peoples.

No one can say that this program deviates from Potsdam or that it dilutes the prescription for a hard peace. On the other hand, it fails to throw any fresh light on the question of whether the Big Three's plan for Germany was in fact a practical design for a solid, permanent structure. There has always been a doubt in our mind about the compatibility of a program of de-industrialization sufficiently rigorous to insure perpetual disarmament and satisfy reparation claims and the promise that Germany would be left with the material basis for a viable economy. This doubt persists despite Mr. Byrnes's prediction that after next spring there will be a gradual recovery of German industry and exports and that by 1948, when the reparations removal program has been completed, the Germans will be within sight of the promised average European standard of living.

The Potsdam program did not go as far as the Morgenthau plan in reducing Germany to an agrarian status, but it certainly implied a very much increased dependence of the German population on their own soil both for food and employment. If that is to be accomplished in a brief term of years, it is not too soon to begin what will in any case be a very complicated adjustment, both mechanically and psychologically. The Russians in their zone have taken one important step by starting redistribution of the big landed estates to working farmers. But in our zone nothing, apparently, is being done to tackle this prerequisite of a new agrarian revolution, and nowhere in his statement does Mr. Byrnes so much as refer to the problem.

In view of the certainty, *pace* Mr. Morgenthau, that a swollen German population confined in a reduced area will not be able to supply itself with all necessities, any plan for Germany must allow for a volume of exports sufficient in the long run to pay for a minimum of imports. Moreover, for some years, as Mr. Byrnes recognizes, it will be necessary for the Allies to finance a considerable part of German imports. Add to the debt which will thus accumulate the occupation costs for which Germany will be liable, and it becomes clear that if it is to contrive a balance of payments in the future Germany will have to achieve a surplus of exports. For this purpose it will have available its surplus coal production, some minerals like potash, and the products of the light industries it is permitted to retain—ceramics, textiles, leather goods, toys, clocks, and so forth. But will the markets of the world be able to absorb an increased volume of such consumer goods? That is one of the many economic questions Mr. Byrnes has left unanswered.

The implementation of the Potsdam program also involves the solution of political problems, the most immediate and stubborn being that of Germany's western frontier. This, however, is a matter which Mr. Byrnes blandly dismisses with the assumption that the geographical limits of Germany will be those of the pre-Hitler Reich minus the territory east of the Oder-Neisse line. This assumption is, as we pointed out last week, hotly contested by France. And even if French claims for a separate Rhine state are finally disallowed, the question of the disposition of the Ruhr will remain. Is this rich region to be wholly or partly internationalized or is it to revert eventually to Germany subject to limitations on its exploitation for armament manufacture? So long as this point remains cloudy, planning the German economy must be a hazardous business.

Exercise by the French of their veto in the Allied Control Commission is the immediate obstacle to the development of interzonal economic machinery but not the only one. If the Germans, as Mr. Byrnes suggests, are to assume "responsibility for the performance of the German economy," some kind of centralized political set-up is also necessary. There appears, however, to be no sign of preparation for the restoration of political life on a national basis. In so far as anything at all is being done to lay foundations for a new democratic structure in Germany, the job is being tackled in different ways in each of the four occupation zones.

In the American zone at the present time more and more administrative responsibility is being handed over to the local German authorities, not because of a carefully considered policy, but because haphazard redeployment has so greatly reduced effective American man-power. This development is all the more dangerous because in many sectors little has been done to revive the democratic parties, while the process of denazification is far from complete. The result, writes Raymond Daniels in the New York *Times*, "is that in some places the Nazis are becoming bolder and have begun openly bullying the rather frightened anti-Nazis."

This brings us to the problem of administration, which Saul Padover discusses on page 682. Mr. Padover believes that prolonged military occupation of Germany will be necessary but urges that the army be relieved of all administrative functions. Local government, he suggests, could then be intrusted to the Germans subject to the supervision of a special corps of American civilian officials.

We agree with Mr. Padover about the importance of civilian control but think it should be continued for a comparatively brief period. For we are skeptical about the possibility of imposing reeducation on Germany by foreign rule. Our own inclination would be to limit the occupation of Germany to the period necessary for carrying out the disarmament and reparations program. Meanwhile, to prepare the way for a responsible German government, we should give positive encouragement to the democratic forces while taking steps to destroy the economic base of the reactionaries by confiscating their lands and industrial holdings. This would do more to safeguard the world against future German aggressions than de-industrialization on a scale that threatens to reduce Germany to an economic slum dependent on international charity.

Men in the Street

WITH one million families now living doubled up, and veterans mustered out at the rate of 10,000 a day hunting desperately for homes, President Truman's promise of action on housing comes none too soon. The program he outlined last week calls for the immediate release of government surplus housing and materials, priorities for lower-priced dwellings, and legislative price ceilings on both new and old houses offered for sale. Since the third point must await Congressional action, an early improvement in the situation depends very much on the effectiveness of the revived priorities system. The President proposes to channel 50 per cent of all building materials into the construction of housing units costing $10,000 or less. That is a step in the right direction, but is it a big enough step?

In the present situation, when the demand for houses is out of all proportion to the supply, it is very difficult to prevent a maximum price from becoming a minimum. Thus there is real danger that most new houses will be built to sell very near the limit. According to the realtor's simple rule of thumb, a $10,000 unit rents for about $100 a month. But only 4 per cent of American families can pay $75 or more a month, and it is estimated that only 6 per cent of the veterans can afford to pay more than $50 a month for a home. In other words, in order to stimulate the supply of housing in accordance with *needs* a much lower ceiling should have been set.

Another objection to the encouragement of $10,000 houses is the fact that such units absorb additional quantities of critical materials and equipment. A house with two bathrooms provides shelter for only one family, but it deprives the builder of equipment essential for lower-priced units which could give homes to two families. Moreover, in the absence of any control over profit margins except that provided by the Federal Housing Authority's valuation system, there is a standing temptation to builders to add gadgets to justify a higher price while skimping on solid construction. Thus the President's new plan provides no guaranty against the diversion of most new housing to a tiny minority of the population, leaving the veterans to be accommodated in abandoned army camps, trailers, and collapsible war housing.

There is, however, pending before the House Banking and Currency Committee a bill introduced by Representative Patman which not only includes power to allocate scarce materials for low-cost housing but provides for price ceilings on all new construction and authority to check speculation in existing houses. "Such authority," wrote John W. Snyder in the memorandum on housing on which the President's action was based, "is essential if we are to avert further skyrocketing of home prices." The bill declares that ceiling prices on new construction should be determined on the basis of actual cost plus the prevailing contractor's margin for similar buildings in 1941. An important feature of the measure is that it would permit some flexibility of action enabling the government to vary its formula for different areas, relaxing or tightening controls in accordance with local needs. The bill has the whole-hearted support of Chester Bowles, chief of the Office of Price Administration, who sees in it a valuable new weapon in the fight against inflation which he is waging so stoutly.

By approving Mr. Snyder's memorandum the President has inferentially given his blessing to this bill. But the building industry and real-estate lobbies have been carrying on a strenuous campaign against it, and if it is ever to emerge from committee there will have to be much more forceful pressure from the public.

One step by the President which may conceivably help to organize public opinion behind this and similar measures to meet the housing crisis is the appointment of Wilson Wyatt as Housing Expeditor. As the war-time mayor of Louisville, Kentucky, Mr. Wyatt demonstrated ability to plan for the future and rare courage and independence as an administrator. Moreover, he made a point of going to the people—Negro as well as white—for direct approval of his ideas for a better community. Mr. Wyatt's municipal experience is an important qualification for his new job, since building is a peculiarly local trade and its problems must frequently be tackled locally in cooperation with contractors, realtors, municipal authorities, and tenants' organizations.

In seeking to remove the many bottlenecks in the housing industry Mr. Wyatt will have to work within existing legislation, which is clearly inadequate, and get along without too much backing from his immediate boss, Mr. Snyder, whose past record has been one of vacillation and retreat. But if Mr. Wyatt will take a leaf from the book of Mr. Bowles and explain clearly to the public what his problems are and what action is needed to overcome them, he has a chance to rally a volume of opinion which will smother the speculative interests. For housing is one issue which can be taken to the man who is, literally, in the street.

The Army Way

A THREE-LAYER cake with alternate good and bad layers is the best description of American policy in Japan. The top layer has the acrid taste of World War III because, despite the decorative icing provided by the Far Eastern Advisory Committee, our unilateral role in Japan is primarily a reflection of the anti-Soviet prejudices which dominate certain government circles in Washington. The second layer—made up of detailed Washington-born directives—has the surprisingly fresh flavor of enlightened democratic thinking. It reveals the fundamental change in the Office of Far Eastern Affairs since the departure of Joseph Clark Grew and the ascendancy of John Carter Vincent. The recent announcement classifying Prince Konoye and some sixty other top non-military oligarchs as war criminals is not only a laudable step, long overdue, but also a measure of the effect of Mr. Grew's departure. Mr. Grew had a genuine liking for the Prince, and some of his closest advisers were actually booming Konoye for the job of post-war Premier. In the face of a good deal of pressure from Japanese conservatives, we have stuck to our promises on freedom of speech and refused their demand that we exclude the Japanese Communists from the air. We have also forced through legislation designed to uproot the semi-feudal system of land-tenure, and we have ended government sponsorship of State Shintoism, inspirer of fanatical jingoism. The Japanese people will further profit by our insistence that their government plan for their relief during the hard months coming.

The third layer of policy—carrying out these enlightened directives—has the familiar stale taste of army expediency. General MacArthur, apparently feeling that his future political hopes hang on the character of the job he does in Japan, is moving energetically to carry out his objectives. But the American army is not a suitable instrument for an intricate job of social engineering and, although it complains of a shortage of skilled personnel, has refused to utilize the talents of some of the State Department men on the spot. As a result, the State Department advisers under George Atcheson, Jr., among whom are several exceptionally qualified men, can exercise influence on MacArthur only by making recommendations to the department, which passes them on to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who may eventually forward them to General MacArthur back in Tokyo.

Army administration in Japan is further bedeviled by its obstinate refusal to realize how hopeless is the attempt to achieve the democratic reforms to which we are pledged through the present reactionary Japanese regime. Employing a Mitsubishi man like Premier Shidehara as the leading figure in a program pledged to the elimination of big business is tantamount to asking Representative Rankin to head a tolerance campaign. Konoye's cheating of the war guilt trial through suicide shows the danger of special courtesies to upper-crust war criminals. But in spite of exclusiveness, inconsistency, and inadequate execution, the overall impact of American policy upon Japan has been rather good. We have loosened the political strait-jacket and furthered progressive social objectives, and next month Japan will have the most nearly democratic election in its history.

Another Inquiry Begins

BY I. F. STONE

THERE is much that is good to be said of President Truman's appointments to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine. The American chairman, United States Circuit Court Judge Joseph C. Hutcheson of Houston, Texas, is best known for his decision in the Strecker case. Judge Hutcheson described the attempt to deny Strecker citizenship because of past membership in the Communist Party as "a kind of Pecksniffian righteousness, savoring strongly of hypocrisy and party bigotry." A majority of the Supreme Court agreed with him. Earlier, as a federal district judge, Hutcheson wrote a decision in the Osterloh case which widened the rights of aliens in deportation proceedings. Judge Hutcheson brings a free mind and a sympathetic spirit to the work of the committee.

Of the five men named with Judge Hutcheson, one has devoted a large part of his life to the refugee problem. James G. McDonald was made High Commissioner for German Refugees by the League of Nations in October, 1933. Two years later he resigned in protest against the League's half-hearted attitude. In one capacity or another he has been engaged ever since in trying to help the victims of Hitlerism. No one knows better the elaborate ritual of investigation, conference, and intergovernmental committee with which the Western powers have been accustomed to approach—and evade—the questions involved in this new inquiry.

The four other American members of the committee have had no direct contact with the problems of European Jewry or of Palestine, but there is no reason to believe any of them unfriendly. Former Under Secretary of State William Phillips, once Ambassador to Rome under Mussolini, is a professional diplomat, a type which in the United States tends to be assimilated to the British point of view. But as Roosevelt's special representative to India during the war, Phillips demonstrated an independence that soon made him persona non grata with the Churchill government. Though his mission was to explore the possibilities of compromise with the Indian Nationalist movement, Phillips was denied access to Gandhi and Nehru. His report to the White House was critical of British imperial policy. That background may prove useful in the Middle East.

There is less to be reported about the remaining three committee members. O. Max Gardner, now practicing law in Washington, made a good record as Governor of North Carolina and is well regarded by Southern progressives. Frank W. Buxton is the respected veteran editor of the Boston *Herald*. He won a Pulitzer prize back in 1924 for an editorial called Who Made Calvin Coolidge? The editorial, reread today, inevitably has a kind of Currier and Ives flavor. It is unnecessary to produce credentials for Frank Aydelotte, director of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. He is American secretary of the Rhodes Trust and a good friend of Britain—but one need not be an enemy of Britain to dislike the White Paper or distrust Ernest Bevin.

Of the six British members of the joint commission, the one known to us at *The Nation*—if only as his occasional, though admiring, readers—is R. H. S. Crossman, assistant editor of the London *New Statesman and Nation*. About the others the only facts available are biographical details supplied by the British Ministry of Information. Lord Morrison of Tottenham is one of the New Labor peers, an old-timer in the party, once parliamentary secretary to Ramsay MacDonald. Sir Frederick William Leggett has been in the Ministry of Labor since 1917. Major Reginald Edward Manningham-Buller is a barrister and a Conservative M. P. Wilfred P. Crick is economic adviser to the Midland Bank, one of the so-called Big Four banks. Sir John Edward Singleton, chairman of the British contingent, has been a judge of the King's Bench since 1934. It is not an exciting list.

These are, I am sure, good men, and I intend no disrespect to them when I say that it is difficult to write of the new inquiry temperately. Such inquiries, to judge from past experience, represent a kind of "heads I win, tails you lose" gamble. If the commission finds that surviving European Jews are begging for a chance to stay in Germany and Poland, and only a handful of Zionists want to go to Palestine, we may be sure the findings will be fully and immediately "implemented." But if the commission finds that most of the survivors wants to go to Palestine and should be permitted to go there, we may be equally sure that the recommendations will bog down. This process is well understood in Palestine.

I spent an evening, in Haifa, with one of the leaders of the current civil-disobedience campaign against the British authorities. I began by trying to convince him that it might be wise to do nothing until the committee had brought in its report. He ended by convincing me that the Jews of Palestine are justified in feeling that they cannot wait. Before the war, during the war, and now again since the war, they have seen a series of inquiries and conferences. There was one at Evian. There was another at Bermuda. Nothing came of them. As the number of inquiries grew, the number of Jews declined. Many Palestinian Jews feel—and I fully share that feeling—that a kind of "non-intervention" was practiced by the Western powers against European Jewry. "Six million Jews died in Europe while we waited for the democratic powers to act," said one Palestinian. "Thousands more of the remnants will die if we sit here with hands folded during the winter while they investigate again." The Palestinians, who did such quietly heroic work rescuing their brethren from Axis Europe, are going on with the job of rescuing them from "liberated" Europe—despite the White Paper.

In London I found the atmosphere as complacent as that in Palestine was desperate. The problem in London is just another of those headaches of empire. In Palestine half the Jews are folk who got away barely in time to escape Belsen and Oswiecim; the dead were their kinsfolk; the survivors are their kinsfolk, too, the last of whole families. I spoke with Jewish boys in British army uniform who had found friends and relatives in the camps. "More than food or clothing these people need hope—the hope of having a home at last." The British are a kind people, but they have troubles of their own. In Palestine the Jews are building a nation, and the plight of European Jewry is not merely sentimental or peripheral but as intense and central a matter as the massacre of Britons and the succor of the survivors would be for Englishmen. For Palestinians illegal immigration is a Jewish Dunkirk across the Mediterranean, an urgent and inescapable duty.

There are sympathetic folk in England who express the opinion that Bevin proposed the commission of inquiry as a means of giving him a way out with the Arabs. They point to the possibility of interim reports by subcommittees as a wedge to open Palestine's doors to increased immigration. It is difficult to reconcile this theory with the news from Germany that Field Marshal Montgomery has ordered new refugees from anti-Semitic Poland turned back at the border of the British zone lest they "aggravate" the Palestine problem. It is hard to reconcile any optimistic theory with the British Labor government's foreign policy elsewhere, from Greece to Java, where Bekasi seems to have provided a fair imitation of Lidice. My own opinion is that Bevin wanted the inquiry in order to get America to share, not the responsibility for a genuinely equitable solution in the Middle East, but the odium of shutting off Palestine to further Jewish immigration. Bevin's concern is not a decent break for the surviving Jews of Europe but the building of an anti-Soviet bloc in the Middle East at the expense of Jewish aspirations for a refuge and a national home.

The Future Role of Britain

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

(The Nation's *London correspondent)*

London, December 7

ALL the uncertainties in today's picture of Britain—its future standard of living, its progress, swift or halting, toward real socialism, its wisdom in borrowing dollars—center in one question which neither the people of this country nor the Labor government has yet had the mental toughness to face. Is Britain to attempt in the atomic age, with the world divided geopolitically between the two land masses of America and Russia, to play the part of a great power, with all that that implies in diversion of resources to armaments and in dependence on economic aid, on terms, from the United States? Or is it to cut its coat according to its modest cloth and accept, as its future destiny, the role of "middle" power, leading the smaller nations of Western Europe in a "neutrality bloc" and resolutely declining, in foreign and imperial policy, to assume responsibilities or pursue objectives that are incommensurate with its own strength?

That question might well have been debated when the all-embracing motion of censure was offered by the Tory opposition in Parliament this week. In fact, the issue was burked on both sides: the government is not ready with its answer, and the Tories, with their sentimental heritage of nineteenth-century imperialist patriotism, will never get round to thinking realistically about such fundamentals. The result is that in contemporary British politics there is an air of unreality, of shadow-boxing, while events take shape by default. But as your correspondent's duty is to chronicle what is actually happening in the British political arena and not to present merely an existentialist picture of what is *not* happening, he must interpose here a brief summary of the past month's developments. They have been twofold: the opposition has declared total war, and there has been a significant "tightening of the ranks" behind the government.

At the beginning of this parliamentary session it looked as if the Tories were inclined to concede that the electorate had given Labor a clear mandate for a big instalment of state planning and intervention in the national economy, and as if they would confine themselves to constructive, semi-benevolent criticism of individual measures. Mr. Churchill, indeed, promised to refrain from opposing nationalization schemes which did not involve "questions of principle"; this Parliament, he hoped, would be "fruitful." Gone is that attitude.

Though many of the big industrialists, like Sir Clive Baillieu, president of the Federation of British Industries, have publicly declared their readiness to accept the framework of over-all state planning and to cooperate with the government in a policy of full employment, provided reasonable scope for private initiative is left in non-nationalized industries, the Tory line is now an all-out anti-Socialist crusade. One or two of the more liberal-minded Conservative front benchers, such as Harold Macmillan, are probably unhappy about this policy. They can hardly fail to be aware of its incongruity with the fact that a committee appointed by Mr. Churchill's administration, and presided over by the chairman of Unilever, Ltd., has just recommended unanimously the transfer to public ownership of the gas industry —on rational grounds of promoting more efficient organization. This handful of "progressive" Tories would really like to follow the Liberal Party's line and try to discover a way of dovetailing smoothly the working of private and state enterprise in their respective fields. But this "compromising" policy has been vetoed by the Tory party managers, and Winston Churchill recently proclaimed the end of non-belligerency.

In their new attitude the Tories make no appeal to reason. Their slogan is, "The People Versus Socialist Tyranny." Are there shortages? Blame Cripps; he is deliberately imposing austerity for doctrinaire ends. Is reconversion going slow? Blame the Socialists' passion for bureaucratic red tape. Are pockets of unemployment already visible? The government is robbing you of your job in order to prove that capitalism can't work. Do you lack a house, a Christmas turkey, a sense of "Happy Days Are Here Again"? Then you ought not to have listened to Labor blandishments; the old Tory firm would have delivered the goods; the land would have flowed with milk and honey. These were the implications behind every Tory speech in the censure debate; and even Mr. Churchill's rhetorical invective could not disguise the weakness of the opposition's position.

Coming from a party which has no intelligible positive policy for reconstruction and whose only plan is to have no planning, the Tories' attack on the government's "incompetence" cuts little ice with the majority of the public. With the aid of a predominantly Conservative press every sort of irrational discontent—at rationing, queues, form-filling, and so forth—can doubtless be exploited. Parliamentary time can be wasted in motions of censure and endless, factious amendments to bills. Schemes of nationalization can be held up by inordinate demands—now being made by the coal owners—for compensation. Some employers can be persuaded to "go slow" with production: this is happening now in the motor industry. If there were really large-scale unemployment, there might be an audience for the Tories—or even for the fascist "Christian Reformers," who proclaim the deity of Hitler, and for Blackshirt Mosley, now launching a publishing venture. But, for the moment, it would take more than these ranting Tory tactics seriously to embarrass the government; and when Tory headquarters tries to discredit Labor's behavior by calling for recruits to form bodyguards for speakers "liable to receive rough treatment," the average voter just laughs.

In Parliament the natural reaction of Labor members would in any case have been to rally behind their leaders. During the censure debate they plunged with gusto into the fray. But apart from this the morale of the party, slightly deflated, as your correspondent has previously reported, by doubts whether the Cabinet would have the courage to move on from the uncomfortable halfway house of "negative" state control to more positive Socialist action, had been greatly stiffened by Aneurin Bevan; and in the hitherto depressing background of foreign policy Ernest Bevin's last speech had raised hopes of a saner approach to fundamental problems. In his Building Materials bill the Minister of Health gave the first clear indication that if capitalist enterprise is no longer ready or able to provide the initiative for production on the state's terms, the state will assume the responsibility. Not merely will the Ministry, at need, undertake building by labor squads in its direct employ; it is going in for manufacture of housing components by state-owned factories in a big way, and is planning to make the wholesale distribution of all building materials and fittings a state monopoly if it has any trouble with price rings. This was the forthright stuff that Labor back benchers, impatient at apparent hesitations, wanted to hear.

As for Mr. Bevin, the party has been disappointed with the meager results of Mr. Attlee's American visit: the Study Commission on Atomic Control was generally regarded as an unpromising effort to find a way out of the vicious circle created by American reluctance to abandon, until conditions of confidence had been established, an aggressive weapon whose monopoly by one nation made realization of those conditions, in a world of uncompromisingly sovereign states, impossible. A more imaginative lead from Mr. Attlee had been hoped for; and in his speech last month Mr. Bevin seemed to give it. He came out boldly for the pooling of sovereignty in a world government: if real security was to be achieved, federalism it must be, and nothing less. Not ignoring the obstacles—in Moscow no less than in Washington—the Labor back benchers cheered lustily; here, at least, were signs of a real breaking away from Churchillian imperialism.

How real is it? Here we come to the crucial question with which this dispatch began. The one irremediable mistake which this country could make would be to follow the fatal example of France in the 1920's and to maintain the foreign policy and armaments of a great power when it cannot afford to do so. A simple sum in terms of man-power is conclusive. In 1939, with 500,000 men in the armed forces and 1,500,000 unemployed, Britain had a labor force of 3,000,000 available for the manufacture of consumers' goods. The total post-war labor force will be no larger than in 1939, and the numbers needed in the production of food, coal, houses, and capital goods and in distribution and other services will not be smaller. Assume 500,000 fewer unemployed: it will still be impossible to have armed forces exceeding 750,000 men, without crippling the output of consumers' goods, of which a proportion much greater than in the inter-war years must be allocated to exports. So far the government talks as if it contemplated having over 2,000,000 men more or less indefinitely in the services. This would kill all hopes of securing a reasonable standard of living in this country; socialism would stand condemned as the architect of penury.

We must, then, lighten our commitments, and this means modeling our foreign policy not on yours or Russia's but rather on that of Switzerland or Sweden. If one could be sure that Mr. Bevin and his colleagues accepted realistically Britain's enforced future status as the biggest of the minor powers, one would feel less disquiet about the implications of Britain's dollar borrowing.

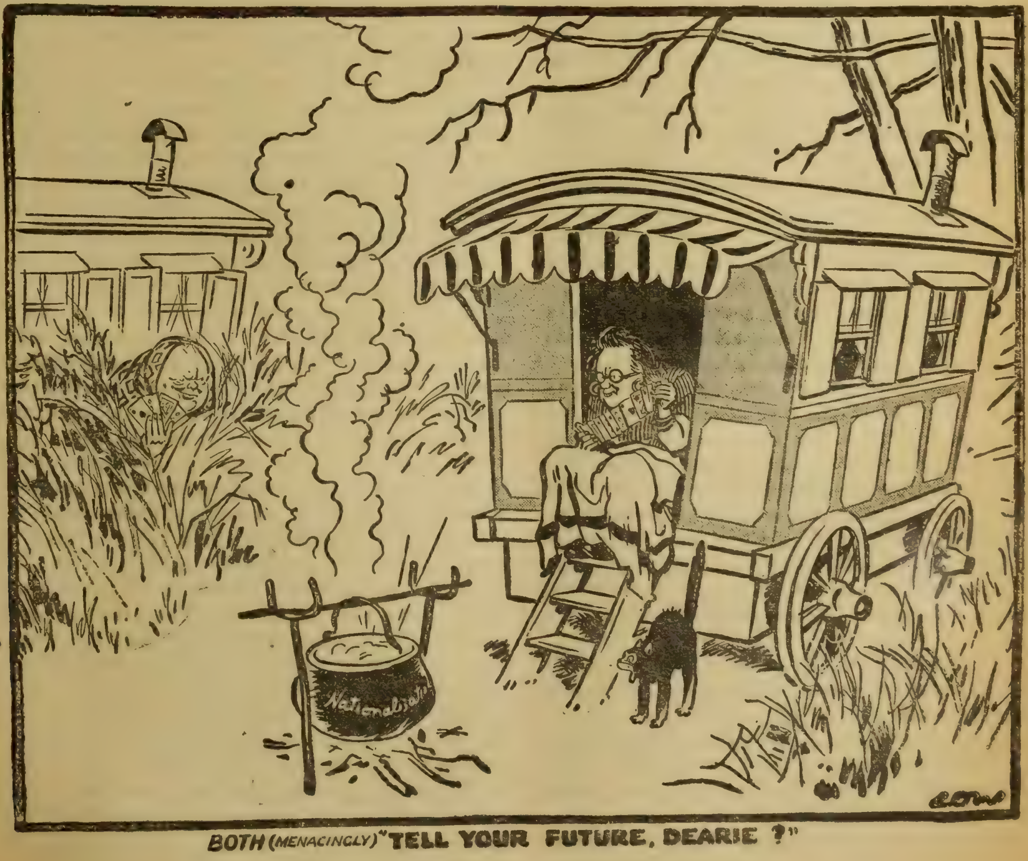
Irrespective of political parties, the greater part of informed British opinion regards the terms of the dollar loan with grave disquiet, which is likely to increase as the full implications of the complicated provisions are appreciated. The immediate advantages from our standpoint are obvious. First, we shall avoid a hard period of still more drastic rationing of consumption goods, which the government's enemies would have exploited politically. Secondly, and more importantly, we shall have an opportunity to make speedier economic recovery by ampler immediate imports of raw materials and reequipment plant. These gains, however, are outweighed by a formidable list of disadvantages.

In the first place, though Britain retains the right to maintain quantitative import restrictions, it is pledged to make no discrimination between countries. That is, it forfeits the ability to switch its purchases—for example, of petroleum—

to the sterling area and may be compelled even to contract its trade with the dominions if a shortage of dollars compels it to restrict imports from the United States. Secondly, there is extreme uncertainty whether we can actually honor the commitments assumed. Britain's balance of current external payments is estimated to show a deficit of five billion dollars in the next three years, thus absorbing more than the dollar credit line now opened. Furthermore, even assuming that the blocked sterling balances are partly liquidated by use of the existing dollar resources in the sterling pool and partly scaled down and funded, nevertheless, liabilities to sterling creditors will still be an immense future strain on our balance of payments. Considering that Britain's obligation to terminate, by the end of 1946, the whole existing sterling-area mechanism means giving a free run in the Empire to an intensive American export drive; can Britain rely on achieving, by 1951, an export surplus sufficient either to meet interest and amortization on the dollar loan or to enable us to implement the "free-exchange" obligations of Bretton Woods? The answer is yes, provided a miracle occurs.

That miracle would be the willingness of Congress, in the scheduled International Trade Conference, to authorize your Administration to make big tariff concessions without reciprocal gains from others, thus creating a real probability of a permanent American import surplus. Unless that eventuates, and the United States also successfully maintains high stable employment, it is considered here inevitable that Britain will be faced after 1951 with a dollar shortage necessitating, first, invocation of the interest-waiver clauses in the loan terms; second, invocation of the "scarce-currency" escape clauses in Bretton Woods; and third, in all probability, Britain's resignation from the Monetary Fund. For Britain, therefore, acceptance of the loan terms represents a gigantic gamble dependent on an unknown factor—your willingness to pursue a liberal trade policy and accept the "good-neighbor" obligations of your creditor position. If the gamble fails, Great Britain will be in the unpleasant situation of an insolvent debtor who has seriously weakened his own economic independence.

A final doubt is whether the present agreement will ultimately preserve good Anglo-American relations. Parliament will doubtless ratify the agreement next week; but it will do so believing we have really secured five years' interest-free prolongation of Lend-Lease aid, repayable only if America creates conditions making repayment feasible. If Congress fails to make radical changes in American trade policy, then Britain can sidestep both Bretton Woods and the loan repayment, declaring that Congress is solely blameworthy for a



BOTH (MENACINGLY) "TELL YOUR FUTURE, DEARIE ?"

horse-trading deal which took insufficient account of Britain's war sacrifices. If this be the upshot, Congress will naturally indict British trickery. In view of the probability of this deplorable result, it is felt here that it would have been wiser for Britain, at the cost of immediate hardships, to forgo a loan on terms so pregnant with future disagreements.

There is no occasion for Socialists here to wring their hands or cry, "All is lost." Neither the loan terms nor the provisions of Bretton Woods preclude the British government from maintaining the minimum controls essential to a planned Socialist economy; and whatever Congress may be led to suppose, there is no question of our surrendering on these fundamental principles. Nor would it be a constructive attitude to await passively the breakdown which is foreseen for 1951. What we must do, so far as our relations with the United States are concerned, is to go forward to the International Trade Conference with a program aiming at an expansionist commercial policy based on full employment, and hope for the best. But in matters within our own control we are more than ever bound to husband our resources and develop them for civilian production. The one thing we cannot afford to do is to use your dollar facilities as a means of maintaining grandiose armaments in support of a Palmerstonian foreign policy. We must lighten our liabilities in India and the Middle East; we must seek friendships in Europe both with our near neighbors and with countries in the Russian sphere. We must exercise influence, not by armed strength, but by unaggressive leadership of states which have renounced power politics. Otherwise our borrowing will mean not only the loss of our independence but economic and moral ruin.

A Plan for Germany

BY SAUL K. PADOVER

(Historian and political scientist; during the war a member of the army's Psychological Warfare Division)

WHETHER as a result of criticism or in recognition of its own limitations, the army has apparently decided that government of Germany by the military should be discontinued. Some weeks ago Major General John H. Hilldring, head of the Military Government (Civil Affairs) Division, quietly announced the policy that "civilians, directed by civilian agencies of our government, should take over."

This decision will be applauded by all who have been properly critical of Military Government. But where does it leave us? It is easy for the army to say to civilians, You take over. The fact is, there is nobody to take over. We have so bungled our planning for Germany that we have no civilian personnel trained to administer the American zone. So far as I know, no governmental civilian agency exists to which the responsibility for ruling Germany can be transferred.

I do not know what the time-limit for improvising and guessing is, but I do know that the Administration in Washington cannot continue such a course much longer without running into serious trouble. It must make up its mind what to do with the Germans and then it must act decisively. Clear thinking on the subject can be aided by the recognition of certain paradoxes: first, that Military Government in Germany is not desirable, but that a military occupation is necessary; second, that the Germans should be allowed local self-government, but that major decisions should not be left in their hands.

If we continue to maintain a large occupation force in Germany, a time will come—possibly as soon as the next Presidential election—when the crypto-fascists and neo-isolationists will start a campaign against wasting the taxpayers' money by keeping soldiers in a disarmed country. Such a campaign would probably have the support of pacifist and pro-German elements. But should our armed forces really pull entirely out of Germany, the whole European balance would be upset and the dormant Nazi elements encouraged to come out of hiding. Moreover, Great Britain and France would be confounded.

To avoid this possibility, we should keep in Germany a permanent small force consisting of a number of fixed garrisons and a compact air force disposed at strategic points. A number of army posts could be transferred bodily from the United States to the American zone to act as garrisons. Members of the regular army could be sent to these posts for training, being rotated every three months. A man can get his military training as effectively in Kassel as in Kansas, and with little additional cost to the taxpayers. These regular army garrisons in Germany would have the duty of protecting our interests, but would do no governing.

The local government of Germany should be intrusted to German officials, but always under the supervision of American civilians. It is important to recognize the bleak truth that most Germans today are without experience in self-government, that they have few political interests or desires, and that it may take decades to overcome their civic inertia.

We must also keep in mind that the present generation of Germans is not promising material for a democracy, although there are exceptions among the older people. To leave any great responsibility, without proper guidance, in their hands would, I am convinced, lead to a new dictatorship. I recall talking one day in the Ruhr to a large group of workers, many of them former Social Democrats, and asking them about their political ideas for the future. They replied with one voice: *"Wir müssen den richtigen Mann finden"* ("We must find the right man").

German youth presents a special problem. Roughly speaking, boys and girls under sixteen or seventeen are probably redeemable; those over that age are poisoned perhaps beyond recovery. The Edelweiss Society, which organized the only "revolt" against the Nazis that took place under Hitler, consisted largely of young kids who were disgusted with the compulsions of Nazism. There were thousands of them, principally in the Catholic regions. These youngsters had no positive political ideas; they were simply against regimentation and against the deprivations they were undergoing. Properly directed, such young people could be turned into decent democratic citizens.

The question is: Who can do it? The great majority of the teachers cannot be trusted. Most of those who are not Nazis are ultra-nationalists and pan-Germans. In one German city we went through a list of 328 grammar-school teachers, and after making all due allowances we were left with only 18 who were not Nazis or extreme reactionaries. Hitler had set up a large number of normal schools *(Lehrer und Lehrerinen Bildungs-Anstalten)* to train teachers in the Nazi spirit—a fact not generally known. Students were recruited from families which the Nazis considered reliable, and the underlying philosophy of the curriculum was *Rassenkunde*. Hitler had personally given the order, a superintendent of schools in a big German city told me, that "no German child should leave school without a thorough orientation in racial science."

The first crop of these Nazi-trained teachers took over around 1942. Today all the younger teachers are probably Nazi, not nominally but in spirit. It would be wise not to employ any of them. This means that we should either have to close the schools for a time—in the Ruhr many schools have been closed since 1943—or employ right-thinking but ill-trained non-professional pedagogues. Possibly some of the refugees in this country and in England might be persuaded to return to Germany as teachers and trainers of teachers; or German-speaking Swiss might be induced to undertake a teacher-training program. Education in the long run is a more important problem than the dismantling of German industry. The army is not equipped to solve it. And obviously the Germans themselves, even democratic Germans, cannot be expected to carry through the pedagogic revolution that is called for. We should not repeat the mistake of the democratic Weimar Republic in leaving the reactionary, militaristic, monarchist teachers unmolested.

Whatever steps we take to solve this particular problem, we must follow a democratic line and, if necessary, follow it without regard to policy in the other zones. It is unfortunate that the division of Germany into four zones makes a unified educational, as well as political and economic, policy difficult if not impossible. But within the limits of the Potsdam agreement the United States can carry on experiments. If these experiments should be successful, they might be adopted by the British and French and perhaps also by the Russians. In any case, the United States is in a position to influence, if not the whole German nation, at least one-fourth of it.

I believe that the President, with the consent of Congress, should set up an Occupied Lands Authority as a permanent agency. The OLA should consist of those members of the Cabinet who have a direct interest in foreign areas—the Secretaries of State, War, the Treasury, and perhaps others. The first step of the OLA might well be to organize a Foreign Civil Service Division, the second to set up training schools. The army had such schools at Charlottesville and elsewhere, and so did the OWI and the OSS for different purposes. The experience of these schools is available, as is probably much of the personnel. The OWI and the OSS at one time or another employed our ablest specialists on foreign countries, and the OLA might do some useful recruiting among their former members. A civil service for Germany, and probably for Japan too, would require psychiatrists, educators, editors, writers, economists, sociologists, jurists, political scientists, and police administrators. It would not need engineers or firemen or public-utilities experts; there are plenty of Germans trained in those fields.

In place of the Military Government officers, the President, through the OLA, would appoint civilian high commissioners for each of the German provinces under our jurisdiction. Each high commissioner would be, so to speak, a viceroy and would have veto power over the German Minister-President. A similar scheme could be worked out for the bigger cities: every Bürgermeister would have an American civilian commissioner over him.

It would be imperative that all the commissioners should be men of the highest caliber with experience in democratic administration. I can think of a number of such individuals—for example, Harold Stassen, Milton Eisenhower, Herbert Lehman; I am merely suggesting the type, not offering recommendations. For the sake of the object lesson, one of the high commissioners might well be a Negro. The high commissioners and commissioners need not know German, but their staff of specialists should speak the language. The specialists would not occupy administrative posts but would serve solely in the capacity of friends and advisers to the German officials. I believe that the American staff would be most effective if it did not interfere too much but let the qualified German administrators take responsibility. Obviously only democratic and anti-Nazi Germans should be intrusted with power, and they should be given considerable freedom of action.

Another consideration: power, as the saying goes, has a tendency to corrupt. To guard the American occupation officials from temptation and to protect the Germans against the Americans, constitutional safeguards should be set up. We should proclaim in our zone a charter of basic rights—including the right to speak and write freely (within the limits of military security), the right of habeas corpus, and the right to trial by jury. After all, the way to teach democracy is to practice it.

Any planning for a Foreign Civil Service must also consider certain imponderables. Americans can be terribly lonely in Germany and to escape the depressing monotony may be driven to liquor and—"fraternization." It would therefore be desirable to permit wives to accompany their husbands. I think, too, that the American civil officials should wear a semi-military uniform. In Germany a uniform commands respect, and a democratic civil service would find its work greatly facilitated if its members wore good-looking and somewhat ceremonial attire.

But however wise our policies and however skilled our personnel, a certain amount of trouble must be expected. I am convinced that a fascist-nationalist underground is inevitable in Germany. For one thing, historical experience tells us that an occupying authority inevitably arouses opposition. For another, unemployment is bound to cause discontent and unrest. In fact, the amount of opposition to the occupation will probably be determined by the economic situation. Again and again Germans, especially workers, said to me that all they wanted from the Americans was *"Brot und Arbeit"* ("Bread and Work"). Without employment—on one level or another—any democratic experiment will probably fail. Too many Germans still have painful memories of the hard times that persisted under the Weimar Republic. Not to solve this problem now would be to link the concepts "unemployment" and "democracy" permanently in the German mind. Hitler's greatest claim to loyalty and support from the German masses was his success in creating work for all.

Creation of employment under present conditions will undoubtedly require a fundamental shift of the population from the cities to the villages. Last spring German farmers complained bitterly to us that they had no labor to help them, particularly after the Polish and Russian slave workers left. There has always been a shortage of farm labor in the Reich, and it has been made more severe by the war casualties. German city workers do not like farm labor, but they will have no choice. The light industries that are permitted to continue will certainly not be sufficient to absorb the industrial workers. For the next generation or so the German people will be able to support life only if they are largely de-industrialized. This, in my opinion, is not a matter of anybody's wish—it is simply the legacy left by Hitler.

By long-range planning we can, I believe, rule Germany with a small corps of American civilians, reeducate German youth, and prepare the German people for ultimate incorporation in a society of free nations. With a few fixed military garrisons we can meet our international obligations and secure European stability. Not the least advantage of the plan I have proposed is its inexpensiveness. A small staff of civilian specialists trained to govern Germany would cost no more than the construction and maintenance of a battleship.

[*This is the fifth and last of a series of articles on the Military Government of Germany.*]

Who Owns a College?

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

(Contributing editor of The Nation*)*

Chicago, December 5

ROOSEVELT COLLEGE of Chicago was formally dedicated on November 16, when Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt affixed a bronze plaque bearing the inscription "Dedicated to the Enlightenment of the Human Spirit" to what will some day be the cornerstone of an institution of learning named after the late President. The story of Roosevelt College concerns all persons interested in education, for it raises the pertinent question: Who really owns a college?

For the beginning of that story we have to go back to 1936, when Dr. Edward J. Sparling, who had recently become president of Central Y. M. C. A. College in Chicago, made an interesting discovery. Central College was one of some twenty colleges maintained by the Y. M. C. A. in Chicago and directed by the board of the local "Y" in cooperation with the central board. Dr. Sparling found that Negro students were required to pay an annual physical-education fee but were not allowed to use the swimming pool, gymnasium, or other athletic facilities of the local "Y." As soon as he learned of the discrimination, he ordered gymnasium fees refunded to all Negro students and then discontinued the athletic program of the college until such time as the local Y. M. C. A. was prepared to allow Central College students to use its facilities without regard to race or color. At a later date Dr. Sparling learned that the Edgewater Beach Hotel, where the college graduation ceremonies were scheduled to be held, followed a Jim Crow policy, and he canceled the arrangements. Then in 1944 the college sponsored the publication of a booklet written by Dr. Gordon Allport on the subject of scapegoats. These actions, while not particularly revolutionary, seem to have aroused considerable anxiety among the highly conservative members of the board of directors.

In August, 1944, Mayor Kelly called a conference on race relations in Chicago. Dr. Sparling, who was one of the speakers, condemned restrictive covenants as "un-Christian, undemocratic, and un-American." At the same conference, however, Newton C. Farr, a member of Dr. Sparling's board of directors, upheld the morality of such restrictions and their social "justification." A millionaire real-estate operator, Mr. Farr is known to Chicago Negroes as "the man who tightened the Black Belt." He is a former president of the National Real Estate Association, a member of the board of Lincoln Memorial University and the Illinois Institute of Technology, a trustee of the Edith Rockefeller-McCormick trust, a vice-president of the Chicago Title and Trust Company, and extremely active in the Oakland-Kenwood Property Owners' Association, which is credited by Chicago Negroes with having established the prevailing pattern of restrictions in Chicago. Oddly enough, Mr. Farr is a devoted admirer of Abraham Lincoln and has long been a member of the Civil War Round Table Club of Chicago, which meets to discuss rare items of Lincolniana and the Civil War. The owner of a large library of volumes about Lincoln and the Civil War, Mr. Farr considers himself quite an authority on the Reconstruction period. "Gone with the Wind," he believes, is a "nearly factual" description of Reconstruction, while Howard Fast's "Freedom Road" is of "doubtful authenticity."

For an admirer of Lincoln Mr. Farr holds some extraordinary views about Negroes and Jews. In an extremely frank interview with Richard Durham of the Chicago *Defender*, printed on February 17, 1945, Mr. Farr said, "Negroes enjoy sex too much. They are inclined to be promiscuous. They are mostly uneducated, and the majority of them are poor, ragged, and dirty. They're underfed. They make undesirable neighbors." And he was certain that Abraham Lincoln, if he were alive today, would indorse the idea of restrictive regulations. "If restrictive covenants were dropped today," said Mr. Farr, "and if a thousand Negroes moved into Hyde Park or Oak Park, there would be war. There'd be hell to pay." His prejudices, unlike his covenants, are not restricted to Negroes. "Take Jews," he declared in the same interview. "As a race they too have certain undesirable characteristics. Especially the poorer Jews. They're gluttons. They eat too much. They get fat, sloppy."

After Mayor Kelly's conference on race relations Mr. Farr expressed a desire for a private "heart-to-heart" talk with Dr. Sparling about restrictive covenants. When the meeting took place, Mr. Farr insisted that "Negroes enjoy more brotherhood among themselves" than they would enjoy if they were permitted to associate freely with whites. Dr. Sparling disputed this. Mr. Farr spoke with enthusiasm on his private project, the George Washington Carver Homes, an all-Negro project in the Negro section, calling it the type of building which might bring about a solution of the acute Negro housing problem in Chicago. Questioned by Dr. Sparling, he admitted that although the units were not completed he already had 1,000 Negro applicants for the 54 apartments in the project. Needless to say, this conversation did not bring about a reconciliation between the president of Central College and its most influential director.

At a meeting of the board in November, 1944, Mr. Farr asked Dr. Sparling how many Negro and Jewish students were enrolled at the college. Dr. Sparling replied that he did not know, since under his administration no records of this sort were kept. Other members of the board joined Mr. Farr in insisting that the information be supplied. "The board of directors," they said, "is running this college." Dr. Sparling finally agreed to obtain the facts but said that if the information were used to establish a quota system, he would feel compelled to resign the presidency. The figures showed that under his administration the enrolment of Negroes had increased from 4 per cent of the student body to 25 per cent. In some departments—for example, in the classes in stenography—Negroes were more heavily represented than in others; Dr. Sparling explained this by the fact that most of the local business schools and colleges would not train Negroes for secretarial or clerical positions. (After voting to compel Dr. Sparling to supply this information, the board instructed the secretary to strike from the records the names of the men who had moved and seconded the motion.)

The friction between the administration and the board over quotas and general racial questions was increased by sharp differences of opinion on other issues. The chairman of the board, William P. Wiseman, another wealthy Chicagoan, criticized Dr. Sparling for tolerating the discussion of such "controversial subjects" as "racial, religious, and labor problems" in the college. When Dr. Sparling suggested that the college should "service labor" in the community in the same manner that it had long been "servicing" business, the suggestion was promptly and coldly turned down by the board. At the time of the Montgomery, Ward strike, Dr. Sparling spoke at a mass-meeting called by the striking union; this of course, did not enhance his popularity with the board members. Yet Dr. Sparling had made a fine record at Central College. When he became president in 1936, the college had an indebtedness of $75,000. By February, 1945, this debt had been paid, and the college was $11,000 ahead for that month in the year. In addition, Dr. Sparling had managed to add $100,000 to salaries, had created a $52,000 stabilization fund, and had increased endowments and enrolment.

At a board meeting on February 7, 1945, Dr. Sparling was told that his "qualifications were not compatible with the requirements of the position of president," and it was suggested that he look for another job. A member of the board added that since he seemed to be interested in Negroes, he might want to get a job with the Rosenwald Foundation or possibly "go down and live with the Negroes." On April 17 Dr. Sparling resigned under protest. The faculty promptly met and by a vote of forty-nine to fifteen indicated lack of confidence in the board of directors, and then, by a vote of sixty-two to one, decided that it would be desirable to have the college severed from Y. M. C. A. control and direction. This decision was supported by a large section of the student body, which voted 488 to 2 in favor of it—not all the students who wanted to vote could crowd into the small auditorium at the school.

In the meantime Dr. Sparling had managed to interest Marshall Field, the fairy godmother of American liberalism, and Dr. Edwin R. Embree of the Rosenwald Foundation in the idea of starting a new college. Large funds were not needed, for Central College—and the fact is quite remarkable—had been able to pay nearly 90 per cent of its expenses out of tuition fees. Originally Dr. Sparling planned to call the new college the Thomas Jefferson College, but after the death of President Roosevelt in April letters, telegrams, and telephone calls poured in suggesting it should be named Roosevelt College.

Thus within a few weeks Central Y. M. C. A. College had severed itself from the Y. M. C. A. and become Roosevelt College. There is no precedent in American educational annals, so far as I can discover, for the action of the faculty, who not only supported the stand taken by Dr. Sparling but followed him out of Central College and into Roosevelt College. Approximately 80 per cent of the faculty resigned their positions when Dr. Sparling resigned as president. Today in its new headquarters at 231 South Wells Street, Chicago, Roosevelt College promises to become an important institution of learning. Some 1,400 students are enrolled—and no questions are asked about the number of Jewish or Negro students. Since Chicago has no publicly supported liberal college offering education above the sophomore year, Roosevelt College, with its relatively low tuition fees, will fill a real need in the community. Only one-fifth of the 20,000 high-school graduates in Chicago now go on to college.

To their amazement the board of directors of Central Y. M. C. A. College discovered that a college is something more than its charter, board of directors, equipment, desks, furniture, books, and bank account. It discovered that a college is primarily a community of students and educators, and that the community is really the owner of the college. This ownership was proved when the faculty and students walked out. Nothing was then left of Central College except an irate board of directors, some empty offices and unused equipment, and a discredited Jim Crow heritage.

In setting up Roosevelt College Dr. Sparling decided that he would try to have a board that would never want to dictate an undemocratic policy to the faculty. The board of Roosevelt College is drawn from labor, management, capital, cooperatives, government, the professions, social scientists, the press, and educators. Five members of the faculty are represented on it. The chairman is Dr. Edwin R. Embree; the vice-chairman is Percy L. Julian, the brilliant Negro chemist. For some reason, Newton C. Farr is not on the new board. He is scheduled, however, to be elected president of the Civil War Round Table Club in January.

[*This is the second of several letters from the Middle West and West.*]

Victory for the Fatherland Front

BY PHILIP JORDAN

(The Nation's *correspondent in Southeastern Europe; formerly the London* News-Chronicle's *chief foreign correspondent)*

Sofia, November 18

HOWEVER illiberal and undemocratic the principle on which the Bulgarian elections were held yesterday, the actual voting was conducted in a manner with which no impartial observer could have found fault. Foreign observers were free to go where they wished, to arrive at any place without warning, and to be present in the booths during the actual voting. No doubt if they had possessed the necessary competence they could have watched the counting of the votes, but none did; and none, therefore, have a right to doubt the final figures issued by the government this evening. These final figures show that 86 per cent of the eligible population voted, and that 88 per cent of the 86 per cent cast their ballots in favor of the Fatherland Front, as the somewhat doubtful amalgam of parties calls itself. This means that just under three-quarters of the entire adult population, less those few who have been deprived of their civil rights, voted to maintain in power the combination which has governed since the so-called revolution of September 9, 1944, when the Germanophile government of King Boris was thrown out just before the Russian army occupied the country. But while an impartial observer must pay tribute to the absolute secrecy of the balloting, he cannot uphold the way the elections were staged.

In itself the Fatherland Front is an admirable idea. It contains the seeds of an effective democracy, having originally comprised all those parties in the state which were hostile to the Germanophile policies of the late Czar. Its leadership fell naturally to the best-organized, the best-disciplined party in the country, the party which had had years of experience in underground work. The Communists were a minority, but their fanaticism, and their close ties with the Soviet Union, made them the general staff of revolt.

When the Germans were finally driven out of Bulgaria by the advance of the Red Army and the success of the British and American forces on the western front—to hear a Bulgarian talk you would think they had fought the Germans single-handed—the necessity for one party's leadership came to an end. But supported by the presence, rather than the active interference, of Russian troops on Bulgarian soil, the Communists insisted on dominating the Front. And though a minority, they were able to dominate it because they retained in their hands the Ministry of the Interior, which controlled the entire life of the country through its police.

This insistence lead to schisms, and the major party in the nation, the Agrarians, walked out of the Front, leaving behind a mere rump subservient to the wishes of the Communist Party. It is almost impossible to say what proportion of the Agrarians walked out and what proportion remained beneath the banner of the Hammer and Sickle. The only measure that the outsider can discover is the sale of the newspapers which each branch controls. It is a rough-and-ready guide but probably a fairly accurate one. On November 1 the newspaper *Zemedelsko Zname,* organ of the Agrarians remaining in the Front, had a sale in Sofia of 1,900 copies. On the same day the *Narodno Zemedelsko Zname,* organ of the opposition Agrarians, sold 35,250 copies, which was, incidentally, the largest number sold by any newspaper circulating in Sofia. The next largest sales were those of the *Otechestven Front,* the official government organ—28,760 copies—and of the *Rabotnichesko Delo,* the Communist Party's daily—32,150 copies.

A third important section of the Fatherland Front is the Zveno, the political branch of the former Military League. The Zveno is nominally headed by Kimon Georgiev, the Prime Minister, but is actually the instrument of General Damian Velchev, at one time one of the most ardent persecutors of Communists that even this country has produced. But if necessity makes strange bedfellows, so does expediency, and so does cynical opportunism; and today General Velchev tucks up with as remarkable a man as this country has yet given to the world, Georgi Dimitrov, legendary hero of the Nazi Reichstag-fire trial and one of the first European fighters against fascism. It is not a pleasant sight to see these two heads lying on the same pillow; and when one finds the representatives of the Communist newspapers of the world clapping a speech by Velchev, one may, I think, be forgiven if one asks them if they can recall the dishonoring words they so properly wrote about the man only eleven years ago, when by a coup d'état he abolished the only semblance of liberal government this country has ever enjoyed.

The rest of the Fatherland Front is made up of political odds and ends split off from the remaining parties, somewhat as the tail of a lizard splits off from the body without doing it any noticeable injury. There are a few Social Democrats, an Independent or so, and a small group of characters who call themselves Radicals and have no discoverable principle unless the desire for power be counted as one.

The opposition consists mainly of the vast body of Agrarians who have few or no political objectives and to whom security is all that matters. They form a large proportion of the population, though just how large one cannot say. One may doubt that they include as high a percentage of the small-holding peasants as the leaders claim. A new spirit has come from the east and north, a new hope, and it has been dinned into peasant heads without respite since the Germans left. Some have certainly embraced that hope, far more probably than any British or American observer could determine, though it is likely that any absolutely free election would still show a majority for the opposition.

Here it must be said that if ever an opposition displayed complete lack of common sense this one did. It was maladroit in the extreme, and by unscrupulously exploiting the non-recognition policy of the United States and Great Britain it succeeded in identifying our two countries in the majority of minds with the worst possible form of reaction. Indeed, you hardly hear any mention of the Western democracies; they are spoken of as "Western reaction." Until the day of the election there were actually people in this capital who were afraid to be seen in public places with American or British citizens lest they should lay themselves open to a charge of collaboration with the enemies of the people.

The responsibility for this attitude lies not so much with the government as with its opponents, who have pursued a policy of absolute non-cooperation with the Fatherland Front in the belief that British and American power was behind them and would see to it that one fine day the reins of government were handed to them. Up to the last minute they believed the visit of Mark Ethridge, special observer for Secretary Byrnes, would succeed in postponing the elections. They could not have misread the situation more if they had tried deliberately to do so. The power and prestige of the Fatherland Front depended absolutely on the punctual holding of the elections, which had been postponed once. That was priority number one. If the elections had been delayed farther, the dominant Communist faction within the Front would have been decisively defeated and might never have regained its power. So smart a tactician as Dimitrov knew this as well as anybody, and for him and his followers, till yesterday evening, there was nothing that could begin to compare in importance with the elections.

Not that British and American wishes have been entirely neglected. On the contrary, thanks largely to the energy and frankness of the United States Minister, Maynard Barnes, and thanks also to the mere presence in Bulgaria of Mark Ethridge, the Fatherland Front has begun to adopt a more conciliatory attitude toward those who disagree with it. From them the Front has nothing to fear so far as internal affairs are concerned. The opposition is hopelessly split, has no leaders worthy of the name, no policy beyond a wringing of the hands, and is firmly convinced that it is for Britain and America to pull it out of the mess created by its own ineptitude.

Dimitrov's speech three days ago offered rights to and imposed duties on the opposition if it wishes to play a part in modern Bulgaria. His speech indicated a complete change of attitude. Only ten days before, on his arrival from Moscow, he had threatened fire and the sword to those who opposed the Fatherland Front. The speech was a failure: even the faithful, who had governed for more than a year on the orders which he telephoned from Moscow, were upset. Even they had hoped for some measure of conciliation. Dimitrov, an adroit and experienced politician, trained in the logical expediency of Kremlin politics, was quick to see his mistake. He changed his tune, and his speech was welcomed both in government and in opposition circles with a sigh of relief. It foreshadowed, despite its bitter attack on "Western reaction," a policy designed to win with as little delay as possible that recognition from the Western democracies which the more vocal and intransigent Communists declare to be a matter of indifference to them. The contrary is the truth: now that the elections are out of the way, recognition has become the new priority number one.

The predicted reign of terror has not materialized; once it became certain that the elections would no longer be postponed, the need for violence disappeared. Not all the King's horses nor all the King's men—to say nothing of the President's—can undo what was achieved yesterday. If the new government proves politically wise, practices a decent moderation, and tolerates the pinpricks of an impotent opposition, it will surely receive recognition. There may be some delay: the government is well aware of that, but it can afford to wait, the more so as both the British and the American authorities are inclined to resume at least commercial relations.

How far the Soviet Union interferes in Bulgarian affairs it is hard to determine. By garrisoning the country with a minimum of 100,000 men it commits, of course, an act of the highest interference, and it can no more claim to be disinterested than the British can claim to be disinterested in Greece. The Russian troops here have behaved well but are none the less a burden on the somewhat strained economy of the country. Their mere physical presence is an immense aid to the government, encouraging people who might think twice about it to vote for the maintenance of the Fatherland Front as at present constituted. Certainly the actual membership of the Communist Party has at least doubled since the war began drawing to an end in this part of the world; many new adherents have come from the ranks of those who are either frightened or desire jobs. My own impression, which would be disputed by both the American and the British Mission, is that in any free election the Communists would have received perhaps 30 per cent of the votes, certainly no more; and they know it or they would have willingly consented to the holding of such free elections. As it is they dominate the government; more, they swamp it. The coalition has granted them approximately 50 per cent of the seats, and the other 50 per cent, held by the Agrarian rump, will be filled with Communists masquerading as Agrarians.

Yet however much one may deplore this open jury-packing, it is impossible to withhold admiration altogether from the Fatherland Front. The contribution of Bulgarian partisans to the war was negligible, but they did create a spirit in this country which can shake it from its apathy and give self-respect to its citizens. They began a revolution which is but half finished. They began it on the old model—terror, intimidation, murder, and plunder; but they seem to be going to finish it on the new model—persuasion, good government, and tolerance of the enemy once his claws are drawn.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Friction in the North Atlantic

AFTER a wordy battle operators of North Atlantic air routes have settled down to an uneasy truce pending a meeting in early January, when an effort will be made to prevent the development of rate wars. For the time being Pan-American World Airways and American Overseas Airways are both to charge $375, the pre-war rate, for passengers flying from New York to England, and both have permits to make seven round trips a week, though provisionally they are regularly scheduling five each. Presumably the British Overseas Airways Corporation will adjust its rates accordingly, but at present it is hardly competing with the two American lines, for it is not yet equipped for winter flying over the North Atlantic and its two flights weekly are on a roundabout southern route.

The recent ructions were precipitated when Pan-American announced it was slashing one-way passenger rates from the war-time level of $572 to $275. It justified this cut on the ground that it had been able to reduce costs by switching from its old sea-planes to more modern land-based aircraft which could be operated more cheaply. Other operators raised their eyebrows at this claim. For while there is no doubt that when really large planes with a carrying capacity of two hundred or so are available much lower fares will be economically possible, it is questionable whether with the Douglas DC-4's now being used to transport twenty-five or fewer passengers, Pan-American's cut rates would cover all costs. It has been noted that on its Latin American routes, where it has less present and prospective competition, Pan-American has been content with a much more modest revision of fares. In fact, it has left the Miami-Rio de Janeiro rate at $425, while that to Buenos Aires has been marked down by only $5 to $490. Hence there is some reason to suspect that in offering its transatlantic bargain the company was following chain-store merchandising practice and putting an attractive "loss-leader" in its show window.

Pan-American, it must be remembered, has a well-deserved reputation as an aggressive fighter. For years before the war it successfully blocked every attempt by other American air lines to break into international flying. Then when the domestic companies banded together to press their claims for post-war overseas routes, Pan-American put on a great campaign to get its de facto monopoly legalized. Senator McCarran, its "chosen instrument" on Capitol Hill, brought forward a bill to create a single American "flag line" to which all overseas traffic would be intrusted. Domestic air lines would have been permitted to participate in this venture, but obviously Pan-American would have formed its core. Senator McCarran pushed this plan hard, but it bogged down in committee after the Administration plunked for the principle of competition abroad as well as at home.

Last summer the Civil Aeronautics Board allotted North Atlantic routes to American Overseas Airlines and Transcontinental and Western Air over the protests of Pan-American. The latter's recent rate cut, therefore, seems to say very clearly, "You asked for competition; very well then, we promise you a bellyful." That is not to say its tactics are just a matter of spite. On the contrary, Juan Trippe, chairman of Pan-American, a cool and calculating strategist, is surely thinking in terms of long-range policy. By announcing his cut, even though he was almost immediately forced to withdraw it, he advertised his company as the protagonist of cheap air travel. He has done something to remove the horns of monopoly from the public image of Pan-American, substituting for them the halo of the thwarted pioneer. In time to come, if the competitive system raises too much hell on the North Atlantic, his record may be put to profitable use.

Meanwhile the threatened rate war has served to call attention once again to the lamentable results of the failure of America and Britain to reach an agreement at last year's Civil Aviation Conference in Chicago. It will be recalled that no compromise was reached between opposing points of view on the third and fourth "freedoms of the air," which involve the right of authorized air-transport operators to land passengers and freight in any country and to pick up traffic destined for their country of origin. The American delegation insisted that these freedoms should be enjoyed competitively, with no economic controls except those imposed on operators by their own governments. The British maintained that unless competition on international routes was regulated by an international authority, it would be impossible to avoid rate wars leading to competitive subsidies.

This unresolved issue not only blocked a general agreement at Chicago; it has served since to delay a bilateral agreement between America and Britain providing for reciprocal commercial air rights. Hence the obsolete agreement of 1937, which allowed for two weekly round trips by the air lines of each country, still holds. The additional flights which Britain has in fact permitted to American operators represent an uncovenanted act of grace. That is why the British government was able to discipline Pan-American, when it effected its rate cut without prior consultation, by reducing its schedules to the original two a week.

Hopes of a new agreement now depend on the success of the North Atlantic operators' conference which is meeting under the auspices of the International Air Transport Association next month. If this body is able to establish machinery for fixing minimum rates and maximum schedules and for preventing rate wars, the British may regard it as a voluntary substitute for the authoritative International Aeronautics Board they failed to obtain at Chicago. In this case auspices should be good for a new Anglo-American agreement providing for a much-expanded volume of traffic between the two countries. But Britain will not offer facilities for a competitive free-for-all which, in view of the commanding lead enjoyed in civil aviation by this country, would mean American domination of the international air. Before condemning this attitude it might be well to bear in mind that the United States is equally unwilling to leave its merchant marine at the mercy of free competition.

KEITH HUTCHISON

The People's Front

ALMOST simultaneously England and France have passed laws to nationalize banking. The parallelism of these projects marks the profound social transformation that is taking place in Europe, a transformation born of the conviction that the road to recovery runs to the left, in the direction of socialism. The parallel is all the more striking because the economies of the two nations are so different. England is an industrial country which for more than a century has had to import the bulk of its foodstuffs. France, on the other hand, has been until now one of the few industrial countries capable of feeding itself. The war has accentuated these differences: in spite of the blitz England's industrial plants and transport are relatively intact; those of France have been largely destroyed. Yet British Labor and the French resistance are moving in the same direction.

Disappointed by the foreign policy of the British Labor government, many people are apt to lose sight of its accomplishments in the domestic field. Here at least it is conscious of its power. Harold Laski said to me the other day, "Those who predict a short life for the new government are fooling themselves; this time Labor is in power for ten years." That explains the new tone in the speeches of the Labor Ministers. It is not as it was in 1924. Sharp-tongued Ellen Wilkinson and Aneurin Bevan, long recognized as one of the most eloquent speakers in the House, bear little resemblance to their counterparts in the government of Ramsay MacDonald. Even quiet Hugh Dalton in his budget speech gave the impression that Labor is ready to embark on a genuinely Socialist program; for the first time a Chancellor of the Exchequer dared to define prosperity not in terms of dividends but of production and purchasing power. He spoke with still greater assurance in introducing the bill to nationalize the Bank of England. Four days after the second reading two more nationalization measures—cable and wireless and air transport—were proposed. And while nationalization of railways is not included in the legislative program for the current session of Parliament, the railway companies have already gone on the defensive with propaganda designed to prove that their performance during the war was excellent and that nationalization can only result in a decrease of efficiency. They have revived the old saws about "removal of the competitive spur" and "introduction of control by stick-in-the-mud bureaucrats." But the Labor press has retaliated with the reminder that the fastest scheduled run on the British railways, that of the privately owned L. N. E. R. line's "Coronation," holds fifty-second place in the list of the world's high-speed runs.

Twenty years ago a hesitant and conciliatory Labor Party government faced an aggressive Tory-Liberal majority in Parliament. The Liberals have remained true to this old marriage of convenience; two weeks ago they supported Churchill's motion of censure against the government. But this time Labor has an absolute majority in the House; and when Mr. Churchill accuses the government of driving England to socialism, even the gentle Mr. Attlee retorts that it was for this the British people put Labor in power on July 5.

In France the picture is the same. During the Popular Front the "Liberals" of France, the Radical Socialist Party, held the majority. They could—and did—write the death warrant of any Cabinet that even whispered the word nationalization; directly or indirectly they sabotaged every measure that meant a change in France's social or economic structure. Last week, however, by a vote of 521 to 35, the Constituent Assembly approved a proposal to nationalize the banks that goes even farther than the British act; it includes, in addition to the Banque de France, six other powerful banking and credit houses, among them the Crédit Lyonnais, the Société Générale, and the Comptoir d'Escompte. The new law has its weak points, especially in regard to compensation, but it marks a big step forward: the Prime Minister will no longer, as in the time of Léon Blum, be at the mercy of the directors of the Banque de France and the "two hundred families." The Socialists and Communists together had enough votes to pass the bill, but they were joined by the M. R. P., which as a party created by the resistance also knows that there can be no return to the old big-business dictatorship of French political life.

In the devastated countries private capital has launched the slogan, "You can't socialize ruins," but the contrary is the truth: only by socializing ruins can Europe recover. In England, in France, in all of Europe, popular thinking is focused on Socialist planning, just as half a century ago liberal thought revolved around the problem of political freedom. Among the highly industrialized democratic countries Czechoslovakia has adopted a program of 70 per cent nationalization, including even pottery, porcelain, glass, cement, and textiles. In those agrarian countries where land reform takes the place of industrial nationalization, the same trend can be discovered; by last August Hungary had broken up its feudal estates and distributed four million acres of land to three-quarters of a million peasants.

Everywhere the desire for change is visible. The other day as he was passing through a little village at the Hungarian-Yugoslav frontier on his way to Belgrade, Kingsley Martin, editor of the London *New Statesman and Nation*, saw a poster which read, "We have no need of the past." If those Americans to whom the word socialism is anathema were to cross the Atlantic, they would find few allies apart from those who financed Hitler and Mussolini or the Romans who are urging a ten-year American military occupation of Italy to forestall "disorders." And the editorial writer of the New York *Herald Tribune* who recently denounced the "silly and irresponsible" Laski would discover that free enterprise and market economy are becoming as obsolete in Europe as horse cars are in the streets of New York. DEL VAYO

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

ARGUMENT ON RIME

Karl Shapiro Objects

DEAR SIRS: With your permission I would like to make a reply to Delmore Schwartz's review of my "Essay on Rime" in *The Nation* of November 10—Delmore's remarks are set off by quotes.

1. Shapiro has discovered that "the modern poet depends too much upon scansion by count of ear." This statement appears nowhere in my book, either by inference or by assertion and betrays a wish on Delmore's part to have me condemn all of modern poetry.

2. Shapiro confounds scansion by count of ear "with such devices as Cummings's typography and with his own misunderstanding of Bridges's analysis of Milton's blank verse." I have numbered the lines of my book for people like Delmore who lose the place. If Delmore will turn to line 500 and begin reading he will see that I consider "typography" an entirely separate branch of modern poetry, having no connection with scansion by count of ear. My own "misunderstanding of Bridges's analysis of Milton's blank verse" is just one of those things. I read Bridges's book and Delmore read it as he read "Essay on Rime." Bridges wrote a book called "On the Elements of Milton's Blank Verse in Paradise Lost," in which Bridges discovered that the typical line has (1) ten syllables, (2) with five stresses, (3) in rising rhythm. All these elements Milton varied according to an elaborately schematized system of supernumerary syllables, elisions, contractions, and stress inversions—as I said in simpler language in my essay.

3. "In belief, the failure is disbelief, the effort to find beliefs, and an acceptance of the doctrines of Freud." Delmore will please notice that I defend the literary uses of Freud in Joyce but not in the case of the literary amateur. Delmore will deny that any such distinction between Joyce and, say, Delmore exists.

4. Delmore asserts that the "Essay" contains "countless errors of fact and interpretation," but manages to root out only differences of opinion. If Delmore is preparing a large-scale study of my errors, he can put me down for ten copies. Delmore thinks Marianne Moore's line about disliking poetry is ironical. I disagree with Delmore and therefore commit an error either of fact or interpretation. *Ex cathedra Delmoris.* Delmore takes exception to my naming psychoanalysis a therapy and italicizes the word in horror. Here I commit not an error but a sin, because to Delmore psychoanalysis seems to be a religion. Delmore objects to my calling Poe the Lenin of the symbolists. On second thought and in deference to Delmore I am having this changed to the Trotsky of the symbolists.

5. "If it seems contradictory to praise the master for qualities for which the follower is censured, and the whole of modern poetry condemned, the explanation is that Shapiro's praise is really half-hearted and ambiguous." I like the word "ambiguous." Delmore wants like hell for me to condemn "the whole of modern poetry" in order to classify me safely as an "anti-intellectual and philistine." This classification would fill one or two of the empty pigeonholes in Delmore's head. It's no fit, Delmore. I do not condemn "the whole of modern poetry"; I am too *ambiguous*.

6. "Shapiro condemns intellectuals more than anyone else." Delmore wants like hell for me to condemn intellectuals, but the fact is that I defend Gertrude Stein, Ezra Pound, Eliot, Auden, Joyce, Lucretius, Donne, Yeats, Lawrence, Hart Crane, Barker, MacNeice, Freud, Poe, and even Dante. What I do attack is—but look, Delmore, I wrote a book on that subject. The name of it is "Essay on Rime."

7. Shapiro's condemnation of intellectuals "suggests powerfully that the attack on criticism is a fear of critics, and the hatred of the intellectual a fear of the intellect." My "condemnation of the intellectuals" (see paragraph 6, *supra*) suggests powerfully no such thing, Delmore. No poet of my generation has had more decent and generous treatment from critics than I. I fear no critic, even you, Delmore. Nor does my "hatred of the intellectual" suggest powerfully a fear of the intellect. I fear no intellect, even yours, Delmore. I do confess that your criticism baffles me somewhat, which is not the case with the "intellectuals" above. I put this down as a blind spot in my make-up.

I would like to register a protest with *The Nation's* literary editor for printing a piece of criticism as invidious and deliberately falsified as Delmore Schwartz's review of "Essay on Rime." I make no claims for my book and am interested solely in an honest representation of its contents. There seems to be a slump in the art of book reviewing when the personal rancor of an embittered young man passes for literary judgment in the pages of *The Nation.* KARL SHAPIRO

Mr. Schwartz: Chapter and Verse

DEAR SIRS: Karl Shapiro's objections to my review show the same ignorance as his book. Some of his seven points are merely personal abuse, and the others, except for the first one, come from an extraordinary misunderstanding of what I said in my review and what some authors have said in their books. At the same time Shapiro sidesteps or ignores many of the critical objections which I made in my review.

Point 1. The phrase "scansion by count of ear" is an error in the review for which *The Nation* is responsible. I wrote "scansion by count of eye," and the change must have been made in the proof. Point 2 is closely connected with Point 1 and can be answered at the same time. In "Milton's Prosody" Bridges tried to show that Milton was able "to invert the accent of any foot" (Bridges, page 35), if he restricted every line to ten syllables, by means of such devices as elision. Bridges then attempted to go farther than Milton and write syllabic verse in which accent was entirely disregarded: the only measure of the line was the *number* of syllables. Shapiro confuses Milton's *inversion* of accent with Bridges's *disregard* of accent, a very different thing. Shapiro further confuses both of these practices with imagist meters, which depend wholly on accent and disregard the number of syllables in a line. The confusion becomes enormous when Cummings's use of the look of print on a page is also named by Shapiro as one more example of "visual prosody," to use his strange solecism. As I said in my review, such errors would not matter if Shapiro were not writing about prosody as such.

Point 3 is an example of Shapiro's pretense of defending an error when he is merely making a personal attack upon his critic. I do not deny that there is a distinction between James Joyce and myself. I cannot conceive even by means of fantasy how anything I've ever said suggested such an identification, even in terms of literary influence. Meanwhile by means of slipping into a senseless personal attack, Shapiro evades the very issue he has raised: What is wrong with the beliefs of modern poets? The question of Joyce's use of Freud is Shapiro's red herring.

Point 4 is a confusion in part of Point 3. The confusion is so complete that it is necessary to separate out three elements. First, Shapiro thinks that I italicized the word "therapy" because I think that psychoanalysis is a religion. I think nothing of the sort. Even if I thought it a religion, it is still inconceivable that I would deny that it is a therapy. Shapiro's failure to understand the italics is an instance of his general incompetence as a reader. The italicizing of therapy was an effort to note one of Shapiro's countless errors, for he wrote that Freudian therapy is deductive and deterministic, while as a therapy, as a method of curing nervous illness, the analyst depends upon the emotional transformation of the patient, the liberation of repressed emotional patterns by means of transference, the analysis of dreams, free association, and the like, none of which is either religious or deterministic. Shapiro's error is to take Freud's assumption that all mental acts are caused and attach it foolishly to the actual practice of the analyst. This brings us back to the literary uses of Freud, Joyce's or my own. When Shapiro speaks of "Finnegans Wake" as "an exercise in Freudian philology," he misrepresents Freud, philology, and "Finnegans Wake." Philology is the science of liguistics. Freud was not interested in philology but in the way that uses and misuses of language, especially free associations, make clear the unconscious motives of the psyche. Joyce made use of these Freudian and Jungian discoveries in "Finnegans Wake," but he made use of many other important devices. The phrase "Freudian philology" is actually without meaning.

Second, Shapiro's misunderstanding of Marianne Moore's line is not a matter of interpretation but of fact. If there is no distinction between errors of fact and errors of interpretation, then anything can be said about anything. Apart from the clear absurdity of thinking that a practicing poet like Miss Moore actually dislikes poetry, the poem itself says: "Reading it [poetry], however, with a perfect contempt for it, one discovers in it, after all, a place for the genuine . . . these things [of poetry] are important . . . because they are useful . . . if you demand . . . what is genuine, you are interested in poetry." It is a pity to disfigure thus a wonderful poem, but the poem is too long to quote entire, and the reader will have to read it as a whole if he doubts that it is a matter of

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fact, not interpretation, that Miss Moore does *not* dislike poetry and wrote an ironic line.

Shapiro again appears to be incapable of understanding what I said when he suggests that in objecting to Poe as "the Lenin of the symbolists" I was making some kind of political point which would be rectified by substituting the name of Trotsky. The foolishness, which I thought palpable, was in the incongruity of the comparison: one might as well say that Longfellow was the Kerensky, Baudelaire the Bukharin, Mallarmé the Molotov, and Valéry the Stalin of the symbolists. The point, to state it with the utmost directness, is that Poe and Lenin do not resemble each other.

Point 5 begins with an equivocation upon the word "ambiguous," which means doubtful and uncertain. Any number of passages illustrate Shapiro's condemnation of the whole of modern poetry. On page 19 of his book he writes: "Though some have strength that penetrates and burns/ The *total* is *aberration*" (my italics). On page 48 he says that he cannot agree with Yeats that the last forty years have produced more good poetry than any generation since the Elizabethans. On page 68 he concludes his attack by speaking of "the *norm* and *type* of modern rime" (my italics) as "senseless violence," "a brawl of vocatives," "the vestigial proof of nothing," and as a synoptic title he uses the phrase, "the dead hand and exhaustion of our rime." It is true that elsewhere Shapiro eats and praises his cake before he denounces it, and the quotation from page 19 is a brief instance of this effort to deny and affirm at the same time. In my review I cited his praise of "Ulysses," which is contradicted by the statement that "the price that he [Joyce] paid for greatness is too dear." Shapiro makes no effort to show that this is not a contradiction, in so far as it makes any sense whatever.

Shapiro's list of the authors whom he admires and defends is either disingenuous or an evasion. The example of Joyce can stand for all of them, for the same process of mind is involved. In his poem Shapiro says that for "the breakdown" in language "Joyce is as much to blame as any man." I pointed this out in my review, and Shapiro ignores the point. Is it possible that he does not understand that you cannot accuse a man of being responsible for the breakdown in language and at the same time claim that you admire and defend him? Is it possible to speak of the breakdown and confusion in prosody, language, and belief, and yet claim that you are not attacking the character of modern poetry?

Points 6 and 7, like Point 5, are efforts on Shapiro's part to repudiate what he says in his book again and again. On page 2 he writes, "My only answer is that criticism/ Has charted poetry into dangerous narrows/ And dashed its own brains out upon the rocks/ Of absolute meaning," whatever absolute meaning may mean. On page 65 he objects to the way in which "Our talk . . . dilates on right and wrong,/ Values in point-of-view, criteria/ In taste, and criticism in everything." If Shapiro is not objecting to criticism here, then he is saying nothing. On the same page he speaks of how poetry "as a vision of the soul," whatever that may signify, "Descended . . . into the poetry of ideas," and then Poe as Lenin leads to the statement that "the yeast of *criticism* worked, and rime/ Declined to *verbiage*" (my italics), which is to say that after Poe poetry degenerated. If this is not an attack on modern poetry, on criticism, on the critic and the intellectual, then words do not mean anything.

There are a number of other passages which might have served as well to show that Shapiro does condemn the whole of modern poetry, the critic and the intellectual, but it is obviously impossible to quote at length from a book which is bad throughout—bad as poetry, ignorant as criticism, and shocking in its inaccuracies and misconstructions. Shapiro's letter adds to his book in this sense; he shows himself either unaware of the nature of his opinions or unwilling to take any responsibility for them. DELMORE SCHWARTZ

Hayes Tells All

WARTIME MISSION IN SPAIN, 1942-45. By Carlton J. H. Hayes. The Macmillan Company. $3.

ALREADY the interest in Professor Hayes's self-congratulatory memoirs is mainly antiquarian. At San Francisco the United Nations Organization resolved that it would not admit Spain as long as the Franco regime remained in power; this decision was confirmed at Potsdam; President Roosevelt's instructions to Norman Armour, when he replaced Hayes last spring, made it clear that the United States, like all other decent governments, wants nothing to do with Franco. Hayes does not refer to any of these important statements, which are in such contradiction to the policy he pursued, but they explain the defensive tone of an apologia which manages to be both ill-natured and complacent.

Hayes tells us, with candid self-approval, that the newspaper comment on his appointment as ambassador to Franco Spain was "almost universally favorable and commendatory." Only *The Nation* "expressed dissatisfaction," but he explains that this publication "could hardly be satisfied by any action affecting Spain short of a declaration of war." Hayes's self-satisfaction continued, and he finds now that he made only one small error—he failed to anticipate Franco's grant of a special extra credit to Hitler—against scores committed by the BEW, the OWI, the State Department, under pressure from the "extremist press" to be sure, and even by Sir Samuel Hoare. Hayes had had no diplomatic experience, he could not speak Spanish, he had never been in Spain; but he tells us that he had written some Spanish history and was a Catholic, so that was enough for Roosevelt, whose policy toward Franco is the most inexplicable failure of his Administration.

More important considerations apart, "Wartime Mission in Spain" will at least lay to rest the curious supposition that Hayes had any affection for liberalism or democracy. Actually, his book "The Generation of Materialism, 1871-1900," published in 1941, is one long sneer at liberal European statesmen and their reforms in the age of Gladstone. Like Archbishop Spellman, Hayes adopts the device of setting down the more outrageous statements of Franco, Jordana, *et al.* without direct comment but with implied approval. But he lacks the urbanity and the smooth rhetoric of the Archbishop. He would have been well advised to leave his defense to Messrs. Lindley and Weintal, whose apologia in *Harper's* of December, 1944, was a much smoother job.

Hayes was ambassador in Madrid from May, 1942, to January, 1945. As early as 1943 he had informed the State

Department of his great work: "Keeping the Axis-created regime out of the war," he said, "and bringing it progressively to the side of the United States will eventually be adjudged by informed public opinion as one of the outstanding diplomatic victories of the war and one which, through insuring Allied control of the Strait of Gibraltar and of the western Mediterranean, may prove decisive in bringing about the defeat of the Axis." He makes bold, in fact, to claim that he changed Franco from pro-Axis "non-belligerency" to pro-Allied "benevolent neutrality," despite the "sniping" from the "extremist" American press.

There is, of course, no doubt that from the time the United States entered the war, and particularly after the success of our landing in North Africa, Franco began to see that his Axis pals were losing. Hence we may accept Hayes's claim that many Allied airmen, French patriots, and Jewish refugees from Hitler did get out of Spain. (I have talked to many Jews and Frenchmen who spent months in concentration camps during this period, however, and they do not share the Ambassador's enthusiasm for Franco.) It is true also that Spain eventually shipped less wolfram to Germany than in the early days of the war, and finally stopped it entirely. But the Germans, as BEW records will show, until the eve of our invasion of France continued to get all they really needed—including the wolfram supplied by Salazar and shipped through Spain—and the embargo was imposed only because the State Department, over Hayes's violent protests, had cut off Franco's supplies of oil.

Hayes's major claim is that he prevented the Germans from attacking us through Spain when we landed in North Africa. That was in November, 1942, and for months we kept 250,000 men, who were badly needed at Kasserine Pass, on guard at the Spanish Moroccan border. There was a bare possibility then that the Germans might come through Spain, though Franco, foreseeing their defeat, did not want them to. It would have been far different if the Germans had had the foresight to attack Gibraltar in the summer of 1940, or even as late as 1941. But it was the German attack on Russia, not Hayes, that saved Spain. It is typical equally of his egotism and of his bad judgment that Hayes considered the threat from the Germans even greater after the conquest of North Africa, and even after the capture of Naples, than it was before. So he busied himself all the more getting oil for Franco and an American visa for the son of the Foreign Minister, Jordana. It may come as a shock, even to those who knew some of Hayes's activities in Madrid, that he also wanted the United States to supply military matériel to Franco, who needed modern equipment and was still relying, as he had been since 1936, on Hitler. (Hayes tells us this himself, explaining that he wanted to keep the Nazis from getting extra pesetas, but Franco solved the problem by giving Germany a special credit.)

Hayes devotes much attention to the "success" of the American preemptive buying program in Spain. His summary of the resultant benefits to the Spanish fascists and their unwillingness to impose an embargo on wolfram shipments to Germany is of course sympathetic. It is also unconsciously revealing. "If the Germans," as he says, "couldn't get wolfram from Spain, the Allies, who didn't really need it, would at once stop buying it. A panic would follow the boom. And how then could Spain meet her requirements for foreign imports of petroleum, wheat, fertilizer, machinery, and *arms?*" (italics mine). It would indeed have been regrettable if this flourishing Nazi-Falangista trade had been stopped.

With as much anger as sorrow Hayes admits there was a time indeed when our State Department unaccountably got tough, and despite his strenuous objections, appeals to Roosevelt, and the like, did cut off Franco's oil. This was its reaction to the Laurel "incident," as Hayes calls it, when the Franco regime, to the great satisfaction of the Japanese, sent a special message of good wishes to the head of the Japanese puppet government in the Philippines. This was at a moment when Hayes was assuring the department that he was doing marvels, and he could not understand the department's anger. It was all just a clerical error by Jordana, "an honest and kindly man unmistakably pro-Ally, especially pro-American," and Hayes "saw the incident in perspective." And when a couple of fascist thugs made an attack on the American consulate in Valencia, also to the annoyance of the State Department, Hayes tells us that "the actual facts, as I explained to the department, were that two Falange youngsters, aged nineteen and twenty-two respectively, misbehaved."

Hayes's expertness in logic as well as diplomacy is demonstrated by this explanation of the reasons for his trust in Lequerica, Jordana's successor, who had been Franco's contact man with Pétain: "I felt, at my first meeting with him, that he would adjust himself to changing conditions readily and vigorously. The very fact that he had been associated for four years with Vichy and was reputed to have been pro-Axis, at least in 1940-41, was likely, I reasoned, to render

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him all the more anxious to cooperate with us now that our arms were triumphing." It is evident that in Hayes's estimation there should be more rejoicing over one turncoat than over the thousands of Spanish patriots who had been fighting on our side since 1936.

Hayes's mission, with his naive enjoyment of his contacts with the Spanish dukes, and his bickerings with Hoare—the British appeaser didn't like Franco and wanted a monarchy—is over, and he is now back at Columbia. The evil he has done, however, lives on. He is right, I am afraid, when he insists that the average Spaniard did not want to get into the war, does not want a civil war, even to expel Franco. The reason is obvious. Both during the Spanish civil war and ever since, the United States and England have given continuous assistance to Franco. This has not merely strengthened the fascist regime but clearly weakened the resolve of many Spaniards who stood fast in the defense of democracy as late as the summer of 1941, when I left Spain. The World War began in Spain, but Spain is not yet liberated. Hayes and his cohorts in the State Department and the Foreign Office are responsible.

The return of Spain to a democratic, decent government is inevitable. Franco can only delay it by pretending to do away with the more obvious marks of fascism, or even, *in extremis*, by bringing back a puppet Vichyite king; a resolute stand by the United States and England will hasten his fall. The important thing is to prevent such blunders from being repeated, not only in Europe but in Asia and in South America. It is encouraging to find Hayes admitting that the majority of American public opinion was against him, and that campaigns by *PM*, Winchell, and other "extremists" at times goaded the State Department—for a short while—into taking a stand in favor of democracy. If we extremists can do more effective work hereafter, we may prevent blunders that in an atomic age will be irretrievable. Hayes's book should be a guide and an inspiration for further efforts. He has raised himself a monument more lasting than professorial brass.

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NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

DIANA TRILLING, who is playing hooky for the moment from Fiction in Review—she will be back shortly—asked me to read and report on "Days and Nights" by Konstantine Simonov (Simon and Schuster, $2.75), which has had overwhelming praise from the reviewers if I may judge from an advertisement which recently appeared in *The Nation*. The book arrived late, it is more than 400 pages long, and I read every word of it. Hence this tardy comment.

"Days and Nights" is a narrative of the Battle of Stalingrad. Its author has written plays and poetry; he is also described as an outstanding war correspondent. It was the war correspondent who wrote this book. The desperate day-by-day struggle—for a ruined building, for a few feet of ground, for the bit of the shore of the Volga which the Germans briefly reached—these are its substance and background. The "story" follows the fortunes of a group of officers and a nurse. Ordinary soldiers, curiously enough, do not figure in the book at all except as they are referred to, but not portrayed, as units in military movements—which produces, I must say, somewhat the effect of "Hamlet" without Hamlet. There is a villain in the piece, a traitor who is caught before he does any great damage. There is love interest—the hero, Captain Saburov, falls in love with Anya, the nurse. They both survive for a putative happy ending.

"Days and Nights" sold 400,000 copies in Russia, and it is quite understandable that a Russian reader who brought to this book the intense emotions which the Battle of Stalingrad aroused would find in it a satisfying evocation of the struggle. Even for a non-Russian it serves to recall the emotions generated by the long-drawn-out ordeal. To recall, but not to recreate. For though we may assume that Simonov was himself deeply involved, emotional intensity is just what his book lacks. From the evidence here he is a reporter, not a novelist, and I shouldn't be surprised if his newspaper stories of Stalingrad conveyed its reality far more vividly than this fictional account, if only because he was not called upon to create characters.

I would not have finished an American counterpart of "Days and Nights." I finished Simonov's book because it is written to the current Soviet pattern and has moreover been hailed as an outstanding example of Soviet writing. I was curious to consider the significance of that pattern in the context of world literature.

The current Soviet pattern is nationalist, collectivist, monolithic. In Simonov's book the timeless human emotions—courage in the face of death, love of the village and the land, the hope of happiness when the wars are done—are all set within this triple frame of reference.

What struck me first and most forcibly was the degree to which nationalism—though it patently has validity for Russian writers and readers at this point in Soviet history—has become outmoded as far as the arts are concerned. For in the arts at least the world state has long since been established and national sovereignties discarded.

To illustrate my point: it is simply not possible to imagine the best of contemporary writers, say a Malraux or a Silone, writing a novel in which the concept of nationalism was accepted as it is in "Days and Nights," because the main stream of human thought and imagination, of which they are a part, has long since broken out of that narrow channel.

Collectivism, of course, is in very different case. It has a future. But in Simonov's book, though it is often referred to, it figures curiously little, by comparison with patriotism, as a motivating force.

The monolithic element is most vividly reflected perhaps in the reader's awareness throughout that Simonov is a "public writer" and that his story of Stalingrad is also an exercise in public education. This factor, however relevant it may be, again, for Russian writers and readers, sets up for the non-Russian who approaches the book as literature a barrier to that direct communication between writer and reader which is surely one of the ends of literature.

I think that even John Hersey might agree that "Days and Nights" is not important from the point of view of world literature, though it may be a landmark in Soviet writing. (Personally I think Sholokhov is a better writer.) At least he took pains, in an inordinately long and cozy piece in the *New Yorker* about Simonov and his book, to say that "Days and Nights" is no "War and Peace" and that it cannot compare with "Man's Fate." Yet the total effect of his article was to give the impression that "Days and Nights" was somehow of surpassing significance. And in general the reviewers appear to have been stampeded—perhaps by the fact that it is a book about Stalingrad by a Soviet author—into behaving as if it were a good deal better than it actually is. But then of course reviewers are always being stampeded by one thing or another into behaving as if most books were a good deal better than they actually are.

In this particular case I find support for some of my own reservations—about the writing and the choice of characters —in a strange quarter. Mr. Hersey quoted, in order to dismiss, two opinions from Soviet critics. One said that Simonov had written his book with a "nerveless and indifferent hand." The other criticized the omission of "the portrait of the common soldier. . . . Without this, the picture of the fighting at Stalingrad loses greatly."

BRIEFER COMMENT

A Catholic View

FRANCIS E. MCMAHON'S liberal democratic views are well known to those who read his newspaper column. But since he touches upon the relation of his faith to his political and social views only occasionally in his journalistic writings, it is helpful to have a book from him—"A Catholic Looks at the World" (Vanguard, $2.75)—expounding the deeper religious convictions from which he draws his social views. A part of the book is devoted to criticism of Catholic conservatives and another part to a criticism of non-Catholics who identify the church too simply with social reaction. McMahon's own views are similar to those of Jacques Maritain, whom he frequently quotes. There are certain questions about the relation of an authoritarian religion to the democratic process which are not explored too profoundly. In that sense

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the book is a little too journalistic. Yet it ought to be read by non-Catholics who fail to do justice to the contribution of socially progressive Catholics to the democratic cause.

One of the advantages of a democracy is that it allows us to cooperate with many groups on various cultural, religious, and political levels according to the degree of common conviction we may be able to find on that level. It is both idle and dangerous to insist that we must have common convictions on all possible issues to be able to cooperate on those issues in which we do share a common purpose. Books such as this, therefore, have a creative function. They help us to know our friends across barriers which sometimes threaten to divide us from them completely.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Concerning Saints

RENE FULOP-MILLER in "The Saints that Moved the World" (Crowell, $3.50) rises to something like eloquence in the longest chapter, that devoted to St. Francis; for the rest, his book is rather dull and badly written. Labeling the subjects of his study with single attributes—St. Anthony stands for Renunciation, St. Augustine for the Intellect, St. Francis for Love, St. Ignatius for Will Power, St. Teresa for Ecstasy—Mr. Fülöp-Miller imposes on himself a simplification which it is hard to redeem in a presentation of such complex characters as these. Neither the case for St. Augustine's intellect nor that for Ignatius's claim to sanctity is made very convincing; will *to* power, in fact, seems more like it in the case of the latter, all that drive, all that insistence on political organization, overshadowing, in the author's presentation at least, whatever charity there may have been in the spirit of the founder of the Jesuit order. Quoting many scientists in his introductory address to the modern reader, Mr. Fülöp-Miller protests against the too materialist views of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; he offers the reader in addition an extensive bibliography for supplementary study. The book also has an index.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Films

JAMES AGEE

WHILE I watched the movie which Billy Wilder and Charles Brackett have made out of Charles Jackson's story about alcoholism, "The Lost Weekend," I was pretty consistently gratified and excited. When I began to try to review it, I could not forget what Eisenstein said, years ago, when he was asked what he thought of Lewis Milestone's "All Quiet on the Western Front." He said he thought it was a good Ph.D. thesis. I am afraid that applies to "The Lost Weekend," too. I don't mean that it is stuffy: it is unusually hard, tense, cruel, intelligent, and straightforward. But I see nothing in it that is new, sharply individual, or strongly creative. It is, rather, a skilful restatement, satisfying and easy to overrate in a time of general dereliction and fatuousness, of some sound basic commonplaces.

On that scale, of course, excellent things can be done. I don't see how the drunkard's first experience of the d. t.'s could be improved on by any means except possibly a dragging-out and brutalization of its climax. Frank Faylen's performance as a male nurse is fully as right and powerful; so is a shrieking free-for-all in an alcoholic ward—which is fought, however, by an incredibly mistaken use of "background" music. Ray Milland's performance as the alcoholic Don Birnam is debatable at first, but so absorbed and persuasive as the picture moves along that he all but wins the picture and the doubters over. There are also some first-rate re-creations of place and atmosphere—a soft-leather, soft-noised cocktail lounge, and a perfect setting of the Birnam apartment, and some shots of New York streets and times of day. At best there is a purity of tone and an acuteness about a city and the people in it which belong high in the movies' great classical strain of unforced, naturalistic poetry. While you watch it, it entirely holds you.

Thinking it over, though, there are curious and disappointing things about the picture. Good as he is, Milland is too robust for the best interests of his role; and in the earlier reels, when he is still sober enough to be assessed as a normal human being, it seems clear that neither he nor the director happens to know very much about the particular kind of provincially born, genteelly bred failed-artist Milland is supposed to be playing. None of the other players seem thoroughly at home, either, in the commonplace yet extremely specialized kind of apartment they use, though Philip Terry's gentle performance as the brother is of itself good, and Jane Wyman is knowingly cast as a *Time* researcher. Howard de Silva plays the ambiguous bartender well and with force, but the force and his face, in this context, turn it into ambiguity for little tots. The players miscast as Miss Wyman's ultra-bourgeois parents are probably not to blame, but they turn a sequence where intelligence and restraint would have been particularly gratifying into heavy caricature.

The causes of Don Birnam's alcoholism were not thoroughly controlled or understood, I thought, in the novel. In the movie they hardly exist. It may have been the better part of valor not to try to tackle them, and not to dabble in streams of consciousness, but when you add to this the fact that Mr. Milland cannot convincingly put before you this particular kind of thirsty man, you can see that the picture is bound to lack certain important kinds of depth, warmth, and intensity, not to mention plain dramatic interest. It becomes, too much of the time, just a virtuoso piece about a handsome, practically unidentified maniac. In one or two scenes you get with some force the terrible humiliation which is one of the drunkard's experiences; but considering the over-all quality of the film, it is remarkable how much you seem to have been given, and how little you actually get. There is very little appreciation, for instance, of the many and subtle moods possible in drunkenness; almost no registration of the workings of the several minds inside a drinker's brain; hardly a trace of the narcissism and self-deceit which are so indispensable or of the self-loathing and self-pity which are so invariable; hardly a hint, except through abrupt action, of the desperation of thirst; no hint at all of the many colorings possible in the desperation. The hangovers lack the weakness, sickness, and horrible distortions of time-sense which they need.

It is irrevelant to the carefully developed, finely photographed, wholly objective scheme of the movie, but I cannot help suggesting that many of these failures might have been avoided if the work had been done from a little farther inside. In some respects the method would still have been objective. A few minutes of dead-silent pantomime *(without music, please!)* of deadly weakness, in hangover, for instance, might have made definitive a good deal that is here only sketched; it should be the kind of weakness in which it is virtually unbearable to lift a hand, and for some reason necessary to do much more than that. Much of the wrestling of minds and moods too, I suspect, could have been registered from outside, through lines, business, mere close-up, and posture: Chaplin, after all, has made incredibly complicated things articulate in pantomime. Surely, for one simple instance—most obviously perhaps after the dawn escape from the hospital—it would have been possible to show the abject shattering coldness to which even temperate men are liable; and perhaps also to capture, through it, the sudden annihilating loneliness and fear of God—or whatever more terrifying it may be—which are so common, if peculiar, an experience. For certain other things you would have to take your camera and soundtrack part way inside the mind. Not to mention the curious enhancements and dilations which the outside world takes on for a drunken man—and I don't mean distortions in any "artistic" or "fantastic" sense but only such qualities as withering, euphoria, and tumescence. In the aftermath of drunkenness one is liable to be excruciatingly oversensitive to things touched, and to sound, and to light. Touch would have had to be carried by business—and might surely have been used to convey feverishness as well. Sound and light peculiarities could have been impacted in the film and track by appropriate, dry exaggerations. A knocking radiator, an abrupt auto horn, coupled with the right kind of playing, might have told the audience as much in an instant as an hour of pure objectivity could. The light

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equivalents of flashing traffic on a sunny autumn day, as Birnam would experience them, might drive an audience moaning from the theater, unless their exact realism were modified into art.

I undershtand that liquor interesh: innerish: intereshtsh are rather worried about thish film. Thash tough.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THOUGH the sound of the Philadelphia orchestra in Columbia's most recently issued recordings has been clear and bright and natural, Columbia has not achieved the warmth and richness of Victor's recording of that orchestra—for example, the recording, made presumably before 1942, of its performance of Tchaikovsky's "Nutcracker" Suite under Ormandy (Set 1020; $3.50). The orchestra plays beautifully; Ormandy's treatment of the music has its normal quota of questionable tempos and prettifications.

This Philadelphia recording is an example of the type of Victor orchestral recording that I like best—in which everything is correctly placed in space and, as in the English recordings, cleanly defined in live but unreverberant quiet. Another example this month is the beautiful but—for me—saddening Dream Pantomime from "Hänsel und Gretel," well-performed by the National Symphony under Kindler (11-8948; $1).

The other type reproduces the reverberation of the empty hall, and at its best (the noisy confusion of the Boston Symphony's "Harold in Italy" is an example of its worst) achieves the somewhat hard clarity and brilliance of the sound of the Chicago Symphony's performance of Respighi's Suite "The Birds" under Defauw (Set SP-14; $2.25). The music is charming; the performance is very good; and again Victor charges $.25 for a useless "album."

The record of Waldteufel's "Skaters" Waltz (11-8947; $1) reproduces faithfully the hard, reverberant sound that N. B. C.'s Studio 8H gives to Toscanini's N. B. C. Symphony performances instead of the warmth and splendor of their sound in a normal concert hall. What Toscanini does with this Waldteufel piece is as astounding as what he does with Sousa marches: the plastic perfection of the modelling of the slow introduction brought tears to my eyes; and the grace and liveliness of the waltz were enchanting.

This is an example of the best that Victor has achieved in Studio 8H. There is also a worst: the harsh and coarse Mozart G minor, the cold and harsh Beethoven Fifth, the hard and excessively unresonant Beethoven "Eroica"; and to these Victor now adds a recording, made at the broadcast, of Toscanini's performance of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 3 with Rubinstein on October 29, 1944 (1016; $4.50). It gave Toscanini the opportunity it has given me to hear again the orchestral part played like Beethoven, the piano part played as if it were Chopin—for example, the florid melodic passage in thirds in the second movement played exactly as Rubinstein plays the florid passages in thirds in the second movement of Chopin's E minor Concerto—and to hear also the orchestra and piano badly out of gear for several measures after the cadenza in the first movement. Correctness of style and rhythmic precision are things which Toscanini is fanatical about; and I must therefore wonder at his approval of the performance for release. In addition, orchestra and piano are badly reproduced and their relative volumes of sound are often incorrect, so that occasionally piano figuration blankets orchestral melody, or an orchestra tutti that should burst in *fortissimo* sounds a mile away. Again, therefore, I must wonder that Toscanini and Victor should issue such a glaringly bad recording when they have withheld the 1941-42 recordings he made with the Philadelphia Orchestra because of defects that are very slight in comparison: an obscured oboe note at one point, a few clicks or a noisy surface at another point, which one would gladly put up with for the sake of the wonderful performances and the otherwise beautiful reproduction of their sound in the Academy of Music. If, in the case of the Beethoven concerto, it was decided that what Victor calls "slight mechanical imperfections" should not deprive "the world of music-lovers . . . [of] the thrill of hearing this great artistic triumph again and again," it should also be decided that the slighter imperfections should not deprive music-lovers of those memorable Philadelphia performances of Berlioz's "Queen Mab," Debussy's "La Mer," Schubert's C major, Tchaikovsky's "Pathétique."

The notes for Bach's "Goldberg" Variations played by Landowska (Set 1022; $6.50) quote excerpts from this passage in my review of her February, 1942, performance of the work in Town Hall: "Compared with the statement of the [opening] aria in the performance that Landowska put on records some years ago this one was more spaciously elaborated in greater detail—detail which was more richly inflected, now with power, now with subtlety, and always with extraordinary rhythmic continuity. These qualities of phrasing, together with masterly use of the instrument's tonal resources, imparted exciting life even to some of the more mechanical examples of the variation process that followed; and they made the spacious statements of the wonderful slow variations in minor mode, the affecting restatement of the aria at the end, overwhelming." The notes also quote Virgil Thomson's review of that performance, containing one of his discussions of rhythm about which there is always the same thing to say—that he may know what he is talking about but I haven't been able to find anyone else who does. However, he makes one observation, the truth of which I can appreciate: "Most artists, by the time they have worked out that much detail, are heartily sick of any piece and either walk through it half asleep or ham it up." By the time Victor recorded Landowska's performance, in June, 1945, she had hammed it up: the elaboration of detail had been pushed to the point where everything is over-blown, over-projected, over-dramatized, where the shape of the phrase in those slow variations in minor is distorted, the rhythm obscured. Her instrument, in addition, is coarser in sound than the one she used for the old H. M. V. performance; and this difference is emphasized by the brighter Victor recording. The volume must be turned down far below the normal level to achieve the small sonority which the harpsichord should have; and even then there are a couple of sides from which the sound suddenly leaps out at you and fills the room with the chiming of bells.

James Melton sings *Il mio tesoro* from "Don Giovanni" (in Italian) and *Dies' Bildnis* from "Die Zauberflöte" (in English) with competence but with no refinement or vocal style or musical phrasing, in his volume of operatic arias (Set 1013; $3.50). The results are more acceptable in the Prize Song from "Die Meistersinger" and *"In fernem Land* from "Lohengrin" (both in German). There are also two arias from "Manon."

With one exception the Mozart Sonatas for organ and orchestra recorded by Biggs and the Fiedler Sinfonietta (Set 1019; $3.50) are inconsequential. The performances are good; their recorded sound reverberant and a little brash.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

To Our Readers

THE CHRISTMAS SPIRIT could not be more fittingly expressed in these troubled times than by gifts to organizations trying to relieve the destitution caused by the war. The agencies listed below are collecting clothing to aid those people in many parts of the world who are facing a winter of suffering. *The Nation* heartily commends them to your attention. Clothing may be sent to the addresses listed.

International Rescue and Relief Committee, 130 Orchard Street, New York 2.

United Yugoslav Relief Fund of America, 877 Broadway, New York 3.

American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, 235 East Eleventh Street, New York 3.

Foster Parents' Plan for War Children, Merchandise Receiving Depot, 991 First Avenue, New York 22.

Russian War Relief, 2331 Twelfth Avenue, New York.

Victory Clothing Collection, 100 Maiden Lane, New York 7.

American Friends Service Committee, Friends' Sewing Room, 144 East Twentieth Street, New York 11.

Spanish Refugee Appeal Warehouse, 715 Second Avenue, New York 16.

Untapped Reservoir

Dear Sirs: I was very much impressed with your recent editorial comment concerning the Spanish Refugee Appeal and its present clothing drive. So much so that it occurred to me that you might be interested in being reminded of a tremendous untapped reservoir which is expanding daily.

While the courageous heroes of Spain face the coming European winter with no real help apparently in sight, American demobilization is sending millions of men and women home equipped with a good deal of clothing which, in many cases, will see no, or almost no, service. From my own private observation it appears that the average G. I. hopes never to wear or use this equipment again, once he has made his initial adjustment and transformation into civilian life and apparel. The clothing includes warm overcoats, blouses, pants, shirts, woolen underclothes, socks, and possibly shoes. For all men already out of the service and those of us who will join them soon here is an opportunity for a worthy gesture to our predecessors in arms.

I feel certain that if we ex-service men and women were made fully cognizant of the great need, and of the debt owed these allies, we could provide a satisfying portion of the material needed by the Spanish Refugee Appeal.

ST.SG. HERBERT H. SEGERMAN

Indianapolis, December 2

Wonderland, 1945

Dear Sirs: "Everyone pities the Jews. Palestine must admit 100,000," said the Red Queen.

"And we must take the rest," said Alice.

"Well," said the Red Queen, "we might allow some to go to Philadelphia or Pittsburgh."

"Why these two?" said Alice.

"Both commence with P," said the Red Queen.

"And any left over can come to New York," said Alice.

"My dear," said the Red Queen, "certainly not! I live in New York."

JOHN BUCHANAN

Nova Scotia, December 6

The Gift of Song

Dear Sirs: The Music Library Committee of the American Friends of the Hebrew University, whose members include many distinguished music scholars, solicits music and books about music for the Hebrew University Library, Jerusalem, Palestine. Music in good condition, instrumental, chamber works, orchestral, and opera scores, vocal music, and books on all phases of music are sought.

The Music Section of the Hebrew University Library now possesses a considerable collection of music literature. But the great demand by students and music lovers in Palestine, Jews, Arabs, and Christians, alike, requires a greatly expanded collection.

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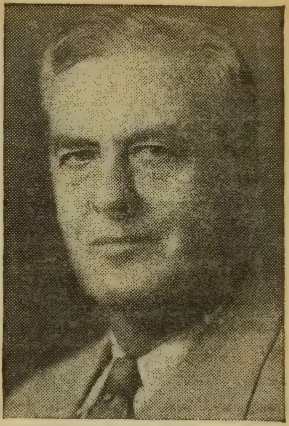
New York, November 29



Dr. Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Editor*

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geophagy. The practice of eating earth. Clay is eaten by numerous poverty-stricken people in the tenant farm areas of Alabama and Georgia as a food substitute, primarily to make up for dietary deficiencies.

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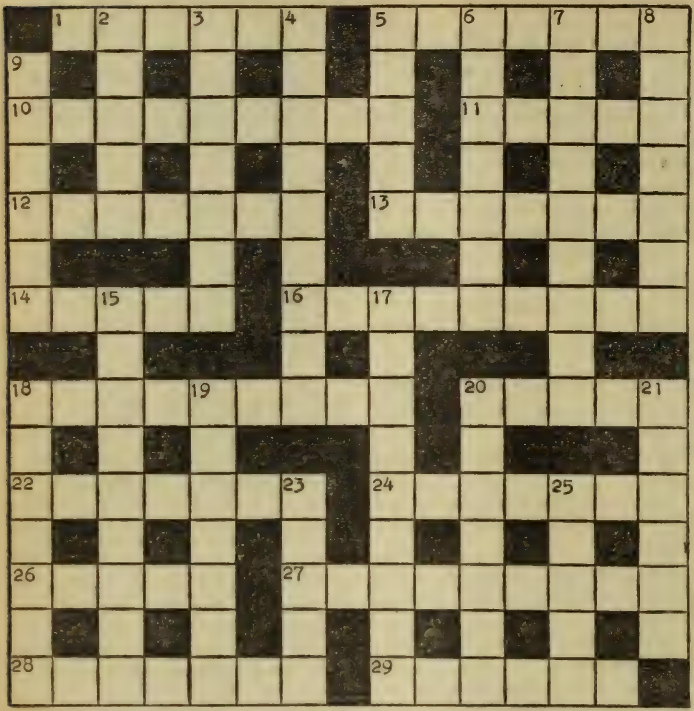
Crossword Puzzle No. 140

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 He beat Messala in a famous chariot race (two words, 3 & 3)
5 Tool of Fagin, and an artful dodger
10 Hero of John Bunyan's famous allegory
11 Heaven's first law, according to Pope
12 Arrange
13 Metal plate for marking a crate
14 Athenodorus advised Caesar to repeat the alphabet to himself when he was this
16 A hat, Polly, is one way to make you feel better
18 "Keystones" is probably a better word for them
20 It might be worse
22 They give people nasty looks
24 Composer whose *Americana* suite is more frequently heard abroad than here
26 All that was left of the Cheshire Cat
27 The gloomy poet in *Patience*
28 Entertainment provided by a boy and an insect
29 By no means a sedentary profession

DOWN

2 Husbands of countesses
3 What we learn at school is conservative for the most part
4 A pity, in the sequel, that Eve troubled to make such a fuss (two words, 5 & 4)
5 Headless patron saint of France
6 Praised a thing in writing—overpraised it a little, perhaps (two words, 5 & 2)
7 Points to there being at least one household pet in the Indies
8 Makes Rhys ill when disordered
9 Longfellow makes it the subject of his poem, *Evangeline*
15 Fluting puts back horse-power into Goering
17 Ancient name for Portugal
18 Summons on the telephone? (two words, 5 & 2)
19 This girl starts to say something
20 Take what comes (two words, 5 & 2)
21 The thing is to spot him before he is
23 Say, bo, this is some footwear!
25 Nothing in the barn? Might be a bit of beef

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 139

ACROSS:—1 THURBER; 5 ALBANIA; 9 BENISON; 10 ARBUTUS; 11 GUM; 13 CORDED; 15 MOROSE; 16 DAUPHIN; 17 OWED; 19 SKYE; 20 UNDERSELL; 21 MAIN; 23 YARD; 26 RETAILS; 28 DOCTOR; 29 YUM-YUM; 30 EEL; 32 COSTARD; 33 IMPRINT; 34 MADISON; 35 PORTEND.

DOWN:—1 TOBACCO; 2 UNNERVE; 3 BASHED; 4 RUNG; 5 ADAM; 6 BABOON; 7 NETWORK; 8 AUSTERE; 12 UPPER CASE; 14 DAWDLER; 15 MISERLY; 18 DUN; 19 SLY; 21 MODICUM; 22 INCISED; 24 ANY TIME; 25 DEMOTED; 26 ROMANS; 27 SUPPER; 30 EDEN; 31 LIMP.

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AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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I. IS SECURITY POSSIBLE?

Introductory Note

The addresses in this supplement were delivered at the four regular sessions and the dinner which comprised the three-day forum on "The Challenge of the Atomic Bomb" conducted by the Nation Associates at the Hotel Astor in New York on December 1, 2, and 3. The editors have tried to give as complete a resume as possible of the material presented at the forum. Space limitations have, however, necessitated condensation and deletion which we regret. The discussion from the floor could not be reproduced even in part, although it was of high quality and contributed greatly to the interest and value of the proceedings. We want to take this opportunity to thank all the participants, active and passive, for their help in making the forum a success; and to inform our readers that mimeographed copies of the complete texts of addresses are available in limited numbers.—EDITORS THE NATION.

The Pattern of Destruction

BY HENRY DEWOLF SMYTH
Chairman, Department of Physics,
Princeton University

ANYONE who has been associated with the Manhattan Project for five years must believe that anything is possible. I am not willing to say that there cannot be any military defense against the atomic bomb, but I do not at present see any likelihood of an *adequate* military defense.

Atomic weapons put a high premium on surprise attack. Defense against such an attack therefore becomes the problem of maintaining in peace time for twenty-four hours of every day, year in and year out, a system of radar networks covering this entire country, together with constantly alert anti-aircraft and fighter-plane defense. The cost of such a system of defense both in terms of taxes and of implications for our attitude as a nation makes it an expensive program in every sense of the word. Even if it were attempted, I doubt that it could possibly be completely effective. It has been said recently that we could develop a system for exploding atomic bombs at a distance before they reach this country, even if they come as rockets or jet-propelled planes. To evaluate such a statement, it is necessary to consider what has already been published about the nature of the atomic bomb.

The atomic bomb depends for its power on a neutron chain reaction in U-235 or in plutonium. The nature of this reaction is such that it cannot take place in less than a certain amount of the material, known as the critical size. In other words, if we have less than the critical size of U-235 or of plutonium, an atomic explosion cannot occur. If, on the other hand, we have more than the critical size, there will always be some neutrons present from cosmic rays and these neutrons will suffice to start a chain reaction. Thus, for less than the critical amounts of atomic explosive it is impossible to start an explosion; for more than the critical amounts it is impossible to prevent an explosion. No official statement has been made of what the critical amount of plutonium or U-235 is, but an early estimate has been published which indicates that for U-235 the critical amount is between 5 and 250 pounds. No official statements have been published as to just how the atomic bombs that we have used operate, but evidently they are detonated by the sudden bringing together of subcritical amounts of the explosive material.

These facts have a bearing on the statement that atomic bombs could be exploded at a distance. Such an explosion is obviously impossible by any direct action on the explosive material in the bomb itself. To set off the explosion when desired, any action must be indirect and would have to be on fuses or other auxiliary equipment in the bomb. Thus, the problem becomes exactly similar to the problem of exploding any other kind of bomb at a distance. We are forced back, therefore, on the methods used for ordinary bombs or for the German V-1 or V-2 bombs. It was possible to destroy many V-1 bombs by firing at them shells aimed by radar control and containing proximity fuses, because the V-1 bombs flew at low altitudes and at relatively low velocities. So far as I know, no defense was successful against V-2 bombs. The nature of the atomic bomb and the speed of its approach make it highly questionable that any anti-aircraft or other defense can be developed against it which will be one hundred per cent effective. Some atomic bombs would inevitably get through, and it would need only a few atomic bombs penetrating the defense to cause destruction. It is perhaps conceivable that we might develop some sort of counterweapon against atomic bombs carried in V-2 projectiles. I confess that at present the problem of developing effectively such counter-weapons seems to me impossibly difficult.

There is an incidental point here which may be of interest, although it is not directly concerned with defense. Since rocket bombs might be sent in a few moments from any spot on earth to any other spot, it could well prove impossible, in the event of an attack by atomic bombs, to know from which country the attack had come.

The atomic age has made possible still another method of surprise attack. There is no scientific reason why atomic bombs cannot be shipped in trunks or boxes in peace time to key industrial and population centers, and detonated at the moment desired by remote control wireless or other means. Atomic bombs last for a long time after they are made, and can be stored or hidden with slight possibility of detection. As we know from the facts about them which have already been published, they do not explode until properly detonated. Against such secretly planted atomic bombs the only conceivable defense would be an elaborate peace-time system of coast and frontier guards, and continuous X-ray inspection of every item of freight or baggage coming into this country. I do not believe such a permanent defense system could be maintained with anything near complete effectiveness. But even if it could be maintained, its implications would certainly make much more difficult our peace-time relations with other countries.

There have been various methods suggested for defense against atomic bombs on the international level. These are chiefly police methods of inspection and control. It seems to me too early to pass judgment upon such methods, which have not yet been clearly outlined. I would only comment in passing that history has shown us that police methods, however necessary, are never more than a partial and imperfect solution for social unrest.

The atomic age is here. War in this age would almost surely mean surprise attack. Defense against such attack along the lines I have indicated might be possible with vast expenditure, great and sustained effort, and in the open atmosphere of international suspicion. Such defense measures could never, in my opinion, be completely effective. Our best possibility for survival in an atomic war would be to have our industries and population dispersed, many of our factories and bomb plants underground, and launching platforms for atomic rockets located throughout the country so that in the event of attack we would retaliate, even though our cities and industries were largely annihilated.

There is still one other alternative for defense against the atomic bomb. It is to build with our fellow-nations a world in which there is no need to resort to war.

On the question of the value of secrecy, I would like to point out only one or two aspects.

The fundamental principles on which the atomic bomb is based were well known to scientists everywhere by 1939. There are at present two categories of secrecy about atomic energy maintained by this government. One category consists of technical tricks of manufacture and final assembly of the bomb itself. The second category consists of a mass of information, acquired in the last five years, about artificial radioactivity, the biological effects of radiation, and other scientific topics bearing only indirectly on the production of atomic bombs. I do not believe we should release at present the first category of secret information, that is, the technical tricks of making the bomb. To be sure, any industrial nation can learn these tricks for itself within a few years and probably improve on them. But I do not see why hurriedly showing other nations how to make bombs is going to further world peace. I believe the information we now have on how to make atomic bombs should be released only to an international agency able to maintain control of them. But I do believe we should release a great part of the second category of secret information, that is, the information on nuclear energy acquired in the last five years and not directly concerned with making atomic bombs. This information would be of the greatest value to such sciences as medicine and biology and to engineering and industry generally. It is absolutely essential for further developments in physics and chemistry. To keep this information secret any longer is to retard seriously our development in many fields. If we release it nationally and internationally, we would evidence our intention to cooperate fully with our fellow nations and to return to that free interchange of ideas which is the tradition and strength of science and of the whole field of thought.

The most important technical resource of a nation is neither raw materials nor equipment, but educated men. Obviously we will need an increasing supply of such men in the postwar period. Under war-time policy the training of such men practically stopped. The policy of the Selective Service has made students in the sciences almost non-existent. The resumption of training must be encouraged in every possible way. The scientific men from the universities on the war-time projects should be returned as soon as possible to their normal activities of teaching and research. The welfare and safety of this country can be assured only by leaving them free to pass on what they have learned to a new generation of educated and trained men. If we lock our scientists up in secret laboratories, neither they nor the country will develop. The free interchange of ideas, nationally and internationally, is the strength of science, as indeed it is of every other department of men's lives.

Ideas are a common inheritance from thoughtful men in all countries and all civilizations. To speak of continued secrecy in the field of thought and discovery is to deny our moral birthright and the very tradition which has brought us this far from savagery. Secrecy in any field in peace time is fatal to man's growth and to any hope for a world society.

FORUM PROGRAM

I. IS SECURITY POSSIBLE?
December 1, 9:30 A. M. Presiding: Freda Kirchwey

II. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE BOMB
December 1, 2 P. M. Presiding: Freda Kirchwey

III. ATOMS AND INDUSTRY
December 2, 9 A. M. Presiding: J. King Gordon

IV. THE PROBLEM OF CONTROL
December 2, 2 P. M. Presiding: Edgar A. Mowrer

V. DINNER FORUM
December 3, 6:30 P. M. Presiding: Leon Henderson

Facts About Defense

BY IVAN A. GETTING

Massachusetts Institute of Technology; consultant for War Department

MY ROLE in this war was in developing those parts of radar applications which had to do with anti-aircraft control, with the guidance of strategic and tactical bomber missions, with the use of radar in directing buzz-bombs and other types of guided missiles. I appeal to this experience in presenting my arguments because obviously I cannot go into all the technical details, all the figures and theories and scientific knowledge which are required to arrive at some of the statements I shall make.

The problem of a defense against any weapon can be divided into two main parts. Let us consider explosives, regardless of whether they are atomic explosives or something mild like the usual high explosive. The first part of the problem is to prevent the enemy from putting the explosive where he wishes to put it. The other is what you do at the place where you expect the explosive to be put.

In the first case, you do everything possible to keep the enemy from finding out where to put the explosive and from arriving at the spot—you mislead him, jam his radar, ruin his communication, and so forth. In the second case, you try to protect yourself bodily from the explosive itself. This you do by scattering, going underground, building huge concrete structures, and by many other methods.

Considering this problem in terms of atomic explosives, we must ask, first: What is the probability that from a technical standpoint we can effectively prevent the enemy from getting the explosives to our front door? The use of the parcel-post or of trunks as conveyors of atomic explosives is not a matter on which scientific opinion is of any particular value. Your opinion is as good as mine. But on the question of delivering explosives by means of long-range rockets, V-2's, airplanes, guided ships, and such things, I believe I have something to contribute.

We developed during the war several navigation systems which depend on radio and radar. Some of these systems will be adopted after the war for commercial use. The whole world will soon be covered by a radio network which will make it possible to navigate an airplane or navigate a ship from any point on the earth to any other point well within the accuracy of about one mile. This means that any potential enemy is provided with an automatic way of delivering atomic bombs by conventional aircraft using conventional auto-pilots with a conventional "Loran" receiver —that is the code name of this system. We need not wait for those rockets which fly from one side of the earth to the other. Today, with existing equipment, existing bombs, existing aircraft, existing navigational aids, we can already fly from any one part of the world to any other without a single human operator in the aircraft.

You may say that when the war breaks out we can just turn off these "Loran" stations. You may, but the enemy may not. It is a simple thing for him to set up his own system, which he turns on after the first night, because on the first night he certainly can use our system, the international "Loran" system. It is perfectly possible for the enemy to set up at remote places of the earth or in the middle of the ocean, by means of submarine or other types of ships, radio light-houses which will guide the normal aircraft on its mission. I will admit, as an expert on anti-aircraft and on radar and on gunnery, that we could shoot these planes down. However, we must consider the frailty of human beings. In the defense of London against the buzz-bomb, the British Army deployed three hundred batteries of heavy anti-aircraft guns. These batteries were equipped with the most modern radar developed in the radiation laboratory, with computers developed by a well-known laboratory here in New York, and with American and British guns. It is true that after six weeks we were shooting down over 90 per cent of the buzz-bombs. Only eight per day arrived in London. However, in the first few weeks over 40 per cent got through. It took constant drill, exercise, education, practice with real live bait before the efficiency of the troops had risen to 90 per cent from the original 60 per cent.

It was very lucky for us that the buzz-bomb was a well behaved airplane. It flew in straight lines, at a constant speed, and that is just what we like in anti-aircraft. If the Germans had had any sense they would have forced these missiles to fly in curved, jerky courses, and this could be done. They also would have added what we were adding at the radiation laboratory, radar remote control by which a man sitting back in Paris could have guided these things by a little joy-stick in front of automatic plotting equipment and brought the buzz-bomb to the correct site on any type of course he desired.

Ivan A. Getting

So it is true London was saved from TNT by modern anti-aircraft—but let us look at the obvious. If any of those eight buzz-bombs that arrived in London each day had had a ton load of the type of bomb we used in Hiroshima or Nagasaki, London would not have been saved.

Now it was fortunate that we had three hundred batteries in England. It was fortunate that the buzz-bomb was so close to the conventional aircraft. Suppose that the buzz-bomb had been a new device? How long would it have taken us to get ready for it? It takes from a year to five years to develop a military weapon; even after you know just how to go about it. It takes six months to a year to train troops and then another space of time to get the equipment into the field with spare-part depots in the right places.

So, we must accept the fact that if the enemy develops a new way of bringing atomic bombs to our doorstep, and if it happens that no one was smart enough to have thought up, one to five years ahead of time, a defense weapon with which to stop that particular missile, then we can do nothing about it except take the punishment, if we can. Take as a small example the V-2 bomb. The same radar that was used against the buzz-bomb was also used to track the V-2. It was my group at the laboratory which had developed the SCR-584. They were my boys who in Belgium and England were putting this equipment to proper use. Now we could pick up the V-2's by radar. We could track them, provided we were located in a reasonable position. We could tell within two or three city blocks where the V-2's were going to land. *We could not stop them.* The V-2 lent itself to almost no method of successful counter-defense. Any missile which is designed for speeds above the velocity of sound is tapered with such a sharp nose that, hit head-on by radar, it is the best camouflage target you could design. The radar energy is scattered in all directions and none of it comes back to you. You cannot see the V-2 with radar except from the flank. It is true, of course, that enough radar stations placed up and down the coast could provide data as to where the V-2's were heading. And if these data were sufficiently accurate, it would be presumably possible to send your own missiles into the air and meet these V-2's; but here again there are many problems.

A V-2 is a steel structure. It can be armored. It is moving very rapidly—six times as fast as sound—so that anything that strikes it will in truth be itself struck head-on at a glancing angle; under these circumstances the effective strength of the steel will be much greater than that of any ordinary missile which can be sent against it. There is no way to stop V-2's except by disintegrating them or by actually colliding with them with a mass approximately their own size. In making a study of this problem for the United States Army, I could not find any hopeful way—nor could my colleagues find any way; nor could the British find any way—to stop them; and this is a matter of military record. The V-2 is simply one device. Given a little time, I am sure every scientist and engineer in this country can dream up other methods of delivering atomic explosives. And while I believe that, if you gave me enough money and enough men, I might be able eventually to shoot down a V-2, I will never guarantee to shoot down any new thing that you may think up. Since the aggressor, in the next war, will have the advantage of surprise, I will still have to beg for from one to five years to develop a defense (assuming that I know how) against new ways of delivering atomic explosive.

The atomic bomb has introduced one chief new element into the problem of defense, and that is its tremendous intensity. In the last war of the previous era—now just behind us—if we shot down from 5 to 10 per cent of the German planes, or if the Germans shot down from 5 to 10 per cent of our planes, the morale of the pilots cracked. It was possible then to say that anti-aircraft was a very important defensive weapon because it was able to destroy more than 5 to 10 per cent of the German planes that came over. But 5 to 10 per cent losses did not demoralize the buzz-bombs. Nor did 90 per cent demoralize them; it just increased the cost to the Germans. Atomic explosives demand not 90 per cent, but 100 per cent defense. This, we do not know how to achieve.

The conclusion to which we are driven, as men experienced in designing equipment and seeing it put into the field, is that there is no adequate defense possible against atomic explosives when the enemy has a free choice of all the possible technical ways of delivering such explosives.

Cooperation is the Key

BY VICTOR WEISSKOPF
University of Rochester; member of Association of Los Alamos Scientists

THE problem of international control of the bomb is a political one, not a scientific one. The question as to whether control is technically feasible is misleading. Of course if you have access to *all* production facilities you can find out where a bomb is made. If, however, a country is resolved to deceive the world, it will be able to do so. One can probably fabricate bombs underground and avoid any radio-activity to penetrate to the outside. It will be expensive, but it is a soluble problem. If a country is out to break the rules, no control system is sufficient.

It should not follow from this that goodwill among nations alone is sufficient. Control is necessary to establish confidence, especially if it makes a circumvention of the agreement difficult, and if special effort and elaborate deceit have to be used to break the agreement.

There are a few points in the character of our problem that make a partial control more efficient than it seems at first glance. The personnel that has to be used for atomic bomb development is very specialized and limited in numbers. The key nuclear scientists are well known. The industrial methods are completely different from those in any other production, and are easily recognizable if no specially great effort is put into camouflage.

It seems, therefore, that measures which may appear weak and insufficient have a chance to go further than one may think. For example, if the pre-war collaboration between scientists is reestablished, and if scientists are encouraged by their own governments to exchange scientific views and results in frequent international meetings, then it would be hard to have the key nuclear physicists in one country work on atomic-bomb development without arousing the strong suspicion of their colleagues in other countries. The problems in modern physics are new and hard and they need concentrated effort. The atomic bomb will not be developed successfully by scientists unknown to the rest of the world.

A more radical step would be to have experienced scientists work as guests for long periods in foreign countries. It would be difficult for a country to use well-known men and equipment for illegal purposes without arousing the suspicions of visiting scientists, especially if the latter were in close touch with the educational institutions and laboratories.

Finally, if the nations consent to have a commission visit any factory they please, extreme caution and expense would be necessary to hide production or development.

One condition of successful international control is successful national control. It is obvious that national legislation must be strong enough to insure that no nuclear research or technological development could be carried on in secrecy, unknown to the government.

International control, however, can succeed only if it is introduced not in the spirit of mutual distrust but in the spirit of mutual reassurance within the frame of a basically well-defined policy.

II. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE BOMB

The Weapons of Peace

BY HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS

Member of Congress from California

WHAT is our real attitude toward the Soviet Union? I don't think we know. I don't think we have thought it out.

I know what it appears to be to one of our fighting men still in the Pacific. I have a letter written by a 19-year-old Texas boy. He volunteered for enlistment in the navy before he was through high school—not because he had any illusions about the "glory" of war, but because he felt there was a job to be done. His letter was dated November 11, 1945—Armistice Day. He wrote:

> They have just sent the mailman over to the FPO, which is a landing ship tank. I hope there are some letters and packages for me. It is getting hard to write, not knowing what is going on back there. I might as well tell you now there hasn't been any change out here. Everything is just as SNAFU as ever. In fact, it seems that, instead of getting faster with the discharging, they are getting slower.
>
> Well, Miss, I hope you are having a grand time and enjoying the peace. From what I hear over the radio, it isn't going to last much longer. I guess *we* will start a fight with Russia. From the things we say and write and preach about them, they should be ready to fight now. Every time I hear a news broadcast or read a newspaper, some loudmouth is slamming Russia.
>
> Why in hell, don't we stop screaming about who owes who and try to *help* Russia? I have talked with men who were in Russia during the war. They say the Russians don't want to fight us; they don't want anything to do with us. All they want is to help their own people, build up their country, better themselves. If we had the sense of a jackass, we'd do the same.
>
> One thing I always had faith in was our Government. Even that is gone.

The American people are a peace-loving people. Except for an hour of parade here and there, they don't like gold braid and martial music in their lives. Peace is our foreign policy. Peace is our most profound desire. But we cannot have peace by just wishing for it.

There are weapons of peace just as there are weapons of war. The most powerful weapon for peace is friendship. Franklin Roosevelt understood this. That is why, when he first came to the office of President, he began to cement the bonds of friendship in this hemisphere. That is why he called for collective security in 1935. That is why, under his leadership, throughout the war, we continuously moved toward the building of world understanding and cooperation, because these are the very few foundations of peace. Even in the darkest days of war, when we were running the scientific race of all time, he sought to strengthen our bonds of friendship with Great Britain and Russia.

Why? The reasons are clear enough: No single country can keep the peace alone. To maintain and build the peace, it is necessary to develop, maintain, and strengthen the solidarity of the United Nations Organization. There is no United Nations Organization unless the Big Five stay together. The core of the Big Five is formed by the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union. These are the three most powerful nations in the world—the only three nations which can in themselves win a war or win a peace. If any one of these three nations falls out, there is no practical likelihood of the United Nations working.

M·Bernstein

Helen Gahagan Douglas

It is an agony to watch our fears separate us from our future, an agony to watch certain forces play upon those fears, to watch them label as "anti-American" those of us who merely face the facts and point out that, if there is to be peace, it must begin with the United States, Great Britain, and Russia. We are not pro-Russia or pro-Britain. We are pro-man. We are pro-life—not pro-death. For in the new world into which we have been blown by forces of the universe which we have let loose, there are no boundaries. There are really no differences in tongues. There are just people—black people, white people, yellow people, Russians, Americans, English, French, Chinese, Hungarians, Greeks, Germans, Slavs. And our future is indivisible.

I don't believe we really hate Russia. I don't think we are driven on by a relentless passion to go to war with Russia. We got along all right with Russia before the war—and we got along with her during the war. We can live together again in peace. But there is a nameless fear we have never analyzed. Is Russia our natural enemy? Is it a belligerent nation, a nation bent upon domination of the earth by force of arms, as Germany was? Is this the root of our suspicion? I don't think so. An examination of the facts does not bear this out. Not when we remember that Russia stood for international disarmament, advocated this in the League of Nations, backed President Roosevelt's program of collective security, urged honest non-intervention in Spain, warned against the aggressiveness of Germany, and wanted to go to the aid of Czechoslovakia even though Russia was kept out of the Munich Conference.

Why should Russia want to go to war? It has all the land it needs—one-sixth of the globe. It is rich with people—rich with natural resources. What Russia needs is peace and the kind of security in the world that will enable it to put its resources and energies into a peace-time program for its people. Moreover, Russia has paid a terrible price in this war. Ten million dead, millions more wounded, cities destroyed, factories demolished, fields and farms devastated.

Do we fear Russia economically? No, we welcome the markets she offers us.

Then what is this fear? Is it a fear which grows out of the anxiety which was born of the Russian Revolution, an anxiety that our own economic free-enterprise system is somehow endangered? But if we take this fear out and examine it from all sides, we find that it dissolves, for there is no basis in fact for antagonism between ourselves and this great sister nation. Those who have this fear have themselves little confidence in our economy and in our ability to realize goals of human happiness for our people.

The idea of apprehension or anxiety or fear among the people of a nation as powerful as the United States is utterly preposterous.

If we set for ourselves here at home, along with the goal of international peace, a goal of full employment and prosperity and really fight to win these objectives, we shall at the same time be an example to the world which will win for us not only friendship and cooperation, but a belief in our way of doing things. We can win this kind of friendship only through example—never through force.

The Heritage of All

BY M. J. COLDWELL

Member of the Canadian Parliament

As a Canadian, I am deeply interested in the relationship between the United States and Russia, for Canada is the country which lies in between them. In the event of difficulty, Canada would be the cockpit of North America. Then, too, Canada is the source of the material that made possible the discovery and production of atomic energy. We have in our country El Dorado, the mine from which uranium is at the moment being produced.

To me as a layman, the discovery of the secret of atomic energy seems comparable to man's discovery of the use of fire or the wheel long ages ago. This discovery means a revolution in man's way of life, so fundamental that we can scarcely conceive it. There is no doubt that, with the information available to the leading scientists throughout the world, its utilization for human needs is in immediate prospect. Attempts to divide the nations into two groups—those in possession of the knowledge and those without it—are bound to fail. It is against the interests of human progress and of universal peace to try to hide this knowledge.

This afternoon we have heard proposals for the sharing of this knowledge with Russia, which would place it among four nations—three powerful and large nations and one smaller nation—my own country, which we sometimes speak of as a middle power. Speaking as a representative of a little power, or a small nation, I do not believe that the sharing of this knowledge among a few nations is good enough. It must be the heritage of all nations, not a few.

Therefore, obviously, at the moment the body to which the control should be given is the United Nations Organization, which is about to be set up. Until government at the international level is evolved, only UNO can prevent the atomic bomb from remaining what in fact it has become during the past four months—a divisive influence among the nations of the world.

As early as August 18, 1945, when speaking in Toronto, I made a strong plea for placing this revolutionary discovery under the Assembly of the United Nations, not under the Security Council. I was speaking for one of the smaller nations. We do not like the veto power. This could be done without amending the charter by establishing under one of its principal organs—the Social and Economic Council—a new specialized agency consisting of the leading scientists of the world, who would be charged with the exchange of information, continued research, and such recommendations as may be necessary for the intelligent use of atomic power. Reporting as it does to the General Assembly, the Social and Economic Council could thus make available to all members of the United Nations the specialized opinions of the world's foremost scientists.

By making the discovery available to all nations, great and small, Russia and France, Yugoslavia and other nations, the objections raised by the middle and small powers to the domination of the world by two or three large powers, would to some extent be removed and the danger of the continuance of power politics minimized.

Canada assisted materially in the discovery, and is the present source of uranium—the mineral which provided the basis for the splitting of the atom. But it is certain that, once split, atoms of various elements can also be split and uranium may not long remain the basic element required for atomic energy. This being so, it makes the consideration of the question of international and public control of atomic research a matter of primary importance.

We cannot allow this revolutionary discovery to be controlled by private industry. Its implications are too vast and too dangerous. We know from bitter experience that "big business" in all our countries observes no national loyalties or human ethics where profits are concerned. We have seen how this desire for profits by giant monopolies and through international cartels has caused secret agreements, jeopardizing the welfare and security of all the people throughout the world, written largely in your own *Congressional Record*, written in your own documents, tabled in our Parliament, regarding the operations of monopolies and cartels before and during this war. Yet atomic research is largely in the hands of du Pont in the United States, Imperial Chemical Industries in the United Kingdom, and their creature—Canadian Industries Limited in Canada.

This is a highly improper and dangerous situation. The countries concerned should remove the members of the chemical cartel from the control of research and atomic energy and establish publicly owned organizations to carry on these important functions.

It is essential that atomic research should be on an international level. Its results and benefits should be utilized *only* for the good of mankind. Government ownership of facilities and control of research is necessary to prevent powerful and unscrupulous private interests from utilizing the principle of atomic energy for their own ends.

Only in this way can we insure that the work will be directed to peaceful purposes and needs. The world cannot afford to allow secret experimentation which has for its purpose the development of increased atomic killing power. The small nations of the world must insist that this most dangerous armament race in history shall be prevented. A thoroughly awakened and aroused labor movement could play a vital role in this regard.

A consciousness of the implications of atomic energy would enable organized labor to demand that workers employed on the project should work only in properly government-owned and internationally-inspected plants. Together with organized scientific workers labor could oppose any attempts to carry on unauthorized and secret work in this connection.

A fully aroused public opinion, demanding government control of the facilities and the international exchange of information, could make it possible to harness atomic energy for the good of the world. The danger of the present policy is that it may be used as political blackmail through the ever-present threats of war.

Share and Share Alike

BY WALTER MILLIS

Editorial writer, New York Herald Tribune

I THINK we should recognize from the outset that the political problem of the atomic bomb *is* the problem, for the present period at any rate, of our relations with the Soviet Union; and conversely, that the problem of our relations with the Soviet Union has to an unhappy degree become the problem of the atomic bomb.

It seems to me useless to discuss the one except in the direct, explicit context of the other. It seems to me perfectly idle (though no doubt diplomatically necessary) for President Truman or Prime Minister Attlee to speak in a generalized way about publishing the technical secrets of the bomb when it is abundantly clear that the only nation at present in a position to make use of those secrets is the Soviet Union. That is what nine-tenths of the argument has been about, and I believe the time has come to admit it frankly.

That is why I am glad that the agenda of this conference starkly puts the question of whether the secrets of the bomb should be given to Russia.

My own answer to the question is unhesitating. I think we should immediately offer full publication of our own technical data in return for a reasonable reciprocity on Russia's part in the publication of its scientific and technical material. That is the only proviso I would attach to the offer. In advancing it, however, I would point to the many obvious dangers latent in the unregulated development of atomic energy and would request Russia's assistance and counsel in devising an adequate structure of international control.

It may be said that this is, in essence, what the Truman-Attlee communiqué proposes. I cannot agree. I don't think that the Russians agree. The communiqué expressly reserves the vital technical data. To be sure, the United Nations Organization is to be asked to set up a commission, charged with the formidable task of answering all the innumerable questions—political as well as technical and military—which Mr. Truman and Mr. Attlee and Mr. King left unanswered in their somewhat hurried conference between airplanes. But while the commission pursues its labors, the United States will not only retain all the technical knowledge but will go right ahead manufacturing bombs, as it is continuing to do. When, as, and if the commission has produced a solution satisfactory to all—which, under the circumstances, means satisfactory to the United States—the data will be generally published. So far, Moscow has failed to greet this proposal with the enthusiastic acquiescence which was apparently anticipated. I, for one, am not surprised.

I think President Truman made a tragic mistake when he failed to realize, from the very first moment, the crucial identity between the problems of atomic energy and the problem of Russia. The appalling military terrors implicit in the bomb absolutely demanded a firm settlement of political differences between Russia and the West. It seems to me it might not have been wholly beyond the powers of statesmanship to use the technical discovery for the constructive adjustment of the political issues. Let us glance back at what was actually done.

At Potsdam Mr. Stalin was apparently given only a most guarded and grudging disclosure of the fact that a test bomb had been successfully fired in New Mexico. When the time came for the military use of the bomb, no Russian observers were, so far as I know, invited to be present in order that they could at least judge its potency for themselves. The discharge of the bomb at Hiroshima was, however, immediately announced to the world in a blaze of extravagant official publicity, all built around two ideas: that the United States had developed (with some little assistance from Britain, Canada, and a bunch of dreamy foreign scientists) an invention absolutely decisive in war and revolutionary in peace; and that the magic "secret" of this staggering achievement was and would be guarded from everyone under the most extreme restrictions of top-secret security. Perhaps this publicity was inevitable; for it was, after all, an extravagant moment in world history. I ask you only to consider the sort of impact it must have had upon our Russian allies, who were at that moment loyally preparing to fulfil to the letter their commitment to give Japan the *coup de grâce*. The fact is, at any rate, that from that moment our relations with Soviet Russia have steadily deteriorated.

After the official publicity there came the private outgivings, the statements of Congressmen, the savage May-Johnson bill. Through all this the idea rose ever more prominently, expressed under increasingly transparent veils, that whatever we did we could not give "the secret" to the Russians. We distrusted the purposes, aims, and colossal power of the Soviet Union too deeply. How much this did to inspire the Russians with trust in our own purposes may be guessed. Perhaps it may be seen more directly in the catastrophic breakdown of the Foreign Ministers' Conference.

Finally, there was President Truman's disastrous statement that the technical secrets would be given to no one, and that anyhow no other nation in the world had the knowledge, resources, or skills to discover them for itself over a period of many years. Even then, when the muddle was about as complete as it could be made, it required Mr. Attlee's initiative to induce our government to do something about it. The result is the communiqué to which I have referred.

I ask you to try for a moment to reverse this history. Supposing that it had been the Russians, and not ourselves, who had exploded this thing at Hiroshima just as our naval and air forces believed that they themselves were knocking Japan cold. Supposing that Mr. Stalin had announced that the secrets of the staggering discovery would be given to nobody, that anyway only a nation with Russia's vast resources and totalitarian economic organization could produce a bomb, and that it would take many years for the backward and chaotic capitalist democracies to catch up, if ever. I think the reaction in this country would have been both violent and unfortunate. Suppose that Mr. Stalin, confronted with that reaction, had rather belatedly proposed that the UNO set up a commission on the matter, with a tentative promise that when the commission had worked out an international control system satisfactory to Soviet Russia, the secrets would be imparted to it, but that meanwhile the Soviet Union would go right ahead manufacturing bombs for "test purposes." I think we would have regarded those "test" bombs with a fierce suspicion. I think we would have seen at once that the commission, in working out a regulatory system satisfactory to Russia, would all but inevitably find itself involved in most of the political issues that at present divide us. It would have to decide them, too, in a manner satisfactory to Russia. I think we would have regarded the whole thing as a Communist trap. I think that we—with our unbounded, war-bred confidence in the power of our technology, comparable to that which the Russians feel in theirs—would have decided that the easier course would be to get busy at once and develop our own atomic bombs. It might take us some years, but we would know that we could count on a decade or so of substantial peace. We would calculate that when we had our bombs ready we could go back to the Russians on an equal footing and so get a genuinely agreed and rational solution of the control problem.

That, I think, would have been our decision. And that, I think, is the Russian decision. I suspect that the one most significant thing that has been said about the atomic bomb since the initial announcement was the brief paragraph in Mr. Molotov's anniversary speech announcing simply that Russia "will have atomic energy, too." I think that Russia means to have it; that she can probably—as Dr. Urey pointed out the other day—develop the leads she has already obtained more quickly than we can in time of peace, and that she will have atomic energy in a military form within a few years.

The resultant situation is well-calculated to breed distrust on both sides, to exacerbate all political issues between the two countries, and to drive both Russian and American diplomacy to extremes. And by the time the Soviet Union has amassed its own stock of atomic bombs and is ready to come back and talk control on equal terms, the whole problem may have got out of hand, and it may be too late for any solution. Meanwhile, the situation is also calculated to cripple the non-military development of atomic energy and nuclear research in general. In our passion for "security" we are threatening finally to disrupt that marvelous and creative "international of science" which is responsible for all our technical triumphs. Our own nuclear research workers have just protested MacArthur's destruction of the Japanese cyclotrons, comparing the act to the Nazi book-burnings. There, I think, is a notion which should give us pause.

All this is the result of the policy of "keeping the secrets." It is late now to reverse the policy. It may take us a long time to undo the damage which has already been done. But I believe the policy should be reversed. I don't believe we can afford to wait on the United Nations Organization. I think this country should immediately take the initiative with a policy based not on keeping the secrets but on pooling the secrets—all of them. This then would mean that the military and non-military secrets of Russian technology as well as those of our own would be in a common pool.

For Russia has secrets too. It is no use blinking the fact that the extreme secretiveness of the Soviet Union, in technical, cultural, and political as well as military matters, is a major factor in this whole business and one of the most unfortunate elements in the contemporary international world. By sitting now upon our own store of secrets concerning the overwhelmingly important development of nuclear energy, we are simply compounding and encouraging this Russian tendency. We are promoting a general drift backward into nationalistic compartmentation in almost the only great field in which a genuine and constructive internationalism has survived—that of technical advance and scientific investigation.

It seems to me that our present possession of the so-called atomic secrets could be used now, not to promote this tendency but to arrest and reverse it. I think we can make a full and frank offer to pool with the world the great mass of knowledge and data we have accumulated, and that with this offer in our hand we can then ask a similar frankness from the Soviet Union and all other great powers in the publication of both general technological and specifically military development. If we meet with refusal, that will, of course, create a new situation. But we have not tried yet. If we try and succeed, I think we shall then have laid the first absolutely necessary foundation for a working international control of the atomic horror—which is frankness, confidence, and above all knowledge.

What I propose seems to me the one constructive political use that can be made of our present possession of the bomb. I do not think that we can browbeat the Soviet Union into conforming with our wishes by using the bomb as a threat—especially when Moscow knows perfectly well that the people of the United States are not in fact going to launch an atomic war upon Russia in any proximate future. I do believe that we can use an offer of our present knowledge as proof of good-will and a means of securing Russia's powerful aid in dealing with what is in fact a problem of humanity. To take the attitude that we will do nothing until the rest of the world has solved the problem for us means only that our stock of bombs and our knowledge of how to make them will be put to no use at all during the next few years when they might serve constructive ends, but saved up for a more remote period when their effects will simply be calamitous.

III. ATOMS AND INDUSTRY

The New Energy

BY STUART CHASE
Economist and Author

LET us take a speculative look at some of the peace-time effects of splitting the atom. As we do so, we will not forget the warning of Dr. Harold C. Urey, who helped to split it: "The peace-time applications of atomic energy are of no importance whatever unless the danger of atomic bombs is banished from the earth."

Thorstein Veblen in his grave must now be permitting himself a sardonic smile. His technicians and scientists have come roaring into their own as the acknowledged and undisputed arbiters of human destiny. He traced the trend in a series of books a generation ago, but few paid much attention. The philosophers were off in other pastures. Now the trend has culminated in a self-generating flood of neutrons which can blow up the world. For the first time, scientists are developing a social conscience, and even daring to dispute the generals and politicians. Veblen used to dream of a governing council of technicians. If the politicians do not look alive, it might come to that. They look pretty dead in Congress now.

Energy is a determiner of civilization. Low-energy cultures absorb most of their man-power in getting food. High-energy cultures such as the United States, or Western Europe, in recent years, can release more than half their man-power for the service trades, education, and the arts. The atom may release 90 per cent for higher things—if enough higher things can be found. Not 10 per cent will be needed for farming, mining, and manufacturing. Even before the war, learned committees were worrying about the problem of leisure. Presently they are going to have a superlative opportunity to worry!

Dr. A. H. Compton sees the first use in large central power plants, and most scientists agree with him. A reasonably efficient plant, using superheated steam for driving a turbine, could be put in operation within a year, he says. But costs at first would be high. The generating heat unit will be a pile weighing not less than 50 tons. This dissipates, for the present at least, those bright dreams of lump-of-sugar prime movers, to drive a plane from Chicago to Shanghai.

A pound of uranium now costs $3, about the same as a ton of coal. But it can deliver as much energy as 1,000 tons of coal under present firing methods. This is the comfortable margin atomic energy has to work on. Dr. Compton expects many big central plants within 10 years, especially in areas where power is now expensive. China and India come to mind as candidates for rapid industrialization. These plants will be easy to operate without smoke or fumes of any kind. Lethal rays must be carefully controlled, but safety methods have already been worked out at Oak Ridge and Hanford.

Atomic energy can be used as a heat for making bricks, cement, ceramics, and glass. It can be used for smelting metals. Dr. Langer of the California Institute of Technology has suggested that iron might be smelted in the ore bed. Others have suggested that highways in certain areas might be built and surfaced by fusing the ground to lava—as happened under the bomb in New Mexico.

The new energy can work wonders in providing both cheap heat and cheap power for the host of synthetics and plastics which are already revolutionizing industry. The virtue of a plastic from the manufacturing point of view is that it can be molded to unvarying form, and run through the assembly line without the grinding and chipping and shaping needed for natural products, like lumber, stone, and metal. Lavish production of plastics is bound to bring a vast increase in economic self-sufficiency. Synthetic rubber, nylon, and vinyl esters are just the beginning.

Stuart Chase

Controlled neutrons have a great many medical applications, such as the irradiation of deep cancers, the tracing of physiological processes by tagged atoms. They can make the dream of the alchemists—the transmutation of elements—a commonplace. We could perhaps change all our lead to gold—if we were that foolish. Atomic energy can air-condition cities in the tropics, and warm up polar housing for the comfort of man. By the electrification of soils and other innovations, it might change the whole crop pattern.

This outline is only a bare summary of uses now being suggested, but it is enough to indicate a shattering impact on the structure of business-as-usual. The mining of coal will be hit hard, petroleum only less hard. John L. Lewis can be expected to issue a papal ban against nuclear physics any day now. The steel industry, and metals generally, may be turned upside down. Railroad and steamship lines may lose up to 40 per cent of their revenue freight. Technological unemployment could grow to catastrophic proportions, if everything is left to God and the National Association of Maufacturers, to use Alvin Johnson's phrase.

If we try to go on operating some such economic system as we had before 1930, it does not take an especially discerning eye to see that atomic energy will soon break it to pieces. We have here an economic bomb of great explosive power. No nation, except the United States, has any apparent intention of continuing its pre-war economic system. Other states may be expected to nationalize atomic power, easing it into the economic structure under carefully controlled conditions, with regard for both the human beings and the industries made obsolete. It will be a large and complicated operation.

Can the United States avoid a similar course? Professor Hayek's disciples will vigorously protest, but how can any community endure the million to one shock of this new energy without planning for it? On the practical level, how could a wildly disorganized America hope to compete with other powers when they had organized the flow of neutrons?

Before the war no industrial country devoted as much as 1 per cent of its national income to scientific research. This ratio is now destined to leap upward. J. D. Bernal thinks it may go as high as 20 per cent. Not only research, but education and training on all levels, on a scale hitherto undreamed of, are an absolute must for survival in the atomic age.

As the first item on the educational agenda, I respectfully suggest that another two billion dollars be allocated, this time to the *social scientists.* An equally urgent directive should go along with it. Perhaps after some time in the laboratory and plenty of courage and effort, they can show us how to live with the unbelievable power the physical scientists have loosed upon us.

Power and Progress

BY BORIS PREGEL

President, Canadian Radium and Uranium Corporation; expert on radioactivity

AS SOON as the roaring of the atomic explosions over Japan began to resound in the press, in the statements, and in private conversations, I tried in vain to find some indication of interest in the *peaceful* application of atomic energy. With the exception of a few general remarks, the whole interest was concentrated on the bomb and the dangers of a varying nature attached to it. A few statesmen and scientists who ventured some remarks concerning the peace-time field were in a rather negative mood and predicted that we needed more than a generation—and some of them even spoke about a 50-year period—before we could see any possibilities for the peaceful applications of atomic power.

But what a change has occurred during the last few weeks! One may say that they have at last seen the light. Suddenly, from all sides, and sometimes even from the same people who were so pessimistically inclined only a month ago, we hear that the applications of atomic energy to civilian life are possible, imminent, and even unavoidable.

The aims of our forum are constructive. We believe the principal importance of atomic energy lies exclusively in its possibilities for peace-time development. We firmly believe that everything must and will be done to prevent the use of the atomic bomb in war. If this cannot be achieved, we should eliminate further discussion on the subject, because the atomic bomb with its terrific destruction will leave the remnants of the surviving humanity in no condition to think of any kind of cultural or industrial developments.

Ten days ago, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, one of the leading men of the atomic energy project, said in an interview:

> The atomic bomb was not a step on the road to the production of controlled atomic energy. The bomb itself was the end result, the solution of a military problem that had been given to us. In coping with that problem we learned how to create and control atomic energy a year and a half before Hiroshima. But we had to pass that point. We had to find ways to make that energy explode. The production of atomic energy was merely a step on the way to that goal.
>
> It is quite feasible that a city the size of Seattle should be completely heated from an atomic energy source in less than five years.

We may accept this authoritative opinion, in view of the fact that the author has always been very cautious in his statements. What can we expect from the development of science in nuclear physics? What is in the immediate future? We think the first important application of atomic energy will be the production of cheap power by large plants, the locations of which are not dependent on any natural resources of the country. This is a tremendous advantage, especially for desert regions—for backward world areas—and for the development of countries with limited natural resources.

These powerful units will be able to distribute this cheap power to large areas. It is easy to understand what such a phenomenon will mean for these areas. Cheap power in unlimited quantity means abundance of cheap products, and the reduction of working hours.

Science has made important progress in the last few years in the fields of electronics, electrometallurgy, medicine, biology, agriculture, and so on. In all these, the possibility of cheap energy would mean immediate application of a series of new inventions and improvements on a large scale, and an immediate rise in the standard of living of the population.

The application of the cheap power, facilitating the creation of new industries, may reduce the production of certain metals and fuels which are the backbone of our present economy. But they will be replaced by new products, rationally manufactured under better conditions, and in the interest of the progress of the community.

The production of energy by the big power plants will be accompanied by a quasi unlimited production of artificial radioactive materials. Artificial radioactive elements which emit electrons are already being used now for biological, medical, and agricultural experiments, as so-called tracer elements. With the aid of such elements it is possible to investigate the metabolism of men and plants, to recognize and avoid diseases, and to improve the yield of plants.

Artificial radioactive elements, such as emitters of electrons, possibly can replace our electric installations, because electrons are carriers of our electric stream. Collected on plates, they produce electric potentials from which the electricity can be conducted. The replacement of the heated wires in the electronic tubes by radioactive materials makes us independent of heavy storage batteries, or batteries of great current capacity. We do not even need small batteries for collecting the charge of the emitted electrons, if we bend the electrons with a magnetic field to the place we want to charge. As it is possible today to make very strong magnets, we are independent of any electrical installation. We also can produce heat in metallic plates and wires without any electrical installation, directing the electrons to the parts we want to heat. The heat will be produced in the parts where the electrons are absorbed. Mechanical effects can be produced by ironization current, due to the heavy ironizating radiation. With photo-conductive materials strong relay effects can be obtained.

New aspects are open for television: transmission stations without powerful central stations will be possible.

Also, it is not impossible that we will be able to imitate cosmic radiation, either with the energy of a uranium pile or with a special apparatus. In this case, we would deal with radiation of such an energy that evaporation of atomic nuclei will be possible. That means we could convert any kind of matter into energy, and we would not be limited to the use of rare and expensive materials, such as uranium. All kinds of matter existing in the world could be used as a source of energy.

But perhaps the most important thing that we will learn from all of these experiments is not only how to decompose matter but also how to construct it. And we will be able to produce artificially any kind of material needed, because we will have at our disposal tremendous energies necessary for the artificial production.

Science and philosophy of the pre-atomic era were based on the concept of matter. The new science and philosophy of the atomic era are based on the concept of energy. The possibility of transforming matter into energy, and vice versa, changes completely our philosophical point of view with all the consequences, such as values of power and materials.

Until our time there has been no discovery equal to that of atomic energy. The greatest discoveries up to now advanced humanity a maximum of 50 years. The development of atomic energy moves humanity forward several centuries. It opens up the doors to the golden age without revolution or war, and even without very painful transitional periods. It brings equalization to peoples without large natural resources. It creates the possibility for peoples from the backward areas of the world to enter the family of advanced peoples on equal terms. In other words, the atomic-energy era means—equality, peace, and happiness.

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For the Benefit of All

BY JAMES CAREY

Secretary-Treasurer of the C. I. O.

JUST one month ago, a group of labor leaders, members of the General Executive Board of the C. I. O., met in Washington to discuss the question of atomic energy. One may ask why ordinary labor leaders presume to discuss a scientific phenomenon such as this. I believe it grows out, in part at least, of the change that has taken place in the labor movement in recent years. The C. I. O. is not concerned solely with wages, hours, and working conditions. It considers every important economic, political, and social question, and attempts to formulate a program in the interests of all the people, believing that it can thus best serve the interests of its members.

Labor leaders have a right to speak out because their activity makes it necessary for them to know the possibilities and the dangers in the development of an atomic bomb. They are required to know something about industrial developments in all countries of the world, including their own. In other countries, they may have better access to the factories and to the people than do our diplomatic representatives. We cannot talk about a central pool of information regarding atomic energy, the development of atomic bombs, and the use of atomic energy in good living as well as for destructive purposes unless the workers in the plants are conscious of their responsibilities to workers in other parts of the world.

As we develop our international organization in the field of labor, I believe for the first time we will have an opportunity to get the real facts regarding what is being produced in any given nation. In that way, perhaps, we will cut across these ultra-nationalistic attitudes and make a contribution to peace and security in the world. These workers know what they are producing. They have perhaps a better idea even than those who invented these mechanisms, of how they can be translated into positive and concrete methods either for good use or for destructive purposes. We believe more emphasis must be given to the good that can come out of this important development in the field of science, but like every other step in progress, a great deal of harm can also be anticipated.

We have had other cases of a similar nature; for instance, the development of aircraft was brought about in large part during the stress of war. Yet we had peace-time uses for this tremendous development. Tremendous technological gains have been brought about in this nation under the compulsion of war, the need for production. We have reason to fear that some of those great gains, made through the patriotic effort of the people of this nation, may operate against their interest, and that because of their efforts they may be confronted with the hazards of mass unemployment. We are not able to digest all of our advances, and we still find that many gains made in scientific fields are not transmitted to the people. Unless we pass on such gains for the people, it creates a danger to our society. Perhaps the atomic bomb can serve to awaken the people of the world to the need of moving at a greater pace in solving the simple little problem of living together in peace.

IV. THE PROBLEM OF CONTROL

Several speeches at this session have had to be omitted, among them an excellent extemporaneous comment by Justice Jerome Frank, and remarks by Cord Meyer, Jr., and Kingman Brewster.

Unite—or Else

BY EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Columnist and foreign correspondent

EVER since World War I, it has been apparent that world government offers the only visible hope of saving mankind from ultimate destruction. Material techniques have outstripped political institutions. World War II came—as Wilson had predicted it would, and with consequences even worse than Wilson foresaw.

Aviation alone threatened to terrorize mankind. By the end of 1943 Air Marshal William A. Bishop of Canada uttered a warning. In a little book that attracted far less attention than it should have, the greatest Allied ace of World War I pointed out the futility of nations quarreling over their several economic systems if all these systems, regardless, were going to be blown to bits by an aviator "laying" a few blockbusters.

Shortly after this volume appeared, in 1944, V-1's began falling upon London. Allied airmen also discovered a way of shooting many of them down short of their mark. Then the V-2's began to fall. Against them no defense was ever found. London—heroic to the last—just "took" them. Meanwhile normal, garden-variety aviation hammered Germany into surrender. When Germany collapsed our people found more than the launching platforms for V-2. They found the plans for V-10. This was a rocket-propelled bomb that would cross the Atlantic Ocean in the stratosphere. Against it, once more, no defense was known.

Shortly after came Hiroshima and Nagasaki. All existing explosives became obsolete. Mankind entered the atomic age. And it threatens to be his last.

Having spent many hours with the scientists who made the bomb and who certainly know the most about its potentialities, present and future, I am not impressed by laymen, generals, admirals, senators, bankers, and miscellaneous bigmouths who hastened to assure us that the discovery of the atomic bomb had really changed little or nothing. It is a question of definition. I follow the scientists. These men agree: 1) the atomic bomb cannot be kept secret; 2) the atomic bomb will soon be built by all industrial nations; 3) the bombs that razed Hiroshima and Nagasaki are just a faint foretaste of the bigger and better atomic bombs to come; 4) against the atomic bomb there is no adequate defense—and will in all likelihood be none; 5) similar bombs will soon be made in relatively small buildings and ultimately perhaps by lunatics in the kitchen sink; 6) the effect of sudden atomic aggression on the victim country would be not only murderous but would probably so weaken the receiving country that its capacity for retaliation would be crippled; the only way to prevent mankind from atomizing itself is to make sure that atomic weapons will never be used; finally, the only way sure to do this is to make sure there will be no more war.

For the last decades, it has been growing obvious that technological invention was rendering the system of sovereign states economically and politically obsolescent. Economically obsolescent because it no longer contributed to the material well-being of mankind. Its tariff walls, regulations, red tape, my-country-right-or-wrong thinking, were a hindrance to maximum human prosperity. Politically, obsolescent because it had ceased to provide even relative security for most of mankind. Before the discovery of the bomb, in planning a world organization, we accepted the fact that only three states—the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union, could enjoy real security on their own. The other countries were asked to "trust" to the good will of these three—the word is that of Secretary of State Stettinius at San Francisco. As though great powers had ever given mankind any reason to trust them!

The atomic age put an end to the security of the three giants as well.

If you accept the fact that mankind must banish war, then inevitably—if you can think straight—you reach the conclusion that mankind must achieve world government. Nothing less can do the trick.

No Middle Ground

BY THOMAS K. FINLETTER

Lawyer and Author

MY MODEST little subject, "Is World Government the Answer?" may be divided into two parts: (1) Can the United Nations Organization be preserved? and (2) Is world government possible in the immediate future?" Both of these questions come down to the same thing: that is, are we going to continue our present system of arm's length dealing between independent nation-states or are we going to set up a world state?

We cannot discuss these questions intelligently, I think, unless we define for ourselves, much more clearly than we have, just what we mean by world government and what the consequences of our adopting it and of our not adopting it are. The discussion of these questions so far has been extremely confused. Often those who deny the practicability of world government will propose steps which amount to exactly that. Often those who are convinced that nothing short of world government can stop atomic war shrink from the necessary implications of a super-sovereignty and make proposals which in fact merely perpetuate the concert system on which the League of Nations and the United Nations Organization are founded. They want world government in the abstract not in the particular. There is a need for a definition.

There are only two alternatives before us in this matter of the organization of peace. The first is a world government. The other is an agreement between nations based on good will. There is nothing in between. There are variations in the two categories. But the inescapable fact is that either you have an enforceable world law or you haven't. I emphasize this because there is at the moment an almost frantic search for a middle ground—something that will be more than the old system of agreements between governments, but yet will avoid the violent upheaval in our political concepts and our national independence inherent in the setting up of a super-state. No such middle ground exists or can be created.

Both alternatives—world government or agreements between governments—carry with them certain very disagreeable consequences. We have not, I think, fully taken in what a world government would mean in terms of surrender of national power by the United States. On the other hand, I am sure that we have not yet realized how serious will be the military regulation of our economy and our people—especially the urban populations—if we are to be compelled to live in a world of independent nation states armed with modern weapons of mass destruction. This is a choice between two pills both of which are hard to swallow. But I cannot believe that when we fully consider the alternatives we can reach any conclusion other than that world government is the only course which holds any prospect either for a decent way of life or for the avoidance of atomic war.

First let us see what we mean by world government, not as a broad conceptual matter but in practical terms. The way to do this is, I think, to take one by one the steps necessary to set up an effective control of the modern weapons of mass destruction under a rule of law.

The first proposition is that we cannot stop the use of these weapons except by preventing their manufacture. If they are allowed to come into existence they will be used. Therefore, we must start with a rule enacted by some international organization prohibiting the manufacture of certain types of weapons. The United Nations Organization is a convenient medium for this purpose. Therefore, the UNO Charter should be amended so as to include, as one of its principles, the rule that certain specific weapons shall not be manufactured.

By itself, such a rule would be merely a statement of good intentions like the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 by which 65 nations solemnly and forever renounced war. Therefore, UNO must be given the physical power to enforce this rule. How to give UNO this power is a technical military matter. The political principle is that the power shall be sufficient. If UNO does not have the physical power to see to it that its rules are obeyed, there will be no effective law. Whatever law may mean as a matter of philosophy, for this purpose it means a rule which as a practical matter can and will be enforced.

But even this is not enough. For once you start on this business of setting up an *enforceable* system of stopping the manufacture of certain weapons, certain consequences inevitably follow. There is a package of minimum requirements. If any component part of that package is withdrawn the system ceases to be enforceable and becomes a mere promise between sovereign governments based on their good will and good faith.

Thus, UNO would have to have the right to send its inspectors into all parts of the world to know whether its rule was being violated. The refusal by a government to let the inspectors inspect would have to be illegal, bringing down with it all the sanctions necessary to compel the recalcitrant government to allow UNO's orders to be carried out. Also, there would have to be some way of supplementing the basic law against the manufacture of certain kinds of weapons—to add new weapons to the proscribed list, to specify the methods of inspection, and generally to keep up with the enormous and changing complications inherent in any effective system of control by law. In other words, UNO would have to have a legislature with the power to make law within its constitutional powers. And such a legislature could not operate by unanimous voting, but would have to act by a majority. And representation in such a legislature could not be on the undemocratic basis of one vote for each nation state.

Another fundamental change would be necessary. The Security Council could not function as it does now as a *political* body, with the power to act or not to act as its sovereign members choose. If the Security Council is to be the executive of UNO it will have to act as any other executive. If there is a law, it must be enforced automatically. It must not require a new *political* decision each time a specific case comes before it that the law shall be enforced. Only the *manner* of enforcement must be open for discussion. This means that the steps to stop a violation of UNO's fundamental law cannot be taken by the present voting system of the Security Council. A majority vote of the Council would be one way, or the setting up of a different kind of executive body of UNO.

Moreover, UNO's law would have to operate directly on the individual citizen. If the UNO inspectors report that plant A in Country X is making atomic bombs, UNO may first tell the government of X to stop the manufacture, but if government X fails to comply, UNO will have to act directly against the offending plant. If UNO were to act only through the government of X, the enforcement of the law would take the form in each instance of a negotiation between UNO and the government of X, with all the delays and inaction such a negotiation would entail. No law can be enforced in this way.

Also, if this enormous power were granted to UNO some judicial body (presumably the Permanent Court of International Justice) would have to determine whether a violation of UNO's law had taken place. UNO could not subject an alleged offender (say a manufacturing plant in a great city) to the frightful penalty of being bombed, or even to any lesser penalty, without having it clearly and judically established that it had broken the law.

To summarize: If you want to make a rule that certain weapons shall not be manufactured and to set up an effective system to enforce that rule, you unavoidably, as an absolute minimum, call for a world government which (1) works under a fixed rule of law; (2) has a legislature to modify that law within the limits of the powers of that government's charter, (3) has an executive whose duty it is to apply the law directly against the offending individuals, with no right to debate, as a political matter, whether it shall or shall not do so, (4) has an information system which will keep the executive informed of what is going on, (5) has a judiciary to determine whether a violation has taken place and (6) has overwhelming physical force to enable it to stop any violation of its fundamental law.

There may be other conditions which would follow if an effective control of armaments is to be set up. I think there are. Thus it is not enough to make illegal the manufacturing of certain weapons if you are to have peace—which is, after all, what we are trying to get by all these mechanics. It will be necessary to make any form of war, civil or otherwise, illegal. But such a law in turn would freeze the *status quo* and would raise the question whether a peaceful change provision would not be necessary—something like the enactment as law of the principle of self-determination. But I do not want to get into these further complexities at this point. I want only to make it clear that those who are suggesting an effective control of weapons of mass destruction, based on enforceable law, are in fact demanding world government with all its component parts.

It is no wonder then that many people, even of those who can contemplate change without distaste, are appalled by the implications of an attempt to control the manufacture of these weapons. World government adds up to—world government, the setting up of something more powerful than the Government of the United States. It is not surprising that there is this search for a middle ground—something in between doing nothing and this crossing of the Rubicon into the land of the World State.

[*At this point Mr. Finletter discussed at length several "middle ground proposals."*]

The implications of world government are very serious. But what about the implications of *not* having world government? Clearly, tremendously important questions of domestic policy depend on which of these two solutions is adopted. If we had a world state we could, and indeed probably would, be required to disarm almost entirely our national forces. It would be against the law for us to have weapons of mass destruction and there would be no point in having substantial amounts of the others. We would have put all our armament eggs in one basket of world government. But if we decide to go the other course and to continue our experiments with the agreement or good faith method, prudence demands that we take on a defense program the like of which this country has not yet dreamed of. For the agreement method means—unless all history is wrong—that war, some time or other, sooner or later, is inevitable; and we would have to be ready for it.

What these preparations would have to be is a matter which only the military men and the scientists can talk about with authority. But the laymen have to consider these things and, as matters look at the moment, it seems we should think along the following lines:

> (1) The important thing is defense against sudden attack. We will be on the receiving end at the beginning of the next war. The attack will probably be extremely violent and without warning.
>
> (2) We will have to make arrangements which will protect our military installations, industrial centers and urban populations from being destroyed in such an attack, so that we will have something to retaliate with to protect ourselves against invasion and conquest.
>
> (3) Until such time as we learn that other nations have developed atomic and other weapons capable of such an attack—say three to five years or possibly a short time longer — we can, and probably will, disregard the danger. But once we are confronted with the possibility of such an attack, we will have to submit to drastic regulation of our industry and our urban populations. The need for these defensive preparations will increase sharply as we withdraw our troops from Germany and Japan.

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> (4) What form our preparations for defense against atomic attack will take will depend on (a) the recommendations of the military and the scientists in the light of the armament of other nations, and (b) the political feasibility of putting into effect what they recommend—that is, the willingness of the American people to put up with drastic regulation of their industry and urban populations. A case may well arise where it will be politically impossible for any United States government to enact the kind of law which the experts will say is necessary for the national defense. The people may prefer having the country open to devastating attack rather than accept the drastic regulation of their lives which may be necessary in the light of the then existing weapons in the possession of other countries. This is another way of saying that democracies will always be at a disadvantage.
>
> (5) But even so, if we keep our international organization on the basis of reliance on the good will of the other nations of the world, we will necessarily adopt a high degree of interference by the federal government with the liberty of the individual. If we were to have only a race in the preparation of atomic weapons for offense, this would not greatly increase the control of the government over the affairs of the individual. The difficulty comes from the necessity of preparing the country so that it can *take* an atomic attack and still be able to strike back. How much this will lead in the direction of total control by the government over the location of industry, the right of individuals to live in crowded urban centers, complete military service and the totally militarized state may be left to the imagination.

The people of this country thus have quite a decision to make—whether to try to achieve world government *before* the nations get involved in an armament race, or, on the other hand, to get busy about winning that race.

The decision will probably be made within the next few years, that is within the period of grace allowed to the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom by their exclusive ownership of atomic engineering know-how. If by that time some effective world law preventing the manufacture of these weapons is not set up, the armament race will begin of its own accord. Once started, it will be very much harder to stop it than before it began. It is one thing to get the nations to agree not to manufacture certain weapons; it is *very much another thing* to get them to agree to give those weapons up.

For this reason the UNO commission called for by the Truman-Attlee Atomic Declaration is of the highest importance. A reading of that Declaration shows that it can go either way. It opens up the road—indeed it fairly clearly envisages—world government. It calls for "effective enforceable safeguards against (the) use (of atomic energy) for destructive purposes . . .," the "control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to insure its use only for peaceful purposes, . . . the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction, . . . effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means" and "the rule of law." Certainly the necessary implication of such measures is world government.

On the other hand, the atomic declaration makes it clear that the work of the UNO Commission is to "proceed by separate stages, the successful completion of each one of which will develop the necessary confidence of the world before the next stage is undertaken." There is thus no commitment of the British and American governments to work toward the immediate creation of a world state. The commitment is only to try to create the conditions of mutual confidence which will make the setting up of the "adequate safeguards" possible.

Now what does this policy of gradual stages imply? It can mean one or two things. First, that the governments of the United States and Britain are not sure that their own peoples are ready for world government and that they must be led into it, if at all, by easy stages. Secondly, that no world government can be set up unless Russia agrees, and that the only way to get her to accept it is to take the matter up with her tactfully and gradually.

I believe that the Atomic Declaration means both these things. The first lies within our own power to satisfy. If the American people will show what I believe to be the fact, that they are willing to accept the implications of membership in a world government if they believe that to be the only way of stopping war, then their government can act with vigor in putting this view up to the governments and peoples of the rest of the world.

The other difficulty is beyond our immediate control. I have no idea whether the governments of Great Britain and Russia would agree to set up "enforceable safeguards" against war in the form of a world government. I am however reasonably certain of one thing, and that is that there is only one way in which we can find out, and that is to offer it to them.

But, we will be told, all this is impossible; the people are not ready for such a drastic step. Perhaps they are not. But we must, I think, be careful not to lay the blame for our failure to bring our antiquated international machinery up to date on shoulders where it does not belong. Are we sure that this failure is not caused by an unjustified lack of faith in the political and moral maturity of the peoples of the world? Are we sure that the peoples would not willingly go along with any sensible plan which would give them some hope of living decently and in peace?

The Veteran's View

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

Chairman, American Veterans' Committee

OURS is a most extraordinary world, a world in which technological developments have led us into such a literally revolutionary time, that we must also revolutionize our political thinking.

Our situation is dangerous because the present organization of society vests control of extraordinarily destructive weapons in the hands of men who owe their allegiance to some power less inclusive than the sovereign power of all men. It is obvious that we must change our political arrangements, and change them quickly. I agree entirely with what Beardsley Ruml said a few days ago: we need a triple-decker, three-way program. We don't have to say we are in favor of one thing and drop everything else. We can work hard through existing diplomatic channels at the problem of how to get along with Russia and relieve the tensions developing between us. At the same time we can do everything possible to insure support of the United Nations Organization, get the necessary legislation through the Senate, and do what needs to be done to make the meeting in January a success—even work for strengthening amendments to the Charter. Doing either or both of those things does not mean that we cannot at the same time work for world government, for a quick and radical transformation of the UNO into a real world government.

The proposition that we can gradually achieve that third phase—world government—is a little like Norman Cousins' illustration of the man standing at the edge of a wide chasm with a forest fire creeping up behind him, looking across and saying, "I can't make the whole jump at once; I guess I better take one step at a time." To improve relations with Russia and to improve the UNO, is not to make that gradual approach. Although you have to take the jump all at once, you need a running start. Trying to relieve the tensions, build up as much community of interest as possible, and strengthen the UNO, perhaps will be our running start for world government.

There is not much time, but we can go much faster than we think. We shall have tremendous support from many of the men who fought the war. Sovereignty doesn't seem like much of a defense to a man who has been in a B-29 over Tokyo, with the flak rattling off the cabin walls, or to a man who has lived in six inches of water in a foxhole for two months. That sovereignty, if it is sovereignty, is something we value little. It is a sovereignty which will be no protection to us. It is a false sovereignty in that it ignores the true sovereignty, which is of us, all the people here in this country, and in this world, who feel that we would like to go on living. There will be no veterans of the next war.

Science Must be Free

BY LOUIS N. RIDENOUR
Physics Department, University of Pennsylvania; Radiation Laboratory, M.I.T.; War Department consultant

NATIONAL and international control of this terrible weapon that has been put into our hands is important and perhaps, within the immediate future, crucial. However, one aspect of this general question which is all too seldom discussed is who, if anyone, is to control the future progress of basic, fundamental science. In the very considerable discussion concerning ways and means of saving man from the armageddon which the invention of the atomic bomb has made relatively cheap and practicable, the question of world-wide scientific freedom versus restrictive nationalistic control of science has scarcely been noticed. Many people, including several competent scientists, feel that it is idle to discuss this question of scientific freedom while the much larger issues of the survival of mankind, or of civilization, cannot yet be dealt with adequately.

I cannot agree with this position. It seems to me that when the view is widely held that it is actually possible for a nation to keep a secret composed of some fragments of knowledge about the interaction of matter and of radiation, and when our army destroys the cyclotrons of Japan presumably on the assumption that these are weapons of war instead of instruments of scientific investigation, and when our treatment of individual scientists in the conquered countries suggests that we are on the verge of regarding these men individually as war criminals, it is necessary to consider the scientist's view of science and the possibility of its control.

Briefly put, the scientist believes that there is a fundamental understandability about nature. He further believes that the virtue of scientific ideas in his field lies in their agreement with experiment, so that ultimately there is no such thing as opinion in science. There is only relative truth, an idea which agrees with experiment, and relative falsity, an idea which does not agree with experiment. Just as ultimately there is no such thing as opinion in science, so ultimately there is no such things as concealment in science. Given then the unscientific belief in the fundamental understandability and universal accessibility of nature, one comes naturally to the scientist's pre-war method of conducting his science: it is in every sense of the word international.

German, French, and English were the universal languages which every advanced student had to learn to read, at least, and scientific papers were always published in one of these three languages. Students and staff members, research workers at all levels, were interchanged between countries. Every country engaged in research and in investigation to the ultimate limit of its desirability and, most important of all, there was immediate international publication of all scientific results. Scientists recognized that in a discipline whose aim was the elucidation of the universe, it was idle and wrong to regard the results of experimentation and of speculative thought as being less than the property of all men.

For reasons of military secrecy, with which no one would take issue while our country was in peril, the pre-war freedom of science was entirely lost during the war. Most basic scientific work was stopped, too, because scientists made themselves useful as engineers, applying what was already known to design, an outstanding example being the design of the atomic bomb. However, the war is over now and we have the very interesting present-day situation in which our political leaders and virtually everyone responsible is giving voice to the most pious remarks about the necessity for political internationalism, eventual world government, and a planet-wide brotherhood of man, while at the same time there seems to be little attempt to restore the old internationalism of science. Instead, people seem to assume that science will henceforth be conducted on a nationalistic basis.

Criticism of the nationalization of science, based on idealism, is remarkably easy to make, but it is not likely to move practical people in an age when the threat of an atomic war is as near and as frightening as it is today. What I should like to do is point out that one can make a strong indictment of the nationalization of science on a practical nationalistic basis. Even if we are America Firsters, even if we want our country to prosper in spite of the rest of the world or at its expense or to become strong enough to conquer the rest of the world, it would not be practical to attempt to nationalize science. Science is far less a body of information than it is a group of men who understand this information, who have the knowledge and the ability to make use of it and expend it. The country whose scientists are members of a cult or a secret lodge, a country which restricts its scientific knowledge so that fact A can be taught in the colleges and fact B cannot, is well on the way to destroying its scientific traditions and dispersing its scientists. Even from the standpoint of pure nationalism, this is a bad idea. It is basic to any sort of secrecy that someone must decide who is to be let in on a particular secret. It is equally basic to scientific thought that no man is competent to judge what a person must be told in order that he may make a scientific discovery or an advance or construct a theory or do a meaningful experiment.

It should also be observed that such nationalization of science creates quite natural suspicion of national motives. Since the supposed benefits of scientific nationalism in the minds of those who favor it are limited to its expected usefulness in war, any attempt on our part to nationalize science will be regarded by other nations as part of our preparations for a war. Thus, an attempt to nationalize science can stand in the way of the trust and understanding between nations, which must precede any control of the atomic bomb. But this again is an idealistic argument and I must apologize for advancing it.

Let us say, instead, that any attempt of this sort will cause other countries to put an intense effort into attracting good men to scientific pursuits. It will cause them to finance scientific investigation and, if they are clever, to maintain the most rigid scientific freedom so that their scientists can work effectively. This may enable other countries to be better prepared scientifically for a war than we would like to see them. Our policy of scientific nationalization would have been responsible.

Apart from the type of national control of science that I have so far considered—control of scientific publication and dissemination of scientific information—there is another sort of control which has been suggested as wise or necessary. This is a kind of supervision which will prevent the scientist from harming the public at large by his practice in the dark arts. There seems to be a confusion in the minds of many people between scientists and scientific knowledge, on the one hand, and so-called scientific weapons of war, on the other. There seems to be a belief that there is something inherently bad about scientific knowledge that fits it uniquely to be turned over to the destruction of other men. Scientists, I am afraid, have done their part to heighten this impression by being proud of the war-time achievements in engineering weapons. It is difficult not to be proud of a good job. However, I think it is time we pointed out that a body of scientific knowledge and a group of capable scientists, as a natural resource, are quite comparable to a steel mill and the people necessary to run it. You can make either sewing machines and typewriters or machine-guns and cannon out of the steel that comes from the mill. We don't need to fear science and scientists in a world at peace; we need fear only those persons who would lead nations into war.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE FORUM

AT THE close of the last session of the forum Freda Kirchwey presented to the delegates the series of Propositions" which had provided the framework of the discussions. After some debate it was agreed unanimously that the Propositions be accepted as expressing the sense of the forum, and Miss Kirchwey was instructed to formulate resolutions based upon them. A proposal that a paragraph be inserted calling directly for the creation of a world government was rejected because lack of time made adequate discussion impossible. But it was clearly the feeling of the meeting that changes in the United Nations Organization, to increase its authority and convert it as rapidly as possible into a body whose decisions would have the force of law, should be vigorously pressed.

The resolutions agreed upon by the forum follow:

SINCE the basic scientific information about nuclear fission is known everywhere and it is only a matter of time before the production of atomic bombs is possible in all industrially advanced countries; and since the development of aviation, particularly of rocket-propelled robot planes, will soon annihilate distance and minimize the human factor in attack, eliminating the possibility of effective, long-range defense against aggression with atomic weapons; and

SINCE we are therefore faced with the problem of finding political rather than mechanical methods of dealing with the overwhelming dangers created by the discovery of atomic explosives and other new destructive devices; and

SINCE effective political methods can only be devised if the nations succeed in minimizing such existing political factors as (a) long-continued differences of interest and policy between the Soviet Union and the Western powers and (b) the effect on other nations of America's monopoly of the secret of atomic-bomb manufacture and of our continued production of these bombs—

THEREFORE, we are agreed:

1. That the plan for international control through the United Nations Organization proposed by President Truman, Prime Minister Attlee, and Prime Minister King should be fortified by consultation with the Soviet Union so that assurance of full cooperation by the Soviet government may be secured in advance of the UNO Assembly meeting in January;

2. That the United States take the initiative in arranging further consultation concerning conflicts of interests in areas of tension such as the Balkans, Iran, the Near East, and the Far East in order to replace the present dangerous tactics of provocation and counter-provocation by conciliation or, if necessary, honest collective bargaining;

3. That, at the same time, plans for establishing atomic control through the UNO should be energetically pushed and the program outlined in the Truman-Attlee-King statement more sharply defined;

4. That one of the first acts of a control commission set up under the UNO should be the outlawing of the manufacture of atomic explosives and the destruction or conversion for industrial uses of those bombs already built by the United States;

5. That since wars and the danger of atomic destruction will be eliminated only when the superior authority of a world organization is accepted by all nations, an essential step in this direction is the abolition of the veto rule which today gives dictatorial power to a small group of great nations;

6. That in order to avoid control by private monopolies, national or international, over the industrial exploitation of atomic energy—which control would hinder the development of a new era of economic security and abundance —the government must keep in its own hands the sources of fissionable material and nationalize the actual production of atomic energy;

7. That Congress must devise control machinery which will insure the security of the country, prevent improper private exploitation of atomic developments, and at the same time encourage scientific experimentation by protecting freedom of research and a free exchange of scientific information;

8. And, finally, that to accomplish these ends a federal control commission must be composed of representatives of the people as a whole, including scientists, labor, the professions, business and industry, the government, and the armed forces, such commission to remain, however, under full civilian control.

V. DINNER FORUM

"We Turned the Switch"

BY LEO SZILARD

Atom-bomb scientist; Metallurgical Laboratory, University of Chicago

ON MARCH 3, 1939, Dr. Walet Zinn and I, working on the seventh floor of the Pupin Building at Columbia University, completed a simple experiment to which we had been looking forward rather eagerly. Everything was ready, and all we had to do was to lean back, turn a switch, and watch the screen of a television tube. If flashes of light appeared on the screen, it would mean that neutrons were emitted in the fission of uranium, and that in turn would mean that the liberation of atomic energy was possible in our lifetime. We turned the switch, we saw the flashes, we watched them for about ten minutes—and then we switched everything off and went home. That night I knew that the world was headed for sorrow.

The Dinner on December 3, celebrating *The Nation's* Eightieth Anniversary, concluded the forum. Leon Henderson, former head of the OPA, presided, and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt made a brief extemporaneous speech. Another guest of honor, Dr. Urey, also spoke extemporaneously, and his remarks as published here are consequently much abbreviated. Dr. Evatt spoke by radio telephone from Los Angeles. The main speech of the evening, by Harold Laski, chairman of the British Labor Party, was printed in full last week.

From March, 1939 until October of the same year work in the field of atomic energy was carried on by a handful of men who lacked many of the things they needed and most of all official recognition. From October, 1939, to the end of 1941 we still lacked many things, but we suffered from too much official recognition. Our increasing anxiety about what the Germans might be doing made our slow speed all the more intolerable.

At the end of 1941 there was an important change for the better. This change came in the wake of a visit which Dr. Oliphant of Birmingham, England, paid to this country around the middle of the war. Dr. Oliphant attended one of the meetings of the Uranium Committee as a guest and was not very much impressed by the organization and official guidance of our work. Disregarding international etiquette, he told anyone who was willing to listen what he thought of us. Considerations other than military secrecy prevent me from repeating the exact expressions he used. But he got results.

After the reorganization of our work at the end of 1941 we were all happy for a while. Sometime during 1942 the army was brought into the picture, but the officers who were attached to us realized that they did not know what it was all about and did not make life difficult for us. Toward the end of 1942 and during the first half of 1943 all sorts of troubles developed, not all of them originating with the army. At that time it became evident to most of us that unless our organization could be changed quickly, we would have no bombs ready by the spring of 1944, when we expected the invasion of Europe to begin. We saw no way of bringing about a change without a major row, and we could not take the risk of losing thereby more time than we might gain. During 1943 and part of 1944 our greatest worry was the possibility that Germany would perfect an atomic bomb before the invasion of Europe. I myself was firmly convinced that the Germans were ahead of us in this work. Today I know that I was wrong and that when the war ended the Germans had not reached the point from which we started when our work began in earnest.

In 1945, when we ceased worrying about what the Germans might do to us, we began to worry about what the government of the United States might do to other countries. Discussion of the subject started in Chicago in March of this year. There were those among us who thought that we should not set the precedent of using atomic energy for the purposes of destruction. About sixty of us at Chicago took the view that Japan was essentially defeated and that it would be wrong to attack its cities with atomic bombs as if atomic bombs were simply another military weapon. Many atomic scientists at Oak Ridge took a similar view. The use of atomic bombs against Hiroshima and Nagasaki did not end but rather stimulated the discussion of this question.

For some four to six weeks after Hiroshima atomic scientists expressed no opinion on the political implications of the bomb, having been requested by the War Department to exercise the greatest possible reserve. Our response to this request does not mean that we were intimidated by the War Department. We kept silent because we all believed that Hiroshima was immediately followed by discussions between the United States, Great Britain, and Russia, as indeed it should have been, and we did not want to embarrass the President or the Secretary of State.

Then, early in October, in a visit to Washington, I happened to pick up a copy of the May-Johnson bill and brought it back with me to Chicago. We were somewhat alarmed when we read in the papers that hearings were held for one day before the House Military Affairs Committee and then closed down for good. Our alarm increased when on October 9 we discovered that the War Department's early requests to us to exercise discretion in our public utterances were not occasioned by any negotiations with other powers but by its desire to have the May-Johnson bill passed "without unnecessary discussions in Congress."

This caused the Atomic Scientists of Chicago to issue a manifesto calling for adequate hearings in Congress on the general issue involved before any bill on the domestic control of atomic energy should be passed. Our statement marked the beginning of the fight of the scientists against the May-Johnson bill, a fight which has so far not been lost.

Feeling the need for a better understanding of what was happening in Washington, I went there and stayed six weeks. These are my conclusions: The most hopeful aspect of the situation in Washington is the fact that the problem of controlling atomic energy has so far not become a political problem, that is, the essential difference is not between Democrats and Republicans or between progressives and conservatives but rather between those who understand what atomic bombs may mean and those who do not understand it. The most important task would therefore seem to be somehow to impart to everyone a realization of the essentially non-terrestial nature of the atomic bomb.

I would like, therefore, to present tentatively the suggestion that the best way to put our foreign policy on a sound basis might consist in staging a demonstration of an atomic-bomb explosion for members of Congress, the President, and such other citizens as ought to witness it. Those of my friends who saw the tests in New Mexico on July 16 tell me how shaken they were by the experience. Most of them were ten miles or more away; if they had been nearer, the psychological effect would no doubt have been even greater. The risk which the statesmen would run individually by watching from a lesser distance appears to me small in comparison to the risk which we shall all incur collectively if we do not succeed in bringing home to them the non-terrestial nature of the phenomenon.

Naturally, I am not really worried about the future, except perhaps the next fifteen years. If we manage to get through the next fifteen years, alive, we shall probably emerge immune to atomic bombs. It seems to me that the greatest danger facing us at present is the possibility of a war which would arise more or less automatically out of an arms race in which the United States and Russia built up stockpiles of atomic bombs.

Is it possible to avert this danger? Let us assume that the United States and Russia agreed to have no stockpiles of atomic bombs and to permit no manufacture of atomic bombs on their territory. Let us, moreover, assume for the sake of argument that they both reserve the right to abrogate this arrangement at any time. Could Russia and the United States, under present-day conditions, make arrangements through which they could convince each other, as well as other nations, that secret violations of the agreement would be detected and would become known to the world? My answer to this question is emphatically Yes. Clearly the arrangements would have to include the right of inspection on the part of some international agency.

If Russia and the United States wanted to reassure each other concerning secret violations, they might go about it in the following way: After the agreement is ratified and becomes the law of the land, the President of the United States could call on all American engineers and scientists and ask them to pledge themselves to report to an international agency all violations committed on the territory of the United States. The Espionage Act would have to be modified so that it would no longer cover information of a scientific or technical nature, whether or not relating to national defense. All men classed as scientists or engineers would be invited to spend each year four weeks' vacation or six weeks' if you wish, abroad with their families as guests of the United Nations Organization. The Russian government would be expected to take similar action with respect to its own scientists and engineers.

No arrangement of this sort, of course, could rule out the possibility of war, and in case of war, sooner or later, atomic bombs would drop from the skies. Yet under such an arrangement war would break out only if one of the parties actually decided to start an arms race and risk a war. It would give us a respite which would be worth having, provided we know how to make use of it for building a permanent peace.

The Task Before Us

BY HAROLD C. UREY

Atom-bomb scientist; winner of Nobel Prize

THE year 1945 will go down in history as one of the most crucial, the most epoch-making of many centuries of the past. One can never speak about the future. Future history, in fact, may not last very long. It depends upon what we do with the very important period immediately before us. The point at which we have arrived in history, which is highlighted by the atomic bomb, is this: We have made technological warfare so dreadful that we cannot survive if we practice it. We have that choice to make. Do we wish to have this civilization, which has been built so laboriously for thousands of years, terminated at this point, or do we wish to see it go on? Do we wish to see our own race, evolved through almost endless time—hundreds of millions of years—terminated? Do we wish to go on with this sort of playing with very great fires and have a devastated earth?

These are things which I think can reasonably be expected to be ahead in the next decades if we wish to continue in this direction.

Of course, the problem first of all is how can we impress people with the seriousness of the situation. We need, first of all, to be thoroughly frightened. Of course, fright that leads to hysteria doesn't do us much good, but if we can channel a real good fright into the direction of constructive effort, great benefit may come from it.

As Dr. Szilard has said to you, we need to use equal imagination, equal courage in breaking with the past, in our experience in human affairs, that we have used in developing the atomic bomb. I think that it is possible to arouse the people of this country to the seriousness of the situation and induce them to think differently about the changed situation. Any solution that the scientific fraternity has been able to think of, or any one else has been able to suggest that I know of, involves some legal means of preventing war.

The essential problem of preventing war was considered by the founders of this country. Our own federal government was the result of these discussions. I should like to see the time come when the manufacture of atomic bombs and other weapons of war will be handled by a world organization such as counterfeiting is by our government. I believe this may happen sooner than we think. There should be laws against the manufacture of atomic and other weapons of war, and a police force to detect violations and arrest people (not states) who violate the law. There should be courts of justice to try those accused of violating the law. If guilty they should be imprisoned. I am convinced that only such a proceedure will prevent war.

This control of war can come about only when the people of this country and those of other countries are willing to serve as policemen, judges, and juries and give moral sanction to the law. The ultimate source of law and its ultimate enforcement resides in the moral conscience of the citizens of a country and the world. As sovereignty in this country resides in the people of this country, so sovereignty of a world government must also reside in the people. We have atomic bombs and other countries do not. We should lead and not ask others to do so. This is our responsibility and opportunity.

A Stronger UNO

BY HERBERT VERE EVATT

Foreign Minister of Australia

THE advent of the atom bomb has dramatically illustrated but not essentially changed the problems of world security and world organization that were faced at San Francisco. At that great conference it was agreed by all that the human and physical devastation of war was so vast that it could be prevented only by a world organization armed with drastic powers to curb an aggressor.

Although the atom bomb had not yet been used in the war, the delegates to San Francisco thought that another world war would bring an end to our civilization. The devastation wrought in Europe is sufficient evidence that the world cannot endure another war even if the atom bomb is outlawed. However, the atom bomb has made more urgent the need for getting the new organization into working order.

The recent Three Powers statement on atomic energy points to the establishment of an agency under the jurisdiction of the United Nations with power to inspect the plant and laboratories of any nation in order to discover if there has been any violation of the proposed ban against atomic weapons. The setting up of a special atomic commission, the agreement to eliminate atomic weapons from national armaments, and the establishment of machinery for inspection will have to be fully discussed in the assembly of the United Nations Organization and in the legislature of the individual nation. But once international agreement is entered into and the new agency is established, obviously there can be no place for a veto power on the decision of the agency.

Here I desire to state most emphatically that the atom bomb, like every armament both old and new, is clearly covered by the United Nations provision giving the Assembly a right to take the initiative with respect to international agreement for armament regulations.

Above all, we must not lose sight of the fundamental principle that the objectives of the United Nations Organization are, first, to prevent wars; second, to suppress aggressors by force if necessary, and third, to remove the underlying causes of war—economic and otherwise. It would be a great setback to these objectives if the main forces of the United Nations Organization were thought to be the laying down of rules by which future wars should be conducted.

Again the United Nations Charter places a positive obligation on each member nation to place at the disposal of the Security Council not only its armed forces but its warlike "facilities." In my opinion, no nation can carry out its duties to the organization unless it is prepared, subject of course to reasonable safeguards, to bring all its armaments and all its weapons within the general jurisdiction of the organization.

For these reasons, it is entirely wrong to suppose that the destructive aspects of atomic energy can be regarded as outside the purview of the United Nations Charter. On the contrary, they can be and are included within its scope. Therefore, I do not agree that it is necessary for us to concentrate on world government, i. e., establishing new machinery for some form of federal government. What is necessary is to concentrate on making the existing United Nations Organization a success.

Herbert Vere Evatt

All this shows how important it is to stress the positive factors of cooperation that must go into the setting up of a United Nations Organization and the building of a world community. Too many have overemphasized the fear that has been almost universally engendered by the atom bomb and suggested that this fear may stampede us into a solid world organization. But in my opinion fear can never prevent this positive creative quality. Fear may drive us underground. Fear may force us to disperse our industries. Fear may induce a nation to strike a first and decisive blow. But fear will not make us feel more kindly toward our neighbors, and this feeling of kindness and comradeship is vitally necessary if we are to have any world organization that will survive.

What is the task before us? What is needed is an abandonment of mere power politics and the support of all forms of international participation designed to meet the desperate needs of the peoples of the world. Let us not think that our present favored position and apparent economic security leave us immune from future economic disaster.

The urgent necessity of the displaced and starving peoples of Europe and Asia must be met by increasing the resources of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. The Food and Agriculture Organization should be given a larger role to play. The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations Organization must be assigned special tasks in furthering the development of resources in the interests of the people themselves. The trusteeship clauses of the Charter must be given practical application. There must be an extension of international cultural and scientific exchanges. With the peaceful development of atomic energy, the old economic conflict, the struggle for living room, the jealously guarded economic rights in power resources—all contributing to the likelihood of war—can be made things of the past. Mankind has the possibility of entering into a cultural heritage hitherto undreamed of.

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The Shape of Things

AT LEAST THE GUNS ARE SILENT. AT LEAST THE sudden terrible thought that at this moment a son or a brother, a husband or a friend may be dying on a far Pacific island or sinking in a strange sea need no longer be faced. At least on these counts it is a happier New Year than the last or the one before the last or the one before that. But the silence of the guns only makes more audible the sad insistent sound of human suffering that rises from the continents, rings the world, and beats against the walls of that warm, safe, well-provisioned house, the U. S. A. You hear it every time you open the door of the refrigerator to take out the butter or the Grade A milk. You hear it every time you put the extra blanket on your bed or open the window that still has its quota of panes, or, as a matter of course, give a child all it wants to eat when it is hungry. And when you open the morning newspaper and look at the advertisement in which the lovely lady says, "Now you see why I just had to have mink," the sound becomes so loud that you go beserk for a moment and dream of seizing mink coats, piling a ship high with mink coats, and distributing mink coats on the first street corner in Europe. Have a Happy New Year! Perhaps you deserve it. But don't forget the million neediest cases. And before you sally forth in your Christmas finery make sure that you have taken out of your closets and dispatched to the nearest relief station all the warm clothes that you can spare; make sure that you have sent or financed as many food packages as you can afford; and don't fail to send a New Year's card to your Congressman and Senator reminding them that an appropriation for UNRRA is not just another appropriation but a gauge of the ordinary human decency, the gratitude and sympathy, of the luckiest people on earth, who escaped the worst only because other peoples bore its brunt.

*

HERBERT LEHMAN'S 1946 FORECAST OF UNRRA'S requirements outlines a program of relief which, though unparalled in history, barely meets the most elemental of human needs and alleviates only the most intolerable of human suffering. Take this paragraph from the Director General's report on Byelorussia and the Ukraine: "The enemy took virtually all the agricultural machinery away; the livestock herds were terribly depleted. All movable stocks of food and even of seeds were removed. Millions were left homeless. City after city was totally destroyed, and countless cities and villages were heavily damaged. More than 25,000,000 are without shelter save such as they can get in caves and dugouts and ruined dwellings. Whatever assistance UNRRA will be able to provide to these brave people will be infinitesimal in proportion to the need." And so the story goes for Italy—"the utter destitution of Italy is well known and does not require recounting here"—for Austria, Finland, Korea, Formosa, China, where new programs are being set up, and for Albania, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Poland, and Yugoslavia where relief programs are well established. Reinforcing Mr. Lehman's estimates is the careful survey just completed by the National Planning Association. This survey stressed the fact that UNRRA did not reach many of the countries, either Allied or enemy, which had suffered severely during the war. It recommended that the United States make a gift of one billion dollars in food and feed over and above the UNRRA appropriations "to keep the peoples of the liberated countries of Western Europe, the United Kingdom, and the ex-enemy countries from hunger or starvation this winter." If we could forget for the moment the practices of power, the sharp bargains of the market-place, the mechanical safeguards of national integrity, we would see that a billion dollars in food was a slight enough gesture in the direction of a world community and the peace that must ultimately be based thereon.

*

MACKENZIE KING OF CANADA IS THE FIRST HEAD of a great or middle power to urge the necessity of some form of world government as a means of guaranteeing security in an atomic era. It is patently absurd, said Mr. King in a speech to the Canadian Parliament, to suggest that the problems created by the bomb have a mechanistic solution. Atomic energy cannot be controlled "as if it were a new and dangerous drug." A solution must be sought in the realm of world politics and in the terrible light of the implications of the uses to which atomic energy may be put. What is clearly called for is some surrender of national sovereignty. "With a limited surrender of national sovereignty, there must be instituted some form of world government restricted, at least at the outset, to matters pertaining to the prevention of war and the maintenance of international security. . . . The United Nations Organization is not a sufficient answer to the problems of peace and security which the world is now seeking. It is the first step, and an all-important step. . . . It is not, however, the only, much less the final, step. . . ." Prime Minister King's words are all the more impressive because of his reputation as a cautious statesman with deep political wisdom and sensitive ear for the currents of popular opinion in his own country and throughout the world.

*

THE NOMINATION OF ELEANOR ROOSEVELT AS one of our representatives in the UNO General Assembly will be widely approved in this country and throughout the world. It is good to have the name "Roosevelt" associated with this new effort to lay the foundations of peace. Apart from this consideration, Mrs. Roosevelt has earned by her own efforts the right to be a spokesman for the country. To millions of Americans she is a friend who can be relied upon to voice their deepest aspirations for a better world; to millions in other lands she is a symbol of the most generous aspects of our nation. Mrs. Roosevelt is the one independent member of the American delegation; the others were necessarily chosen *ex officio*. Secretary of State Byrnes has, quite properly, been asked to attend the inaugural session of the Assembly, and Edward R. Stettinius had already been appointed as American representative on the Security Council. Senators Connally and Vandenburg take their places as the ranking Democratic and Republican members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. There will be more criticism of the alternates named by the President. The choice of Representatives Bloom and Eaton of the House Foreign Affairs Committee can be justified both by their positions and by their record on international questions. But we regret the inclusion of John Foster Dulles, who because of his reputation as an "expert" on foreign affairs may be able to exercise a disproportionate and pernicious influence on his fellow-delegates. The last two alternates, former Postmaster General Frank Walker and former Senator John G. Townsend, are apparently being included a a reward for political services. We are glad to note that their selection was sharply challenged by Senator Fulbright of Arkansas, who pointed out that even though they may be fine upstanding citizens they have no particular qualifications for representing the United States on so important a mission.

*

HOPES ARE HIGH IN CHINA AS GENERAL Marshall begins the complicated and difficult task of carrying out President Truman's admirable directive. The Kuomintang and the Communists are reported to be vying with each other in concessions designed to impress our new ambassador. At Chungking the Communist delegation to the forthcoming Political Consultative Council has gone so far as to propose an immediate truce in China's undeclared civil war. The presence in Moscow of one of the State Department's leading China experts has encouraged the idea that a Soviet-American understanding on China may result from the Big Three conference. Although the effect of our repudiation of the Hurley policy is evident in these developments, it would be wise to avoid extreme optimism. The record of previous Kuomintang-Communist conferences makes it evident that both factions will seek to drive hard bargains. The Kuomintang will be reluctant to yield any power to the Communist or democratic groups, and the Communists will not surrender their military autonomy unless wide democratic reforms are assured. The real test of American policy will come if negotiations bog down. How then will President Truman's directive be carried out? The State Department's action authorizing General Wedemeyer to assist in moving additional Kuomintang troops to Manchuria and North China suggests that intervention in behalf of the Kuomintang is still a possibility. The temptation to try to settle the issues by force will remain strong as long as our marines stay in China.

*

A PREMATURE JAPANESE ELECTION WOULD UNDO many of the favorable results of our occupation policy. While Germany—defeated months earlier—is restricted to local elections, Japan is on the verge of national elections which will have a marked influence on the character and extent of its reform. Although Japanese political life, which is discussed elsewhere in this issue by Andrew Roth, has shown encouraging vigor, more time is needed to give forward-looking elements an opportunity to educate and organize the newly unshackled and greatly enlarged electorate. Reactionary politicians who have monopolized public life for two decades, retain the advantages of strong political machines and considerable finances. On the other hand, democratic and leftist groups have barely begun to reach the people. Furthermore, the elections would show a greater swing from the past if they were held after, rather than before, a series of dramatic, well-publicized trials of Japan's war criminals.

* * *

AMERICAN PRESTIGE ALL OVER THE COLONIAL world has been raised by the State Department's demand for negotiations between the Dutch and Indonesian leaders "in harmony with the principles and ideals" of the UNO charter. The statement was a diplomatic but unmistakable slap at Britain's anti-nationalist activities, for it also distinguished sharply between the repressive functions which the British have arrogated to themselves and the legitimate activities indorsed by the Allies—disarming and removing Japanese troops, rescuing Allied prisoners and refugees, and so on. Added support was given the statement when the Export-Import Bank held up a Dutch request for a $100,000,000 credit for the reconstruction of the East Indies. This new attitude represents a defeat for the ultra-conservative policies of Assistant Secretary of State Dunn, and a victory for the liberal director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs, John Carter Vincent. Progressive and experienced men in Vincent's division had previously made several proposals for an enlightened policy in Southeast Asia, but because the colonies are governed by European states—although geographically in the Far East—these proposals went to the Office of European Affairs. There they were promptly killed at the "French desk," the "Dutch desk," or the "British desk" by officials in tune with Mr. Dunn's desire to strengthen the Western European countries as a counter to Russia. It is certainly significant that it was John Carter Vincent and not his superior, Mr. Dunn, who accompanied Secretary of State Byrnes to Moscow.

* * *

ITALY'S NEW PREMIER, ALCIDE DE GASPERI, IS doing his best to look as if he were following in the footsteps of his predecessor, Ferruccio Parri. His first statement of policy, calling for revision of the armistice and an improved interim status for Italy, echoes the demands of the previous regime. The six parties of the Committee of National Liberation are represented in the new government, and all but three of the ministers held posts in the Parri Cabinet. But political tension has not abated, and Parri himself, one of the most promising leaders to emerge from the resistance movement, remains outside the Cabinet. Meanwhile, Italian liberals are alarmed by the growing popularity of the newly formed *L'Uomo Qualunque* (Everyman's Front). In the present atmosphere of misery and despair *L'Uomo Qualunque* gives the superficial impression of an exciting intellectual adventure, aggressive, witty, and ultra-modern. But it evokes uncomfortable memories of the Marinetti vogue that preceded the rise of Mussolini or of the Spanish literary movement of the late twenties that led to the creation of the Falange. Although its founders disclaim any relationship with fascism, the new "front" is imbued with the same spirit of political nihilism that has animated fascist parties everywhere. Of more immediate gravity is Parri's revelation that the Allies have refused the government's request for police arms, perhaps because the police are controlled by the Minister of the Interior, who happens to be a Socialist. As a result the only armed force in the country on election day, April 30, will be the army, which retains its reactionary leadership and swears allegiance to the House of Savoy. Despite the denials of Mr. Bevin, Anglo-American policy in Italy is still largely geared to the preservation of the monarchy.

* * *

THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN TO ADMIT TO THE United States displaced persons up to quota limits is humane and necessary. Even though it offers relatively small-scale relief and cannot really get under way until spring, it will enable thousands of suffering Europeans to face the winter with better heart. And it may well provide a wedge to pry open other national gateways which war and prejudice have closed. We hope the plan will not be seized upon as an argument against the admission of European Jews to Palestine. Logically it should have the contrary effect, for as long as this country maintains war-time barriers against immigration, we are in a weak position to demand relaxation of restrictions elsewhere. It would be easy to criticize the President's proposal as timid and niggardly. He could have urged that quotas unused during the war years be added to those now available. Instead, he made a point of the fact that this was not being suggested; admissions, he said, would be held strictly within the current quotas. He also emphasized that welfare organizations or relatives would be held responsible for the costs of transporting refugees and for any subsequent expenditures; in short, this act of mercy would not cost the taxpayer a penny. But if these precautions seem to damage the generous spirit of the document, they none the less conceal the wisdom of the serpent. For by holding his plan within the limits of the existing law, the President can carry it into effect through an executive order, avoiding a showdown with a Congress badly infected with anti-alien virus. At the same time his careful explanations and his assurance that "this directive will not deprive a single American soldier . . . of a berth on a vessel homeward bound . . ." should largely disarm public criticism. We are glad he included in his order provisions for accepting as residents the men and women in the relocation camp at Oswego. This news will be the best Christmas present they have had in many years.

* * *

THE STORY OF JOHN AMERY, WHO WAS HANGED as a traitor in London last week serves as a reminder of the appeal of fascism to the social misfit as well as to the plain thug. In the striking portrait drawn by Rebecca West in the *New Yorker* of December 15, we see him as one of the boys who never reach maturity, who remain infantile exhibitionists throughout adult life. Son of a highly respected conservative political leader, Amery grew up with what is called "every advantage." At fifteen he was already showing a mixture of mental precocity and moral irresponsibility by dabbling in company promotion and selling "blue-sky" to innocent investors. At twenty-four the effort to cut a dash as a financial genius, coupled with a penchant for expensive living on credit, landed him in the bankruptcy court. Equally irresponsible management of shiny, fast automobiles—adolescent symbols of power—led to seventy-four convictions for motoring offenses. He left England for his country's good, a failure with a persecution complex, and characteristically settled in Spain, Franco's Spain. After the fall of France he moved to Paris to enjoy the companionship of the fascists Doriot and Déat. Another step and he was broadcasting for Goebbels and seeking to subvert British internees to serve in an anti-Bolshevik Free Corps. So he achieved a mission and a sense of importance. He had found in the amoral Nazi world freedom from frustration and fulfilment of his fantasies. The real world caught up with him again when he was captured by Italian partisans at the end of the war. He probably died feeling a martyr, and no doubt he will be numbered among the "saints and heroes" of the British fascist movement. In death as in life, neurotics of his type are all too easily exploited by megalomaniacs like Hitler and his numerous would be successors.

Truman and Labor

MR. TRUMAN'S statement last week that earnings are always relevant to a trade dispute was a welcome declaration for Walter Reuther but hardly a gift. For Reuther had already won his fight after battling against unparalleled opposition ever since V-J Day. The logic of his arguments and the support they had gained ruled out any other decision. The effect of the President's intervention, therefore, was merely to end an argument, at least before government tribunals, which General Motors and the rest of American industry were prepared to carry on for months without end.

Mr. Truman asserted, first, that "since wages are paid out of earnings, the question of earnings is relevant" to a wage dispute; second, that a fact-finding panel investigating such a dispute must therefore take into account earnings, or ability to pay; third, that in order to perform this task effectively it must have the right to examine a company's books. Any other conclusion would have been ridiculous, General Motors' vehement protestations notwithstanding. For to argue that a fact-finding board could pass on the reasonableness of a wage claim without considering profits was comparable to saying that the skipper of a lifeboat could prescribe the optimum ration of drinking water without taking account of the amount in his casks and the probable duration of the voyage. As Reuther has put it, "You can't talk about wages in an economic vacuum."

The fact that the White House ruling was a statement of the obvious does not detract from its importance. The relevancy of company earnings to wages, together with the corollary proposition that wage increases must not be rendered meaningless by concurrent and co-equal price increases, has been and still is the big issue in labor relations. That the dispute between General Motors and the Union of Automobile Workers goes far beyond the question of what wages are paid by an individual company is about the only point on which union and management agree. Thus the fact-finding panel headed by Lloyd Garrison had no option but to allow this larger issue to be debated on the first day of hearings.

The argument proved most revealing. Reuther admitted that he was fighting for an economic theory of adequate national purchasing power, for a precedent in making wage decisions on the basis of "the arithmetic of the future." On the other side of the table, as counsel for General Motors, was Walter Gordon Merritt, who almost forty years ago in the Danbury Hatters' case won the spurs he has since been gouging into the flanks of labor. He complimented Reuther on his frankness and was equally frank himself in insisting that he was fighting against a "revolutionary approach" in wage negotiations. Almost naively he pointed out that "this is not the normal collective-bargaining situation," and he protested that the union has raised a barrier to settlement by its "obsessions." C. E. Wilson, president of General Motors, facing Reuther for the first time in the four months' negotiations, pressed the same point when he said pathetically, "If you could pull this thing down to your union, Walter, and to our company, I could help in a settlement; but I can't handle it on this big issue." He was simply saying, of course, that the decision rested with big industry as a whole, which is fighting the Reuther heresy with a united front.

Clear proof of this fact was provided by the behavior of the oil-industry representatives when they faced the same question before another government fact-finding board earlier in the week. They met after one company, Sinclair, had already reached an agreement on wages with the C. I. O. oil workers' union and thereby set the pace for the rest. Knowing they were going to settle out of court—as they are now doing—the oil companies had no longer an economic interest in the fact-finding proceedings. But their hearings were on a Monday, while the General Motors panel was not due to convene until the following Thursday. Someone felt it necessary, therefore, for the oil boys to stall, to keep a foot in the door lest an unfavorable precedent on the scope of fact-finding be created before the other team took over the field. Then, when the General Motors hearings began, the oil companies told their panel that its services could be dispensed with and went home to work out settlements on the Sinclair formula.

With its plea for a blindfold decision by the fact-finders blocked by the President's declaration, General Motors is left with three choices. It can settle with the union directly, it can open its books and attempt to prove inability to pay, or it can defy the President by standing pat. The great press barrage that has opened against the thesis that profits, prices, and wages are inseparably intertwined suggests an attempt to prepare public opinion for the third course.

Typical of this outburst of propaganda is an article in the New York *Times* of December 23 which reports that business men view Mr. Truman's ruling as a "threat to capitalism." If wage rates in any industry, it is argued, are to be determined by the profit-making capacity of the most prosperous companies, then smaller and less efficient concerns will be bankrupted. We wonder whether those who employ this argument are prepared publicly to follow it to its logical conclusion—that wage levels should be established on the basis of what the least efficient unit in any industry can pay.

It is true, of course, that the U. A. W.'s settlement with General Motors will set the pace in negotiations with other employers in the industry, but it is not true that the union has made demands calculated to absorb all of that corporation's earnings and therefore, by implication, to leave less profitable companies with a loss. The union's case is that General Motors can raise wages by 30 per cent, maintain present prices, and still enjoy bumper profits. It is waiting to be shown wherein its arithmetic is wrong.

By his common-sense definition of "essential facts" in a labor dispute Mr. Truman has given important backing to the union demand for information. We have no doubt that his declaration represented a sincere belief, but it also clearly represented a political gesture. The President, in fact, appears to have realized that his request to Congress for fact-finding and cooling-off legislation has disturbed labor without bringing him any compensatory support on the right. Someone, perhaps, has been asking him, "Who do you think is going to vote for your party in 1946? And for you in 1948?" We may therefore view his wages-profits formula, his statement last week on the Fair Employment Practices Commission, and his strong veto of the appropriation bill to which Congress had attached a rider abolishing the United States Employment Service as efforts to reenlist the liberal support he has been rapidly losing.

We should be surprised, however, if the C. I. O. hastened back to the band-wagon on the strength of these moves alone. Certainly it is happy that the President has backed its arguments, and it will no doubt cooperate with any additional fact-finding boards which the Administration sets up. But it is hardly likely to revise its opinion of the proposed labor legislation. The C. I. O. has found that its partial break with Truman, designed to force him to perform instead of coasting along on nice words and New Deal memories, is getting results. It is therefore likely to operate on the theory that a cool response to the President's wooing will serve to test the ardor of the suit and, perhaps, to increase the size of the dowry.

Old Game: New Rules

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

WE AMERICANS have an incurable propensity for putting other people in our shoes rather than vice versa. It expresses itself in an enthusiastic insistence that elections be held in Bulgaria and China just the way they are supposed to be held in America; and in an impatient brush-off if a Bulgarian or a Chinese points inquiringly at certain practices in this country—in Jersey City, for example. For obviously Jersey City is our business; whereas Sofia is our business too. Perfectly simple, once you understand the premises.

Azerbaijan offers a good recent instance of this propensity. The State Department and most editorial writers seem to regard the upper lefthand corner of Iran as if it were the upper righthand corner of the United States—as if the State of Maine had suddenly declared its autonomy and threatened a union with New Brunswick. The idea of Downeasters acting that way is preposterous, and the same with the Azerbaijanis or whatever they call themselves.

Few of us, it seems, have taken the trouble to look at one of those ethnological maps printed in different colors to show the different peoples that live along that troubled border; and fewer have stopped to ask whether there may not be a genuine impulse among the Iranian Azerbaijanis to draw closer to their brothers in the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan; whether the Armenians in that province may not have a similar urge toward the Armenians in Russia and Turkey; and whether the Kurds, those passionate nationalists without a nation, are not perhaps eager for any old change, on the theory that it is bound to be for the better. Few look at the map or ask any questions. We know a plot when we smell one. We send a note of protest, and then march off to Moscow to fix things up.

We don't even look at the history books. We forget the long struggle between Britain and Russia—a struggle that has nothing on earth to do with communism or freedom or self-determination, but everything with oil and warm-water harbors and the road to India. An old struggle and never an idealistic one. John Galsworthy devoted some lines of rather formal passion to it many years ago in a poem called "Persia—Moritura" addressed to his own country.

> Home of the free! Protector of the weak!
> Shall We and this Great Gray Ally make sand
> Of all a nation's budding green, and wreak
> Our winter will on that unhappy land?
> Is all our steel of soul dissolved and flown?
> Have fumes of fear incased our heart of flame?
> Are we with panic so deep-rotted down
> In self, that we can feel no longer shame
> To league, and steal a nation's hope of youth?
> Oh! Sirs! Is our Star merely cynical?
> Is God reduced? That we must darken truth,
> And break our honor with this creeping fall?
>
> Is Freedom but a word—a flaring boast,
> Is Self-Concern horizon's utter sum?
> If so—today let England die, and ghost
> Through all her godless history to come! . . .

There is more, but those lines are enough to remind us that the game of power politics in the Middle East whose intricacies are so well set forth by Mr. Morrell in this issue, did not begin with Messrs. Churchill and Stalin. From Napoleon on down, British and Russian interests have plotted for advantage in Persia, competing for the control of purchasable Shahs, playing the game of court favorites and political cliques; Iran has never been a country where the people's voice was noticed or often raised. Now the rules of the old game have been shoved aside by Soviet diplomacy, in Iran as throughout the Near and Middle East, and it is inevitable that Britain, and America too, should be annoyed. For Russia is using popular discontent as well as ruling-class cupidity. In the British-controlled part of Iran, by far the larger part, nothing at all has been done to oust the old functionaries who served Hitler before they were bought by Britain; the people are as miserable as before, the politicians as corrupt and reactionary. Russia has encouraged the variously named left party, in and out of its sector, and has offered the people hope of reforms and a decent life. The discontent, the nationalist emotions were not made in Moscow. They were made in Iran by greedy rulers and greedy economic imperialists. Moscow needs only to use what it finds.

It is safe to be cynical. Russia wants both oil and ports. Russia will use any means it finds effective to get them. Russia wants to be sure of a friendly government in this next-door country. But one of the complexities so often overlooked is the interweaving in Soviet diplomacy of tough self-interest and honest support of reforms that mean more to a people robbed of the primitive decencies of life than even the best American-style election. Russia, as a Socialist state, can afford to arouse the people against both their rulers and their rulers' rulers.

We Americans are romantic egotists: carriers of a democracy created in our own image; of a diplomacy built for the protection of powerful private interests; of a dream fantastically compounded of mass-produced mechanisms and delusions of superiority. Secretary Byrnes, a guest in Moscow, at his first press conference refused to receive any except Anglo-American correspondents. No Czechs, no Yugoslavs, no Chinese, no French, no Poles. Why? Perhaps they didn't speak American, and Mr. Byrnes preferred not to be bothered with all those outlandish languages. Perhaps—but let's not try to think up reasons. There could be no acceptable reason for a gesture so offensive, so uncivil, so lacking in diplomatic perception. Last Sunday the New York *Times* printed one of those solemn articles on the "enigma of the Russian mind." One trouble with Russia's top leaders, it says, is that they don't get around; not one of them has traveled extensively abroad or knows the Western world well. Naturally they are awkward at international conferences. Of course it is different with us. Mr. Truman was a captain in the field artillery in France in World War I, and Mr. Byrnes—well, Mr. Byrnes went to Yalta last winter with President Roosevelt. The Russians are noted for their courtesy to guests. Undoubtedly they will wait until Mr. Byrnes has left before they print an article on the enigma of the American mind.

Middle Eastern Tories

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, December 20

I HAD the good fortune in Cairo to obtain a copy of a confidential study of British policy in the Middle East. The document in my possession is a collection of three papers "by a study group of the Cairo group of Chatham House." Chatham House, at 10 St. James's Square, London, is the headquarters of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. The institute is the equivalent, in a sense, of our American Foreign Policy Association, but is far more authoritative. Its personnel and pay roll during the war interlocked closely with the Foreign Office, the Colonial Office, and the Ministry of Economic Warfare. The Royal Institute reflects the informed, conservative, imperial point of view, and it speaks for the experienced and thoughtful elements among the permanent bureaucracy of the Foreign and Colonial offices. The Cairo group of Chatham House, which prepared this study, includes many of Britain's leading colonial and diplomatic officials in the Middle East, and I am told that the head of the Cairo group is or was Sir Walter Smart, the veteran Oriental counselor of the British embassy in Egypt.

The study made by the Cairo group is called "The Interests of the Commonwealth in the Middle East," the commonwealth, in this case, being a euphemism for the empire. It is dated February of last year, and the typescript bears the name of the institute as publisher. The American members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine could do worse than obtain copies of this document for their own use. Its 25,000 words provide a comprehensive bird's-eye view of the Middle East and the best available candid exposition of what the men in actual charge of Britain's relations there are thinking. What these men—diplomats, intelligence officers, soldiers, experts, and colonial officials—are thinking does not necessarily determine what the new Labor government will do, but one can hardly deny the immense influence they have on top-level decisions and hesitations in London. Nor does it take more than a glance around the world, from Greece to Java, to see that the Labor government is maintaining a continuity in foreign, imperial, and colonial policy which these permanent officials must find very gratifying. The Cairo study, to my mind, reveals the real undercurrents of British policy in the Middle East far better than the elaborate balancings of Mr. Bevin's statement on Palestine or the appalling incomprehension and vulgarity with which he admonished the survivors of Belsen not to try to get to the head of the queue.

The Middle East is described, quite correctly, in this Chatham House study as "a social and economic slum" in which "the greater part of the cultivable land is owned by large landowners." "Almost everywhere" in this area "the peasants are heavily in debt to moneylenders." The only country districts "with a free, enlightened, and comparatively prosperous peasantry are to be found in Lebanon and among the Jewish settlements in Palestine." Everywhere else "the peasants are still ignorant, diseased, and unchanging." I would say, from my own observations, that this is unfair to many of the Arab villages in Palestine; perhaps complete fairness would have involved an unwelcome admission of the benefits Jewish immigration has brought to the Arab. Britain's long-standing interests in this ancient slum are described as having "always been largely negative"—which may help to explain why it remains a slum. Britain's major concern was seeing that the Middle East did not fall into hands "strong enough to employ its strategic advantages as a means of crippling Britain's world position." This major concern was long served quite simply by "a policy of supporting the weak Ottoman Empire, of 'bolstering up the Turk.' " The "negative interest" dictated the keeping of a weak, corrupt, and inefficient power in charge of the slum. British imperialists did not then and do not now want to see a Middle East strong and progressive enough to stand on its own feet athwart the route to India.

The Chatham House document is strongly anti-Zionist. In discussing Britain's experience in the Middle East during the war, it glosses over the treachery and difficulty encountered in Iraq, Egypt, and elsewhere and says not one word about the great contribution made to the British war effort by Palestinian Jewish soldiers, the skilled Jewish workers of the naval base at Haifa, and the Jewish underground in Vichy Syria and Axis Europe. Britain's obligations to the Jews under the mandate are slurred over, and the White Paper is put forward as the only possible compromise for the Arab-Jewish political controversy in Palestine. "The White Paper," the study says ingenuously, "demands sacrifices from both sides: the Arabs must recognize the position of the half-million Jews already in the country; the Jews must be satisfied with what they have and look elsewhere for a solution of the problem of European Jewry." No compromise solution along bi-national or similar lines is envisaged in this report; it would have British official opinion believe that the choice is between complete stoppage of Jewish immigration and the establishment of a Jewish state. The Chatham House Middle Eastern experts seem to share Bevin's hope that the Jewish problem can somehow be solved in Central and Eastern Europe without opening the doors of Palestine. "There seems good reason to believe," the study says optimistically, "that the consequences of a restoration of reasonable conditions in other parts of the world would be a substantial re-immigration of Jews from Palestine." One can just see the Polish Jews streaming back.

The Chatham House report is anti-Zionist but hardly pro-Arab, except on the one narrow issue of a Jewish homeland. Characteristically, the report indicates a wistful belief that if the White Paper is carried out and Jewish immigration and Jewish land purchases in Palestine are shut off, the Arabs there would be willing to accept "a postponement or at least a very gradual fulfilment" of the White Paper's further promise of a self-governing independent state in Palestine. The Cairo experts of Chatham House are full of pious observations on the failure of the French to comport themselves in Syria and the Lebanon in accordance with the Atlantic Charter. They are pro-Arab as against the French and pro-Arab as against the Jews, but they are decidedly pro-empire and anti-Arab as against Arab aspirations in British-controlled areas. The experts envisage the building of an Arab bloc at the expense of the French and the Jews but hardly at the expense of British interests. They favor Arab unity, but under British control. They say that Britain "must be in a position to make unfettered military use of the Arab countries during a war, and to deny such use to her enemies or those who might become her enemies." They say that Britain must have the right "to use the harbors and aerodromes of the Arab countries" and to control the main lines of communication across them, including the oil pipe-lines. "Neither her military nor her economic position can be assured," the Cairo experts say, "unless the Arab countries, or at least those of them in which her main interests lie, are subject to stable governments which are either themselves under British control or are friendly and willing to conform their policy to hers in matters of concern." Few Arab nationalists would regard that as a "pro-Arab" position.

The Chatham House experts do not contend that Britain "should, even if she could, try to make the Arab world as much her exclusive concern as, for example, India." They say that neither the Arabs nor the other great powers would permit that. Furthermore, "it would be too great a strain on British resources." They propose a system of bases in the Arab countries under a kind of international trusteeship. "This does not mean," the experts hasten to add, "that the actual occupation should be carried out by a group of powers; such mixed enterprises are not likely to be successful. What it means is that Great Britain should act as trustee on behalf, for example, of a Middle Eastern Commission, which itself would be responsible to the all-embracing international authority." Thus international authority would be used to ease that strain on British resources. The new United Nations Organization would come in handy in another way. The new Arab states in this scheme would be guaranteed "equality" rather than "independence." "If all nations give up something of their sovereignty to an international authority," the Cairo experts explain, "the Arabs will no longer claim that their sovereignty should be unrestricted." Thus imperialism would take on the trappings of internationalism.

In this grandiose plan for British control of the Middle East the Jews and the French also have a place—as burnt offerings to Arab nationalism. The Chatham House experts say the policy they have outlined "would probably be indorsed by most reputable British officials [are there any other kind?] in the Middle East." It would also "be accepted by the wiser and more intelligent of the Arab leaders." Unfortunately, "there are other leaders, and with them a large proportion of the rank and file, who have been so embittered by British policy in the last twenty-five years that they are no longer willing to cooperate with Great Britain." Britain must help the moderates to gain ascendancy, but this can only be done if "certain immediate issues are settled satisfactorily." And what are these? "The two most vital, obviously, are those of Palestine and of Syria and Lebanon." The Palestine solution, as we have already seen, is to stop Jewish immigration and land purchase. In Syria and Lebanon it is to persuade the French not to "insist on being given a position similar to that of Great Britain in Iraq." This is as frank as it is funny. Elsewhere in this study we are told that the Anglo-Egyptian and Anglo-Iraqian treaty relationship "is now the official model for British dealings with the Arabs," and similar treaties are proposed with the other Arab states. What makes the Cairo experts think British restrictions on Arab independence would be any less palatable than French? Is the anti-British feeling in Egypt any weaker than the anti-French feeling in Syria?

Politically, this program makes no sense. One does not need many days in Egypt to discover that the Anglo-Egyptian treaty relationship is hardly a fit model for British relations with the Arab states. The Arabs want some kind of federation and they want independence. A new "Ottoman Empire" with the effendis, pashas, kinglets, and sheiks as the tools of the British will not satisfy them. The "moderates" on whom the Cairo experts rely are not genuine moderates. They are political potentates and landowners who are more fearful of popular unrest in their own countries than of the British. They want to see British supervision continued, to protect them and their privileges against popular demand for reform and change. They share British imperial phobias about the Soviet Union, and they are considerably less progressive even than the right wing of the British Colonial Office. Men of Sir Walter Smart's type are well aware of the social conflicts brewing in the Middle East, and see the need for some measure of reform. But reform is reform at the expense of the big landowner. "If we begin to press the effendis for reform," one British official said, "they'll ask, 'What's the difference, then, between you and the Bolsheviks?' " You cannot make an alliance with the most reactionary elements of the Arab world and expect social reform—or stability.

Britain has no right to rule the Arab world. But it does have a legitimate interest in communications and oil. That interest will best be preserved by an international solution of the Palestine problem. A growing Jewish community there will continue to dissolve feudal Arab relationships, to raise living standards, and to make reform inevitable. If Arab fears are stilled by insistence on a bi-national Palestine instead of a Jewish state, if Arab aspirations are satisfied by the inclusion of a bi-national Palestine in an Arab federation, if Arab and Jew are helped by a United Nations program for land, water, and power development in the Middle East, the "slum" can be reclaimed, the old sore point of world politics healed, the Jews given a home, the Arabs given a break. This way, and not in disingenuous power politics, nineteenth-century style, lie peace and stability for the Middle East.

Trouble Ahead for Veterans

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

(*Chairman of the American Veterans' Committee and author of "The New Veteran"*)

A FEW WEEKS ago I found myself, in company with some five hundred other citizens, being hauled by the Long Island Railway at an unwontedly early hour to Mitchel Field, where the army air forces held an all-day conference on the reintegration of the veteran with the community. The air forces put on a wonderful show, as they always do: much brass, majors distributing programs, excellent food (one meal in the enlisted men's mess to let us civilians taste "G. I. food served in the G. I. fashion," as the program had it), a Lowell Thomas broadcast direct from one of the forum halls, a protracted refreshment period between the afternoon and evening sessions so that all the guests might revive their flagging spirits. But not the spirits, nor the message from President Truman, nor the four-star generals reading their carefully written scripts, nor the evident good-will and earnestness and high purpose of all concerned could conceal the fact that the conference should have been held two years ago.

It would have been a pretty good conference even one year ago. In December, 1945, with the armed forces half demobilized and slated to be almost entirely demobilized in another six months, it was not very useful. It advanced many excellent suggestions too late for them to be put into effect in most communities. And despite its good intentions, it did not put into the hands of those who listened—social workers, business and labor leaders, representatives of community groups, veterans' organizations, and the like—the specific tools for the job that needs to be done in the home towns. This is a serious matter, for present national arrangements for dealing with "the human side of demobilization" are so inadequate that the home towns have got to do the job. The responsibility of the communities is even larger than workers in this field had originally expected, as was pointed out at the conference by General Omar Bradley, chief of the Veterans' Administration:

> Washington alone can no more reestablish the veteran than Washington alone could win the war. While we can assist with benefits and offer guidance, it is the community that must do the grass-roots work.
>
> For it is in the community, in his daily association with his neighbors, that the veteran rubs shoulders with so many of the troublesome problems Washington cannot hope to solve. . . . The job is too big for the government or any federal agency. It's too big for any single organization within the framework of the community. It will be solved only when we pool the efforts of the federal government, the states, and the resources of all localities.

It is perhaps an index of how badly off we are that the statement of such an obvious truth can be the keynote of a national conference and can still make news. Moreover, although nearly every speaker talked about coordinating federal, state, and local programs, and about the need for community service centers, none explained how the programs were actually to be coordinated on the various levels, and only one described a service center in operation.

There are not many communities these days which can muster enough imagination, resourcefulness, and good-will to meet the requirements of an effective counseling and referral center for veterans. Several outstanding centers are in operation—New York, Los Angeles, Bridgeport, Flint come readily to mind. Altogether there are about 1,500 centers, in the 23,000 communities in the United States, and they range from very good to very bad. It is apparent that the federal government must fill in, counsel, provide funds, collate pertinent information, suggest procedures, and institute training programs for personnel. At this stage, if the communities have not acted, the government must act.

I say this, believing it to be true; but I cannot think that it will be done. It is not useful to counsel despair, but I think we must anticipate a real breakdown in government services to veterans and, indeed, in the whole rehabilitation picture. General Bradley told me at Mitchel Field that there were 300,000 unopened letters in the mail room of the Veterans' Administration when he left Washington the day before. He added that he was now getting to work on the job that should have been done a year earlier. The VA is short-handed in every category, especially in doctors and in claims adjudicators. Its low scale of pay makes it difficult to recruit personnel. It is so highly centralized that red tape accumulates upon itself in Washington; but office space is almost impossible to find outside, and further time would be consumed in moving. The VA was simply not ready for the end of the war, any more than it was ready for the whole fantastic expansion of its activities which should have been anticipated when 12,000,000 of the nation's young men registered for the draft. Some of the criticism of the VA which led to the replacing of General Hines by General Bradley was pooh-pooed at the time as exaggerated. It is now revealed to have been an understatement.

General Bradley is doing what he can, and is surrounding himself with some able administrators; the medical program of the VA seems slated to improve considerably; more flexibility in the labor market may ease the personnel shortage. But no sudden or radical improvement can be expected.

The other government agency engaged chiefly with veterans' problems is the Retraining and Reemployment Administration, which has had a checkered career since its creation was called for in the Baruch-Hancock report on the human aspects of demobilization nearly two years ago. After a slumbrous period under General Hines the agency began to function vigorously a few months ago when it was put in the care of Major General Graves B. Erskine, a tough and intelligent marine with a combat record in the Pacific, who showed his understanding of life in the twentieth century when he said at the conference that we must realize how our own jobs depended on "the tremendous fact" of jobs for all.

The RRA's particular job is to coordinate the rehabilitation, retraining, and reemployment of war veterans and war workers in the nation, the state, and the local community. One of its responsibilities is the setting up of community service centers. It is a real omnibus agency, with a grandly vaporous directive, an enormous field in which to operate, and apparently a tremendous opportunity for useful work. General Erskine started his job in the fall. He now has the imposing total of fifteen executives to carry out this vast program, practically no money, and as yet no clearly established authority to do the things expected of him.

That is why there were 300,000 unopened letters in the Washington mail room of the Veterans' Administration three weeks ago. That is why many veterans snort contemptuously when they hear glowing descriptions of how their country has prepared to receive them home again.

There is plenty of dynamite in this fast-developing situation. It isn't ready to go off quite yet. But in another six months listen for a succession of explosions, starting in the grass roots, running toward Washington, and getting louder all the time. The loudest explosion may not hit Washington until the fall of '48.

In the Wind

OLD CHINA HANDS, Hurley-era vintage, will be interested in an excerpt from the mimeographed newssheet published aboard a transport carrying occupation troops to Korea last fall. The item says MG officers en route were briefed for their forthcoming job with the statement: "One of the principal missions of military government in Korea will be to form a bulwark against communism." The briefing officer, the paper says, was "quoting from material gained at the recent conference in Tokyo with General Crist."

THERE'S A MAN IN CHICAGO, a miniature collector named Joseph H. Gray, with a fine sense of literary perspective. He is reported to own a twelve-volume set of Edgar Guest's poetry—and each volume is three-quarters of an inch tall.

THE ANCIENT CHINESE had a proverb which was invoked by New Mexico's Senator Hatch in urging strong international cooperation to meet the challenge of the atomic bomb: "What is the use of having a thousand-league horse if you do not have a thousand-league man to ride him?"

WE WERE FLATTERED to discover that Clare Boothe Luce had read into the *Congressional Record* for November 29 *The Nation's* recent article on veterans' housing by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.; so flattered that we will pretend not to notice that the heading on the entry was "The Luce Bill on Veterans' Housing."

WE'VE BEEN WONDERING about this and are sure you'll be as relieved as we were to have the matter cleared up: a G. I. in the Far East occupation troops reports authoritatively that Thanksgiving, under MacArthur, was celebrated in pre-New Deal style on November 29.

JOURNALISM NOTE: the Virginia Press Association is working on a plan for inviting newspapermen from the various United Nations to take temporary staff positions on Virginia papers as a means toward "more detailed understanding of American everyday life."

GRIM-VISAGED WAR, all unbeknown to us, has been haunting the austere halls of the Macmillan publishing company. A recent ad of theirs broods: "Nobody knows the trouble we've seen. . . . The grim story of paper shortage and manufacturing difficulties . . . keeps us awake nights. . . . We'll simply say this: your bookseller now has copies of 'Forever Amber.' "

FLORIDA'S GOVERNOR CALDWELL, according to an A.P. dispatch, refused to take action against Sheriff Lonnie Davis, of Madison, in connection with a lynching "because stupidity and ineptitude are not grounds for removal."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay $1 for each item accepted.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

If I Had Been Forrestal

BY THOMAS J. HAMILTON

(Member of the Washington bureau of the New York Times *and author of "Appeasement's Child: The Franco Regime in Spain")*

Washington, December 20

THE President has spoken at last, and, at least in theory, the greatest debate since the Founding Fathers ratified the Constitution, certainly since the Hopkins-Ickes dispute of 1934-35, is stilled. It was the Commander-in-Chief who spoke, and hereafter mere generals and admirals will hold their tongues. The army and the navy and the army air forces must be united, unified, merged in one Department of National Defense. No more recriminations, no more uncertainties—for the man from Missouri has been shown. And James Forrestal thinks it is time to up anchor and head northward. He and the navy got short shrift from the unification message. Forrestal remained discreetly silent, but Carl Vinson, who as much as any man (except Roosevelt) has ruled the navy these dozen years and more, growled back that it smacked of Germany under the Kaiser or Hitler, that it was military power politics, that unification would "sink the navy." If anybody keeps the navy afloat from now on, it will be Vinson—and I think he will do it.

Nevertheless, there is no question that the navy has lost not merely the opening skirmish but a major battle. For this the blame must rest primarily on Forrestal. Mr. Truman very probably would have backed the army no matter what was said or done by the navy. But the fact remains that the navy's handling of the case was inept. I do not suppose that Forrestal can be blamed for the poor performance of Admiral Nimitz before the Senate Military Affairs Committee; the Admiral cannot pretend to the fine showmanship which comes so naturally to Eisenhower. Still, less than a year ago at Pearl Harbor Nimitz had told the visiting Senators he was for unification, and a lot of people, quite unjustifiably, claimed that the Admiral reversed himself because the navy did not intend to reward unorthodoxy with appointment to the key post of Chief of Naval Operations. General Geiger of the marines tried to make friends and influence Senators by lambasting the army air corps (which has a lot of friends in the country, General, even if it doesn't fly like it says in the marines' flying book). But it was Forrestal himself who made the politically suicidal statement that the debate over unification ought to be carried on before a "higher forum." (His friends insist he meant to say "on a higher plane," but Senators, who are as one on questions of their dignity, don't forget slips of the pen like that.) And all the navy spokesmen kept saying that the navy won the war and that the unification plan would wreck the navy, never taking into account that Senators—and plain citizens—don't care what happens to the navy *qua* navy but are intensely interested in seeing that we have the most efficient defense possible.

In the last few weeks things had improved somewhat, thanks to the fact that a trio of very intelligent rear admirals—H. B. Miller, the navy's public-relations officer, Arthur Radford, and Forrest Sherman—had taken over the navy's publicity. Many features of the navy's security plan, which was prepared by Forrestal's close friend, Ferdinand Eberstadt, were worthy of study, even though the plan itself was obviously too unwieldy. But the improvement in tactics came too late, and Truman's message was for the plan, the whole plan, and nothing but the plan as perfected by General Marshall.

It would have been very simple for Forrestal to have opened his testimony with a tribute to the work of the army and the army air forces. After all, they did a job. Perhaps naval aviation was the greatest single factor in the Pacific (I think it was), but certainly the achievements of the army and the army air forces in North Africa and Europe were worth mentioning. A tribute to the men in khaki would have made possible an equally deserved and more graceful tribute to the achievements of navy and marines, and army, in the Pacific; would have created the atmosphere for recounting the achievements of the entire United States. We went a long way after Pearl Harbor, and Forrestal would have been justified in saying so. He would have been justified also in asking what was so bad about the system that won the war.

The United States still likes to imagine that fighting machinery comes cheap, and Eisenhower, Marshall, and Somervell were at their most effective when they claimed that unification would save us money. The navy offered no effective rebuttal, although it had ample material. After all, army and navy did get together before the war and standardize vehicles, small arms, and many other pieces of equipment; they did have a joint Munitions Board. These measures were not enough, but they were a start. And in February, 1945, army and navy made a tentative agreement to set up a Director of Matériel, with Joint Matériel Chiefs, who would exert much the same authority over procurement that the Joint Chiefs of Staff did over strategy—it was not the navy but Somervell that revealed this.

As for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, army and navy officers know the increasingly close control they came to exert over tactics as well as strategy in the closing stages of the war. When they sent a task force to bomb Japan they specified not merely the targets but the weight and type and fusing of the bombs used. They also had a lot to say about the training and equipment of the forces sent to the Pacific. If the Chief of Staff of the united armed forces is not to be ubiquitous and omniscient, he will have to depend upon a staff almost exactly like the Joint Chiefs. It is hard to see, in fact, what a unified Department of National Defense can accomplish that would not be accomplished equally well by creating something like the Joint Matériel Chiefs and establishing the Joint Chiefs of Staff on a permanent basis. With unity of command in the operating theaters now accepted practice—though honored more in the breach than the observance in the divided

Pacific empires of Nimitz and MacArthur—these changes would give us unity where it counts, in the field and in the war room in Washington, while retaining the benefits of competition and flexibility in the training and deployment of soldiers, sailors, and marines.

Mr. Forrestal and his admirals did emphasize the benefits of competition, but the effect of their testimony was lessened by the fact that they seemed to be thinking first about the navy, second about the United States. None the less, it was fortunate for the United States that the naval and marine-corps aviators concentrated on dive-bombing and close support of troops in the field, while the army air forces went ahead with their high-level bombing. Both, as it turned out, were needed. If there had been a single Chief of Staff he might well have chosen one type of bombing and allowed the other to be neglected. There will be similar decisions to make in the future, and Mr. Forrestal might have pointed out that true economy means giving the United States the best possible chance to survive.

He might also have pointed out that the well-known cumbersomeness of army and navy today would be far greater under a unified command, with a common procurement service, medical corps, and the like. Watching the army machine work in France or the navy machine work at Pearl Harbor, I used to wonder how anything ever was accomplished under the flood of paper. With unification, it would be much worse. It is all very well for Mr. Truman to say that hereafter there must be a single commanding officer, with full responsibility for the defense of his base. At the small auxiliary naval air station where my squadron trained in California there were three commanding officers—one for the air station itself, one for the air group training there, and one for the "Casu" (Carrier Aircraft Service Unit), which took care of the planes and fed the pilots. Space doesn't permit me to go into the reasons for this, but they were good ones. Mr. Forrestal might have used similar illustrations, even though they came from echelons far removed from the Navy Department.

Well, Mr. Truman proposes but Congress disposes; and I don't think the navy need yet put on a mourning tie. Senator Walsh of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee is ready to fight a delaying action after the Senate Military Affairs Committee ratifies the President's message. In the House, unification will have a really tough time, thanks to Vinson. He and Chairman May of the House Military Affairs Committee already have jointly introduced a bill to take the army air forces away from the War Department and establish a Department of Air Forces. This apple of discord will disrupt the unification forces, or else a veteran Georgia Congressman is way off in his calculations. But the row is not doing the navy any good or the country; it is diverting energies that are sadly needed to cope with the problem of the atomic bomb.

Japan's Political Ferment

BY ANDREW ROTH

(Author of "Dilemma in Japan")

JAPAN'S political pot is boiling furiously. Millions of its citizens—from the hungry inhabitants of burnt-out slums to the well-fed and sumptuously housed—are looking forward to the approaching national elections, which will be the broadest and most nearly democratic in its history.

The results of the elections will determine the character and the rate of Japan's reforms. The retiring Diet—chosen in Tojo's heyday, the spring of 1942—has deliberately delayed the execution of reforms ordered by the occupation command. The new Diet is certain to be more cooperative and may possibly speed Japan's democratization by going beyond the goals set for it by General MacArthur.

All groups are eagerly awaiting the results, for this election is part of a striking change in the character of political activity. Before the defeat, power was tightly held by an oligarchy of militarists, economic monopolists, court aristocrats, top bureaucrats, and large landowners. This oligarchy made the decisions; the Diet served as a mere sounding board. But its grip has been loosened by defeat. Its leading members have been labeled war criminals. Occupation directives make it impossible for this small group to monopolize the air waves and press or to terrorize its opponents any longer.

Under the popular pressure that has been unleashed and the prodding of the occupation authorities, political activity is moving from the secret council rooms of the few into the open forum. Industrialists and workers, landlords and tenants, men and women—all realize that their future role in their country's affairs is dependent upon their ability to secure representation in the future Diet. From all this new political activity a number of minor parties have arisen, such as the picturesquely named Party of Long-Nosed Goblins *(Tenguto)*, organized by a handful of medieval-minded rightist fanatics; but the great majority of the people are likely to vote for one of the four major national parties—the Progressive *(Shimpoto)*, Liberal *(Jiyuto)*, Socialist *(Shakaito)*, and Communist *(Kyosanto)* parties.

REGRESSIVE PROGRESSIVES

The Progressive Party—despite its name—is composed mainly of unrepentent, ultra-conservative professional politicians. Among its adherents are some 300 of the 466 members of the outgoing Diet, virtually all of them former admirers of Tojo who were elected in 1942 with the strong-arm support of the totalitarian Imperial Rule Assistance Association. The party is closely linked to unregenerate imperialists, semi-feudal landlords, freebooting industrialists, and authoritarian bureaucrats.

Under the skilful leadership of Tsuneo Kanamitsu and Yusuke Tsurumi the Progressives have been busy donning the cloak of political respectability. Kanamitsu is a hard-bitten machine politician with twenty-five years in the Diet behind him. He is widely considered the strongest political figure in the outgoing Diet, having been the leader of the Greater Japan Political Association *(Dai Nippon Seijikai)*, the totalitarian "sure-victory "group set up early in 1945. The brilliant and ambitious Tsurumi, once a familiar figure on American lecture platforms, is a renegade democrat, adept at constructing liberal façades to hide the ugliness of reaction. The party has made deliberate effort to exclude the most blatant fascists and keep others in the background. One of its very skilful bits of camouflage has been to secure as parliamentary spokesman the venerable Takao Taito, one of the few Diet members with a consistent anti-militarist record.

Its program is studded with glittering generalities masking its devotion to the status quo. The only specific points unmistakably set forth in its platform are its bitter antagonism toward communism and its "absolute and unqualified defense" of the emperor system. Although the program is silent on the subject, the party revealed its opposition to land reform by resisting in the outgoing Diet the passage of even the Shidehara government's inadequate proposals.

The onus of the past is bound to lose the Progressive Party many votes, despite the fact that most of its candidates have elaborate political machines under their control. The war-criminals list now contains a score of its leaders, including Masataka Ota, chairman of its Political Affairs Committee.

CONSERVATIVE LIBERALS

The Liberal Party is likely to profit by the sagging of the Progressives' political fortunes, and confidently expects to add 100 seats to the 50 it has in the outgoing Diet. Its candidates find little difficulty in obtaining financial support, for it is pre-eminently the party of the giant monopolistic combines and has close connections at court. It stands for "benevolent capitalism," a balanced budget, free trade. Its leaders favor the conversion of the Emperor into a British-style constitutional monarch but insist that he be retained as a bulwark against communism.

Ichiro Hatoyama, an unscrupulous machine politician who has served thirty-one years in the Diet and two terms as Minister of Education, and a self-proclaimed friend of ex-Ambassador Grew, is the organizing brains behind the Liberals. An astute politician, he is making a clever play for the votes of women—who will vote for the first time—by advocating equal educational facilities and the right to hold public office. He attempted but failed to secure as parliamentary spokesman the dean of Japanese democrats—deaf, eighty-eight-year-old Yukio Ozaki.

Three key men in the Shidehara Cabinet have been tagged as Liberal Party stalwarts—the brain truster (Chief Cabinet Secretary), Daizaburo Tsugita; the legislative chief (Director of the Cabinet Bureau of Legislation), Wataru Narahashi; and the Foreign Minister, Shigeru Yoshida. Yoshida is an important possibility for Prime Minister in the event of an impressive Liberal victory. He is a career diplomat, the son-in-law of the famous Viscount Makino—former Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and principal link between big business and the court, who was a close friend of ex-Ambassador Grew. Yoshida was arrested in June, 1945, for plotting secret peace negotiations through British channels but was released in August and appointed Foreign Minister by Prince Higashi-kuni as one likely to be favorably regarded in British and American circles. Yoshida feels that the constitution, which has strait-jacketed Japanese political life for the past fifty years, requires only "minor adjustments."

MODERATE SOCIALISTS

The Socialist vote is likely to skyrocket as a result of popular dissatisfaction. Although the party commands only 15 seats in the retiring Diet it may capture as many as 100 in the new, partly because of the reputation of its leaders. Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa, generally rated the greatest living Oriental exponent of Christianity, was once a militant, left-wing Socialist but during the war used Christian phrases to cover support of Japanese aggression. After the war he was indorsed by former Premier Higashi-kuni as suitable to lead Japan's "moral regeneration." Kanju Kato, who was twice elected to the Diet by Tokyo workers and twice jailed by the police for anti-war activity, was formerly head of the Proletarian Party *(Musanto)* and the left-wing trade-union organization *(Rodo Kumiai)*. The former Baroness Shizue Ishimoto (now Mrs. Kanju Kato), well known as a charming and courageous exponent of feminine rights and planned parenthood, was the first woman to announce her candidacy for the Diet and is expected to attract considerable feminine support to the Socialist ticket. The party embraces virtually all labor leaders except the outright Communists and has a considerable following among intellectuals. In early December two Tokyo universities gave it first place in a test poll.

In fact, although its program calls for democratic socialism, its adherents range from near-conservatives to near-Communists. Its chief spokesman, Chozaburo Mitzutani, is a turncoat who so trimmed his sails to the prevailing military-fascist winds that he was able to be elected in 1942 without exciting the opposition of the dominant Tojo forces. On the other hand, Seido Takatsu, who was imprisoned four times and tortured for his opposition to fascism and war, is a member. This wide range of attitudes within the party has caused sharp conflicts over such controversial subjects as the future of the emperor institution. The Christian Socialist Dr. Kagawa has stated that "the Japanese monarchy and democracy are not irreconcilable." The left-wingers feel that Hirohito should bear some of the war guilt and that the future of the system should be decided by a plebiscite. The party is on record as supporting the emperor system as part of the government in the present stage, and Mizutani has hopefully suggested that Hirohito commit suicide "to preserve the monarchy free from war guilt."

LEGAL COMMUNISTS

One of the striking features of the campaign has been the weight of artillery unlimbered against the infant Communist Party. Its National Congress early in December—the first held in nineteen years—was spotlighted by the discovery of an assassination plot against its top leaders by a group of ex-Kamikaze pilots. Although in mid-December the Communist total of paid membership was only some two thousand, conservative orators have been painting a lurid picture of the looming "proletarian dictatorship."

A substantial Japanese Communist movement seems in the offing. Communists are able to operate legally for the first time in their history and can capitalize on the fact that they are the only group which has consistently opposed aggression. The opening of the political prisons freed hundreds of party members, including the leaders Kyuichi Tokuda and Yoshio Shiga. Tokuda, a fifty-one-year-old Okinawa-born lawyer, was one of the secret founders of the Communist Party in 1923 and has spent a third of his life in jail. Shiga, now editor of the reborn party organ *Red Flag (Akahata)* is a Tokyo Imperial University graduate who edited the magazine *Marxism (Markishizumu)* before his arrest seventeen years ago. The Japanese people were able to hear these men over the radio for the first time in round-table discussions broadcast by the Allied-controlled official radio.

In 1927 the Communist-sponsored Workers' and Peasants' Party *(Rodo Nominto)* polled 200,000 votes, and in the early thirties Japan was surpassed only by the Soviet Union and Germany in the volume of Marxist publications. At present the Communists have branches in nearly all of Japan's forty-seven prefectures, and by February they expect to have ten thousand paid members—the number they attained in 1928 when they were illegal but had not been pulverized by mass arrests.

At the recent party congress Tokuda informed the three hundred delegates that without the abolition of the emperor system and the establishment of a democratic republic the people's livelihood could not be stabilized and Japan could not become a trusted member of the family of nations. The delegates cheered the inclusion of the late Prince Konoye and some sixty other oligarchs on the war-criminals list and recommended an additional two thousand names. They disagreed with the contention of the Socialists and the Allied authorities that landlords should be recompensed in the transfer of land to tenant farmers. Although they have come out heavily for a "democratic front" and close cooperation with the Socialists, the offer has been cold-shouldered and the Communists will have to go it alone.

They will probably play an important role in the future, but they seem unlikely to win more than a dozen seats in their first election. More than several weeks of legality are needed to rebuild a political organization and a leadership that has been battered by two decades of dogged persecution and is still harassed by the police. Tokuda is very sick and has a crippled hand as a result of prolonged imprisonment and brutal beatings. Susumu Okano—his real name is Tetsuo Nosaka—the leader of the China-based Japanese People's Emancipation League and the only major figure who has not spent most of the last twenty years in prison, has been out of Japan for over a decade and is still reported in Yenan, the Chinese Communist capital.

These new forces will undoubtedly move the center of political gravity away from the discredited extreme right. The first post-war election will probably show a centrist trend, with the conservative Liberals and moderate Socialists emerging as the two largest parties. But the new government will be confronted with the pressing problems of food shortages, black markets, mass unemployment, runaway inflation, and war guilt. Unless rapid progress is made in their solution, the next election is likely to reveal increased radical strength.

Iranian Checkerboard

BY SIDNEY W. MORRELL

(A war correspondent who spent considerable time in the Near East on special missions for the Allied governments)

WHEN the flag of revolt was raised over northern Iran, it signalized much more than independence for the Azerbaijans, until then one of the world's unconsidered minorities. It was a sign that the power politics of the Big Three, for better or worse, had taken definite shape. Most persons who have been following the course of international relations, whether hopefully or cynically, have realized that in the end Washington, London, and Moscow must develop mutual trust on major issues, including the atomic bomb, or revert to the pattern of checkerboard politics. The Azerbaijan revolt, part and parcel of Big Three maneuvering in the Middle East, proves that the trend is toward power politics. It is appropriate, therefore, that the current conference of foreign ministers, should consider the incident.

The revolt was not a spontaneous affair; the conditions which provoked it were not new. The revolt could, in fact, have taken place at any time since December, 1943, and under almost the same circumstances as today. That fact is fundamental in any consideration of the present crisis.

In 1941 the Red Army moving from the north and the British army moving from the west (Iraq) invaded Iran and took the country into protective custody. The Allies feared at the time that Hitler's plan for world conquest involved a double thrust through Russia and Egypt which would meet in Iran and from there go on to link up with the Japanese in India. Hitler's armies were moving toward the Caucasus in the north and within striking distance of the Nile Delta in the south. The Japanese were making threatening gestures in the direction of India. A large German minority in Iran waited for the Reichswehr to appear at the frontier. Ready to serve it were iron foundries that had been built on credit by the genius of Hjalmar Schacht at sites commercially unprofitable in peace but invaluable to an invading army from the north—one was at Kazvin, north of Teheran; in the barren southern deserts through which lay the road to India were enormous wheat silos, with enough storage space for three times the population of Iran.

Fortunately a premature Nazi-inspired revolt in Iraq, Iran's western neighbor, betrayed the enemy's strategy while there was still time to act. It became clear that an elaborate schedule had been worked out by the Germans. A chain of airfields in Syria had even been placed at their disposal by

Vichy France to aid a full-scale paratroop invasion. The revolting Iraqi army occupied Bagdad. A surprise attack on the R. A. F. base at Habbaniyeh near by failed, but the British garrison there was besieged. The German minister to Iraq appeared at Mosul, center of the British oil fields in the north; the oil fields and installations were seized, and Luftwaffe planes brought in Nazi technicians who knew the function of every knob and dial.

Only the British gift for improvisation in an emergency prevented the rebels from gaining complete mastery. Troops were rushed from India to Basra, the Iraq port at the head of the Persian Gulf, and quickly subdued the resistance there, making it possible to fly supplies from the local airfield to the hard-pressed garrison at Habbaniyeh, which had been reduced to lobbing home-made bombs over the side of antiquated observer planes on to the massed ranks of the Iraqi army. The Arab brigade of Major Glubb piled into old trucks and taxicabs and plowed across the desert from Transjordan to relieve the defenders. Suddenly the Germans lost their nerve, and the oil technicians fled from Mosul. Their leaving without destroying the installations can only be explained by the supposition that they expected an imminent breakthrough in southern Russia and then a concerted drive on the heartland of the Middle East.

At this stage Churchill and Stalin decided that the preservation of a neutral Iran between British and Soviet spheres of interest in the Middle East might prove too expensive a luxury. On August 25, 1941, the British and Russian armies marched simultaneously into the country, meeting only spasmodic resistance from the German-trained Iranian army. The Shah, Reza Khan, abdicated in favor of his son. Iran concluded a treaty with the Allies, and by general consent an attempt was made to forget the invasion, which was tactfully referred to on all subsequent occasions as "the unhappy event of Shahrivar" (Shahrivar is the Persian calendar month from August 21 to September 21).

After Pearl Harbor the United States opened a supply route to Russia across Iran and established the Persian Gulf Service Command under Major General Connolly. Connolly's men were almost all technicians, engaged in operating the railroad across Iran and a fleet of Diesel trucks. To the British army was delegated the role of safeguarding the supply line as far as the Russian zone, at which point the Red Army took over.

One would like to think that in this zone where the American, British, and Russian armies first met, there was fraternization among the troops, and on higher levels inter-Allied cooperation which could be used as the foundation for cooperation after the war. Unfortunately, however, there was nothing of the kind. Fraternization between American and British troops was less extensive than in any other war theater I have visited. Fraternization between Red Army troops and either Americans or British was almost non-existent. Among the officers the best that can be said is that an efficient liaison was built up. Meetings were on a purely business basis, except for the occasional official party or reception given as a matter of course by the heads of the three commands.

The Russians, however, did not neglect to foster political and cultural contacts with the Iranians. After the collapse of the Reza Khan dictatorship, which for years had prohibited Iranians from having contact with the British and Russians in the country, several new parties came into being. Among these was the Tudeh, or Workers' Party, which was subsidized and otherwise supported by the Russians. Economic hardship and political unrest provided fertile soil for its growth and the Tudeh, organized in Teheran, spread quickly to the provinces. Critical of both British and American influences in the country, it organized agitation against the economic mission of Dr. A. C. Millspaugh, who was attempting to bring order into the country's finances, disrupted by shortages and rising prices. Dr. Millspaugh was hampered by the fact that the best food-producing areas of the country, the fertile rice and wheat districts round the Caspian, were in the Russian zone, sealed off from the rest of the country. The Tudeh Party ignored this circumstance and attacked the mission as inefficient.

By June, 1944, the party felt sufficiently strong to join forces with certain parliamentary deputies from Azerbaijan. The new group in the Parliament took the name of "Liberty" group, and proceeded to attack what it described as unjust conditions in the north and the oppression of Teheran.

That summer the governor of Azerbaijan, an Iranian appointed by Teheran but functioning by grace of the Russian military authorities in the area, came out with a demand that the northern zone be given autonomy. He was hastily recalled to Teheran and a new governor sent out. The Russians accepted the new official and left the world to guess what was behind the incident.

When the British realized their post-war weakness in the Middle East, they tried to induce the United States to share responsibility in that critical region. Their oil negotiations with Secretary Ickes in the summer of 1944 had this end in view; oil concessions for the United States in the Middle East, they believed, would arouse American economic interest and, eventually, a general awareness in the people. While the Ickes talks were proceeding in London, two American oil experts were negotiating in Teheran with the Iranian government for oil concessions.

As is well known, the oil deal never came off, partly because the large American oil companies opposed what they called the unwarranted interference of government with private enterprise and partly because the Soviet government, on learning of the Teheran oil talks, filed its own application for oil concessions in the country. The Iranian government then found itself in the embarrassing position of being unable to refuse the Russian application without at the same time refusing the American, which it had privately welcomed. When both applications were refused, the Soviet government showed no ill-feeling beyond pressing for a new Russo-Iranian economic agreement. Our entry into the Middle East was postponed until a new approach could be devised.

This new approach is found in the assumption by America of joint responsibility with the British for solving the problem of Jewish immigration into Palestine. It is a more logical approach, for the human issues of Palestine are nearer to the American heart than the oil wells of Iran. Of course, the Palestine question involves not merely the Jews but Moslem communities far beyond the Jordan.

Against this background the Azerbaijan revolt is seen partly as a Russian attempt to counter America's move on the Middle

Eastern checkerboard. The more quickly America acts to follow up its entrée, the more completely will Russia throw its weight behind an independent Azerbaijan.

Russia is getting tougher with Turkey. It is hard at work in Syria and Lebanon. Efficient Soviet information bureaus are functioning in both Damascus and Beirut. The Patriarch of the Soviet Republic of Armenia has recently toured the Armenian communities in Syria and Lebanon for the purpose of setting up youth hostels in those two young republics.

As significant as the status of Azerbaijan are the demands of the Armenians in Azerbaijan for union with the Armenians in eastern Turkey, and of the Kurds in Azerbaijan for union with their fellow-Kurds in the Mosul oil fields of northern Iraq. These are minority problems such as the late President Wilson never dreamed of when he formulated the theory of the self-determination of peoples.

C.O.'s: Second-Class Citizens

BY VINCENT HEATH WHITNEY

(On leave from the Department of Economics and Sociology of the University of Maine; formerly adviser to the National Service Board for Religious Objectors)

IN THE Second World War more than 15,000 American men applied for complete exemption from military service on grounds of conscience. Numerically, these men are unimportant beside the several million men in the armed forces. Their significance lies in the precedents which have been created by the way they have been treated in war time by a nation unequivocally committed to an all-out war effort.

From the outset Congress showed a willingness to make some type of provision for non-military alternative service. It was influenced undoubtedly by the example of England and by a desire to avoid the ineffectual brutalities of World War I; the treatment of conscientious objectors at that time has been called "one of the darkest chapters in the story of American liberties."

There is, of course, no general constitutional right to exemption from military duty on grounds of conscience. Such exemptions as exist are legally viewed as Congressional grants of privilege, and obviously Congress has the power to determine the boundaries of such exemptions or, if it sees fit, to grant none at all. It is another matter to recognize that the exercise of such negative power would merely effect the transfer of a difficult and unwanted problem to the military and the prisons.

In the war just ended the army was spared a repetition of its World War I experience, when C. O.'s were dumped wholesale into its arms; and it is to its credit that this time it followed the common-sense policy of transferring C. O.'s whom it had received through classification errors to non-combatant duty with the medical corps. On the other hand, World War II brought increased problems to the federal prison system. Some 5,000 men—roughly ten times the number in World War I—were committed to prison for average terms of three and a half years. A number received second and even third sentences. The principle of double jeopardy was held not to apply to them on the argument that each failure to comply with a provision of the Selective Service Act was a separate offense.

This somber record was chalked up in spite of a law considerably more liberal than that of the last war. Then assignment to non-combatant army service was permitted for "a member of a well-recognized [pacifist] sect." The new law permitted both non-combatant army duty and "work of national importance under civilian direction" for all persons opposed to participation in war because of "religious training and belief." At the same time Congress refused to follow the highly workable English law, which provided exemption from any service whatever for recognized absolutists, and individual paid service in socially useful positions—often their own pre-war jobs—for men opposed to army non-combatant duty.

One of the major defects of our law has been the vagueness of the religious test, which in practice has resulted in individual inequities. In the Kauten and Phillips cases, heard in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in New York, it was early established that exemption was to be based upon "the existence of a conscientious scruple against war in any form rather than allegiance to a definite religious group or creed." There has been sharp variation, however, in the practices of local draft boards and of the courts. Some have granted exemptions to men who are primarily humanitarian or political objectors. Others have narrowly interpreted the religious requirement and sent such men to the army or, if they refused to go, to prison.

What is more, the lack of separate tribunals to hear C. O. claims has forced this difficult task on to local boards, which have seldom been equipped to determine the sincerity of the men and frequently have lacked a full understanding of the procedures involved in their separate treatment. A few boards, influenced by strong personal opposition to alternate service, apparently resolved to grant no 4-E classifications; others, with no clear idea of how to handle C. O. cases, took no action to call up registrants for a physical examination. Obviously, considerable criticism can be made of a system under which so much depends upon the chance assignment of a man to one local board rather than to another.

In some larger centers boards which realized their own inadequacies followed a uniform policy of classifying all C. O. claimants 1-A and advising them to appeal. This procedure automatically transferred the investigation to the FBI, whose studies of each individual were thorough and careful. At the end of each investigation the FBI presented its evidence to a specially appointed hearing officer. The appealer, however, had no opportunity to rebut any unfavorable evidence; in fact, he was not allowed to know what the evidence against him was. Nor was he permitted counsel. The Appeal Board, to whom the hearing officer reported, received no record of the extensive evidence of the FBI and no transcript of the testimony at the hearing and, as a result, customarily rubber-stamped the decision of the hearing officer. The wide variation in the percentage of appeals granted by different officers would call into question the impartiality of some. Thus a procedure which appeared to offer a liberal opportunity for an examination of adverse decisions by local boards was riddled with possibilities for discrimination.

For their part, the courts have customarily refused review of adverse decisions until after military induction of the individual. This has, in effect, denied review to genuine C. O.'s, unable because of their belief to enter the army. Furthermore, if a C. O. had entered the army, he would immediately have subjected himself to the likelihood of court martial. Nearly 3,000 C. O. claimants, refusing to appear for military induction, have received prison sentences.

Another major defect of the law itself proved to be its failure to specify the type or conditions of "work of national importance." In consequence, a system of isolated forced-labor camps was created by administrative fiat, a far cry from the expressed intention of Congress to provide an equal alternative to military service. In these camps, which on V-J Day contained slightly more than half of all 4-E's, non-emergency work of a type inherited from the CCC program has been performed without pay, at the expense of the individual inmate or of one of the sponsoring church groups. Many highly trained men whose skills might well have been used in the national interest, men who in civilian life were university teachers, lawyers, scientists, economists, and welfare workers, have been limited to this type of work or to the frequently dirty and disagreeable, though badly needed, duties of attendants in mental hospitals. Too frequently the leaf-raking, the log-carrying, the snow-shoveling have been so palpably useless as to emphasize the custodial nature of the camps. The Washington *Post,* recognizing the punitive aspects of the program, commented: "If there is any sense in this wasting of a man's skill . . . any justice in this punishment of a man because of his conscience, it is beyond our discernment."

Although the Selective Service Act provided for pay for C. O.'s not to exceed that of an army private, Selective Service refused to ask for an appropriation. What is more, men in Civilian Public Service have been asked, as one churchman put it, "to pay $30 a month out of their own pocket for the privilege of working for nothing." Some men are now in their fifth year of unpaid labor, and in addition are ineligible for dependency allotments, medical expenses, and other privileges extended to men in the armed forces.

The issue of forced labor without compensation has been appealed to the courts but without result. Yet as a special committee of the American Civil Liberties Union has pointed out, such a policy has placed C. O.'s in "a status lower than prisoners of war, lower than interned enemy aliens, or even convicted criminals, all of whom are paid for their work." Furthermore, the committee noted, "this inferior status [has been] imposed on them solely by administrative fancy." Such a policy constitutes an unhealthy precedent for future anti-democratic controls through labor drafts.

The public has shown an unexpectedly high degree of tolerance for the conscientious objector. The frequent brutalities of World War I have not reappeared. Ministers and laymen have been hired for or retained in important positions without reference to their attitude toward the war. There has been no large amount of anti-C. O. legislation either in Congress or in the state legislatures. Louisiana, Kentucky, and Florida passed laws denying certain public employment to C. O.'s. On the other hand, Tennessee and other states rejected similar legislation. And in California Governor Warren unexpectedly vetoed a bill passed by the 1945 legislature, which would have required all prospective public employees to state their views on war. Such legislation, he said, was an encouragement to "witch-hunting."

In Miami a public-school teacher, Edward O. Schweitzer, lost his appointment on the sole ground of his registration as a C. O., and the Florida Supreme Court upheld the School Board. Even more important was the five-to-four verdict of the United States Supreme Court sustaining the refusal of the Supreme Court of Illinois to admit Clyde W. Summers to the Illinois bar solely because of his C. O. beliefs. If permitted to stand, the decision may bar all C. O.'s from the practice of law and possibly of other professions.

For drafted men demobilization will show whether or not Congress sincerely desired to provide an equal alternative-service program. Selective Service's announcement of a point system for the discharge of men in Civilian Public Service after the end of the European war brought immediate Congressional response in the form of a bill introduced by Representative Winstead of Mississippi. As favorably reported out by the House Military Affairs Committee, the rewritten bill, by forbidding any point system, would have the effect of holding all C. O.'s in service as long as any conscripted military personnel remain. On the floor of the House Representative Winstead's request that the bill be placed on the Unanimous Consent Calendar has just been blocked by the objection of Representatives Judd of Minnesota, Keen of New Jersey, and Tarver of Georgia. The new bill will come up in regular order—a matter of months.

In another action Representative O'Toole of New York has proposed that all C. O.'s be sent abroad as occupation troops, at least until "every last man who has seen service" is returned. Most C. O.'s, of course, have as great an aversion to policing other men as to killing them.

Selective Service, for its part, has followed an ambivalent course. Officially, it has indicated its intent to end the Civilian Public Service Program unless forbidden to do so by Congress; and yet actual demobilization proceeds with painful slowness. In the Friends' camps, which can be taken as representative, 10 per cent of the men in C. P. S. on V-E Day had been discharged by mid-November. During the same period 34 per cent of the army was released. Official plans called for the discharge of 55 per cent of the army by January 1—as compared with only 15 per cent of the C. P. S.

Congress can still forbid any demobilization of C. O.'s, or it can insist that the process be rapidly completed. Selective Service can maintain its slowdown in discharge, or it can let go at once at least those men with two or more years of service and with families. What is done will show whether or not it is true that American conscientious objectors have become second-class citizens.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

British Coal

IT WAS in 1920 that a Royal Commission on the British coal industry, presided over by Justice Sankey, declared, "The present system of ownership and working . . . stands condemned and some other system must be substituted for it." But it is only today, after a quarter-century of blood, sweat, and tears, of strikes, unemployment, mounting inefficiency, and low wages, that the recommendations of this commission are being carried out by the Labor government's bill to nationalize the coal mines.

If in 1920 the situation of British coal was critical and the need for action urgent, today it has become desperate. Coal is Britain's one important native resource and the foundation of its industrial life. Despite intensive extraction for over 150 years, underground supplies remain abundant, although some of the best deposits have been exhausted. But today British householders shiver on meager rations, industry is barely supplied, export demands cannot be filled, and costs of production have soared about 100 per cent above the pre-war level. More and cheaper coal is an essential pre-condition for industrial recovery.

After the last war Lloyd George staved off a strike in the minefields by appointing the Sankey Commission and promising to abide by its findings. To the consternation of British conservatives a majority of the commission, including its chairman, decided that public ownership was the only way to overcome the "waste and extravagance" inherent in the industry under private enterprise and to eliminate the friction between mine-owners and miners that was a standing menace to stable and efficient production. Lloyd George, whose parliamentary majority was mainly composed of "hard-faced men who looked as if they had done well out of the war," dared not accept this solution and reneged on his promise.

In the years between the wars the British coal industry carried on as it had always done, and the evils which so impressed the Sankey Commission were magnified. The operators combined to beat down wages and, at times, to raise prices, but they would not combine to increase efficiency. They could not agree to merge small undertakings so as to attract new capital and make mechanization an economic proposition. Technologically British coal mines lagged far behind not merely those in this country but those in Germany, Holland, and Poland. In the period between the wars output per manshift in Britain rose only about 15 per cent; in Holland it increased about 100 per cent and in the Ruhr about 50 per cent. This difference was not due to geological conditions, for Continental coal formations are fairly similar to those in Britain; it was due to the larger scale of German and Dutch operations, to better lay-out of the mines, to much greater use of machinery, and to improved training methods.

Last year a committee of mining technicians discussing the reasons for the backwardness of the British industry pointed out that "the employers, as a body, have been prepared neither to accept the principle of survival of the fittest nor fully to abandon their traditional individualism. In relation to their own undertakings the short view has too often prevailed." Believing that vitally needed technical changes could not be "carried through by the industry organized as it is today," the committee recommended the establishment of a statutory authority with effective powers to merge it "into units of such sizes as would provide the maximum advantages of planned production."

If the Tories had won the general election in Britain last summer, it is probable that they would have attempted to tackle the coal problem along these lines. For even the operators had come to recognize that drastic reorganization was essential. Their own solution was the cartelization of the industry under the top government of a "Central Control Board," which was to act as "trustee for the public" and govern the industry in the spirit of "national service." Characteristically, however, neither the public nor the miners were to have any voice in the election or decisions of this body; it was to be purely the creature of the owners. Thus the coal companies' alternative to public ownership was not competitive free enterprise but uncontrolled private monopoly.

Apart from all other objections, that solution would have been totally unacceptable to the miners, and without the cooperation of the workers reorganization of the mines on a more efficient basis is impossible. Their opposition to increased mechanization—the result of years of under-employment—has to be softened; so does their antagonism to the two-shift system, without which the overhead costs of mechanization may prove too heavy. Again, unless there is an improvement in the workers' attitude toward the industry, it will be difficult to overcome the present acute shortage of man-power. During the depression years tens of thousands of miners migrated from the coal fields, and few of the 100,000 who were drafted in the war expect to return. Moreover, miners have been increasingly reluctant to allow their sons to follow a trade so dangerous and so unstable. Consequently, recruiting is insufficient to balance retirements.

Nationalization will not eradicate all the plagues of the coal industry overnight, but it will offer a hope of improvement which should serve to arrest the drift from the industry and to stiffen labor morale. The transitional period, however, may present difficulties. The workers, a hard-headed union leader from Durham said to me when I was in England last year, had come to look upon nationalization as a cure-all. Consequently there was a danger of disillusionment when they found that it would not mean much immediate betterment of their condition. They would have to learn that the primary objective of nationalization was *national* benefit —not just short hours and high pay—and that a higher standard of living must depend on increased productivity.

In their long, bitter war with the "bosses" the miners have been conditioned to resistance. Now they will be called upon to cooperate with management and to adopt new standards of discipline. It will not be an easy psychological adjustment, but the problem is openly acknowledged, and the Ministry of Fuel and Power, in conjunction with the National Union of Miners, has already begun a campaign of reeducation.

KEITH HUTCHISON

The People's Front

WHEN the honorable representative of the Dominican Republic steps to the podium, the delegates to the inaugural meeting of the United Nations Assembly will undoubtedly hear a most eloquent address on liberty and peace. The Dominican delegate may find it difficult, however, to work the name of Rafael Trujillo into his speech; history does not record the "Gran Benefactor" among the creators of the Atlantic Charter. But perhaps by some trick of rhetorical prestidigitation he can include an account of Trujillo's accomplishments at home.

In the Dominican Republic practically every street, every school, every two-story house bears the inscription "Built by the initiative of the Benefactor of the Nation." The bigger the house, the longer the inscription: in the smart suburban districts to the title "Benefactor de la Patria" is added "Restaurador de la Independencia Financiera de la República." In the frequent patriotic celebrations peasants wear signs on their backs reading, "Dios en el cielo y Trujillo en la tierra"—"God in heaven, Trujillo on earth."

If it is too difficult to list all these glories in a short speech, the Dominican representative might limit himself only to those which have won for Trujillo an international reputation. It would begin with the massacre of 12,000 Haitians in 1937. At home his record is more modest: to date he has killed only 3,000 political opponents and these without any unpleasant publicity which might disturb Washington. His method has been admirably efficient: for years a gang of pistoleros operated regularly between midnight and dawn assassinating enemies or potential enemies of the regime. He had to abandon this simple procedure when a foreign diplomat returning one night from a party ran smack into one of these shooting affrays and lodged a protest with the authorities. Thereafter, political prisoners were seized quietly in their homes, taken to the little port of Caleta three miles outside of Ciudad Trujillo, and thrown to the sharks. In fairness to Trujillo it must be said that the number of killings has diminished in the last few years, perhaps because the General finds himself in the unhappy position of the Argentine *caudillo* Paez, who, when asked on his deathbed to forgive his enemies, replied sadly, "Father, why didn't you ask me that years ago? Now there is not one left for me to forgive."

Until a few years ago the "Restaurador de la Independencia Financiera de la República" believed that the economic prosperity of the country was synonymous with the prosperity of the Trujillo family. Every member of the clan down to the most distant cousin-in-law received a post in the administration or the army; in return he had only to contribute a small percentage of his salary to the Benefactor. But with an increase in the size of the army, whose job it is to maintain order, Trujillo prudently decided to distribute some of his benefits among the generals. General Federico Fiallo, chief of the Dominican Gestapo, has been one of the chief recipients of Trujillo largess. Aside from keeping the army clique in line through this "share-the-wealth" system, Trujillo has only one other preoccupation, that of courting the United States. To this end he has permitted American capital to buy up the sugar plantations and to pay Dominican and imported Haitian workers wages that rate among the lowest in Latin America.

The Dominican representative to the UNO will have a worthy rival in the person of the delegate from Paraguay. President Morinigo is less vain than the dictator of the Dominican Republic but he can match him when it comes to dealing with the opposition. At the national trade-union conference in Buenos Aires this month Porfirio Nuñez, the Paraguayan representative, described the unbelievable tortures inflicted on prisoners in the concentration camps of the north Chaco jungle. Recently a hundred men—journalists, professors, doctors, and political leaders—were arrested for plotting to establish a "Communist dictatorship" in Paraguay. I met some of these men when I visited Paraguay as chairman of the League of Nations Commission on the Chaco war; these potential "Communists" are about as communist as Harry Hopkins. They belong to the Unidad Nacional, a movement which includes such distinguished persons as the former President of Paraguay, Dr. José P. Giggiari, former Senator Vicente Rivarola, and the former president of parliament and delegate to the Pan-American conference at Montevideo, Geronimo Riart. "Our only crime," declared one of the prisoners to a correspondent of the Montevideo newspaper *El Pais*, "is that we are anti-Nazis."

The Himmler of Paraguay who discovered the "plot" is Colonel Heriberto Florentin, who delights in supervising personally the torture of prisoners, especially when the prisoner is the seventeen-year-old student Sallimben or the anti-fascist woman leader, Petrona Arzamendia. Recently he intensified repressive measures after the democratic elements of Paraguay staged an impressive protest against the Argentine dictatorship during a visit of General Farrell, Argentina's puppet President, to Asunción.

The other day I received a letter from one of the Paraguayan leaders whose name I cannot reveal for obvious reasons. He asked why it is the people of the United States do not recognize the danger to this hemisphere if Perón should be elected President of Argentina on February 24. "With the help of Morinigo," he writes, "and the other would-be Morinigos of Latin America, Perón will seize control of Paraguay and Bolivia; within four or five years he will have become so strong that the United States, in order to oppose him in Latin America, will be obliged to wage a war."

Can I reply to my Paraguayan friend that few people in the United States are interested in Latin America; that fewer still know what is happening in Paraguay or in the Dominican Republic or in Argentina; that some of those who do know helped to open the door of the United Nations Organization to the Perón regime?

DEL VAYO

GABRIELA MISTRAL

BY MILDRED ADAMS

THE gulf between North and South American culture revealed itself with startling clarity in the recent public reaction—or lack of it—to the news that the 1945 Nobel Prize for literature had been conferred upon Gabriela Mistral of Chile. Miss Mistral is the first Latin American to win the coveted award. Her name is a household word south of the Rio Grande: her poetry is deeply loved, and some of her ideas are the subject of passionate debate. Yet North Americans seem only dimly aware that such a person exists. And this despite the fact that her first book of poems was published by the Instituto de las Españas at Columbia University.

Miss Mistral's first recognition in this country came in 1922, partly because the publication of her book set up echoes of the discovery of a poet so important that she cracked the language barrier, partly because her glorification of the rural teacher and her deep compassion for the neglected country child attracted teachers. Also it caught the attention of José Vasconcelos, Minister of Education in Mexico and a figure well known in the United States, who was undertaking to reform and improve Mexican country schools. He invited Miss Mistral to direct that campaign. North Americans in the fields of education and child welfare watched with interest, and a few of the poet-teacher's verses were translated by admirers here. In 1931 she came to give lectures at Barnard College and at Middlebury. After the publication in 1938 of her third book, "Tala," with its touching dedication to the Basque children who had fled before Franco's Moors, she again visited this country and was officially entertained in Washington.

None of this brought her to the attention of the general public here. Nor did the fact that she had been published in at least five European languages make any impact on a people seldom aware of foreign poets who have not obvious publicity value. Her recent elevation to Nobel Prize status was met mostly with a blank stare and an interrogative eyebrow.

Because Gabriela Mistral's poetry reflects the experience and emotions of her own life, it is important to know at least the outlines of that life. She was born Lucila Godoy Alcayaga, in 1889, in one of those deep Chilean valleys where the sun shines only a few hours each day. At fifteen she began to teach primary students in country schools so poor that, as she says in one of her famous poems, when she wanted to comb a child's hair she had only her own fingers with which to smooth the long black locks. She taught for ten years, and then for eight more, with a growing literary fame at once feeding and being fed on her teaching career.

Then came the publication of her first book of poems, widespread recognition throughout Spanish countries as a major poet, and the invitation to take charge of the reform of rural primary schools in Mexico. She stayed there for two years, and still refers to that land as "my Mexico." Never again did she go back to the hard career in which she had spent her youth and made her first fame. Instead she became a civil servant and was granted an honorary pension by the state but expected to work for it. She was for a time Chilean member of the Institute for Intellectual Cooperation attached to the League of Nations. She has been consular representative of Chile in Palermo, Madrid, Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro, and other capital cities of Europe and America. It is largely an honorary post in the Latin manner, giving her time for writing, and for lecturing at colleges and universities.

Her work came out in three volumes, widely separated in time and place. "Desolación" was published in New York in 1922; "Ternura," a book of poems for children, in Madrid in 1924; "Tala," written out of "my love for the blood of Spanish innocents," appeared in Buenos Aires in 1938. A fourth volume, "Lecturas para Mujeres," which she compiled in Mexico at the request of José Vasconcelos, contains, with other material, some of her prose and verse. There is said to be a good deal of verse and prose still uncollected. She herself speaks of her *"dejadez criolla"* in matters of publishing, which could be translated as a native tendency to procrastination.

Miss Mistral made her first reputation with three "Sonnets to Death," which won a Chilean poetry prize for her in 1914. Her first volume, published eight years later, is full of passion and tragedy—the suicide of a lover, the anguish of the woman who quarreled with him and lost him, the deep longing for his child which she would never bear. With these themes go her love for and keen observation of country places and country children and her sense of the teacher as a consecrated being. The tone is simple, direct, almost primitive. She talks to Christ as freely as to a child. Her expression is devoid of modern mannerisms and romanticist pretensions; her lyric tone is pure. Friendly critics say that her masters were the Bible, Dante, Tagore, and Tolstoy.

Her later volumes carry the same clarity of expression, the same threads of mingled mysticism and paganism, the same moving force of love and tragedy. She has not had an easy life, and the anguish of it is laid open and served up bleeding. Her sympathies are with the downtrodden and forgotten—the shy, wild children in lost Chilean valleys, the Basque orphans scattered "among strange peoples in countries of impossible tongues and bitter climates." The Spanish war she took—as did so many other poets—as a personal catastrophe, and she castigated her continent for not welcoming its exiles. This point of view did not increase her popularity with people who had already objected to her frankness and her anticlerical sentiments.

Even when young she was "more sphinx than nymph." Nowadays she is a monumental figure, heavy set, the mouth down-curving, the eyes somber, the body still as though carved out of basalt. Thunder clouds gather easily on the heavy forehead, and the fine eyes under arched brows shoot fire at any suspicion that she is not taken seriously. One of her Mexican friends calls her only part human in her continual insistence on the tragic side of life. Gabriela is unteachable and unchangeable, he insists. She has no sense of humor that would be so recognized by a North American, but with children she is whimsical and gay. In a group she is silent, a stone image of a woman listening. Yet her dialogue with a sympathetic friend can be witty as well as wise.

Gabriela Mistral's poetic reputation has been founded on the quality of her song, her compassionate insight, the expression she gives to the deepest emotions that move the human heart. Her secure position in literature written in the Spanish tongue is unchallenged even by those who disagree with her philosophy and deplore the tone of seer and prophet which infuses much of her later prose writings. The move to seek the Nobel prize for her began around 1940, and enlisted aid all over South America. Its granting will be interpreted as shedding luster not only on the poet but also on the woman and on the continent.

For that very reason it is necessary to raise the question as to which of the three factors—achievement, sex, or geography—really won her the prize. A major poet she surely is, but three volumes of verse, the latest of which appeared in 1938, is a slender basis on which to gain worldwide recognition in 1945. Meanwhile other poets have risen to challenge her ascendancy, some of them writing Spanish on her own continent. One thinks of Pablo Neruda, of Alfonso Reyes, of Nicolas Guillen, with his cry of the oppressed, of Cesar Vallejo, who died so tragically young yet with such fine work already done. All of them can lay claim to having come closer to the glory and the anguish of these later years. Their production is considerable, their themes are universal, their verse is powerful.

The uncomfortable suspicion persists that the prize may have been awarded to Miss Mistral this year because her poetry, being fine, was also safe and in the main non-controversial. Her poems are deeply human, and in style and content they raise a minimum of uncomfortable questions. Moreover, Miss Mistral is a woman, and not many Nobel prizes have gone to women poets; she is a South American, and no Nobel prize has previously gone to a South American. This year above all others, with poets in other places submerged by the war, a South American woman poet could be safely chosen, particularly as her fellow-poets held her in such warm regard.

But the Nobel prize, if it is to live up to its great pretensions, should not raise such doubts in the minds of listeners. That it does so this year is a reflection not on Miss Mistral but on the prize committee.

BRIEFER COMMENT

Goods for Goods

STUART CHASE'S gift for assimilating masses of technical and controversial material and then presenting it in a lively and highly readable form is nowhere better revealed than in "Tomorrow's Trade: Problems of Our Foreign Commerce," the latest of the series he is preparing under the auspices of the Twentieth Century Fund ($1). This is a book which needed to be written, and one can feel relief now that it has been done. Any intelligent reader who wants to understand foreign trade can find the basic answers here.

Mr. Chase seizes upon the simple fact that foreign trade cannot exist except by the exchange of goods and services for goods and services. That is the fundamental fact about all trade. The owner of the local department store wants his potential customers to sell their goods; otherwise he will not be able to sell his goods. He does not encourage his customers' customers to stop buying, nor does he insist on selling goods to the man who has no business of his own, and no job, and no prospects. Yet the advertisements in our magazines today and the public utterances of prominent men seem to recommend just that policy in our foreign trade. We are to *export.* If we export, we can supply 10,000,000 jobs to our people. But never a word about buying. Anyone who after reading Mr. Chase's analysis does not see the stupidity of that attitude should start building himself a deep shelter and wait for the atomic bombs which will follow a policy of exporting our goods and our unemployment.

One should be grateful for so clear an exposition of a problem around which so thick a fog has been cast. But I cannot help wishing that Mr. Chase had found a different formula for expressing the basic fact than "stuff for stuff." Most foreign transactions, as well as most domestic trade, to be sure, are based on the exchange of "stuff for stuff." But this seems to limit trade to tangible material goods. So long as we continue to think in terms of radios and machine tools, cotton and hides, we shall not be able to solve many of our problems. Mr. Chase speaks of the invisible items in foreign trade and gives a clear picture of their importance. But unless he modifies his formula to imply their probable increasing importance, his readers may fail to appreciate that tourist trade, remittances by immigrants, and other services which are not precisely "stuff" may play a very large part in solving not only our domestic and foreign-trade but our full-employment problem. Education, the arts, medical research, social research—these intangible services are likely to furnish an answer to the problem of overproduction of material goods, and the unbalance between our capacity to produce and that of our neighbors. ETHEL M. THORNBURY

The Evolution of Faith

PERHAPS IT IS BECAUSE a modest and critical trust in reason still seems to me the best equipment a man may have in this troubled world that I find it difficult to form an exact picture of the public for which "The Wisdom Tree" by Emma Hawkridge (Houghton Mifflin, $3.75) is intended. Readers of Frazer, or of such books as "Totem and Taboo," or of Jung's "Psychology of the Unconscious" may take interest in this account of the evolution of the major religious faiths. It would probably have value for those who consider it wise to give their children some knowledge of comparative religion, though I should judge Salomon Reinach's "Orpheus" a better book for that purpose. For those who can make a Santayana-like abstraction of the symbolic values of a religion and believe it important and profitable to do so "The Wisdom Tree" may possibly serve better than the French scholar's classic. It is beyond my capacities to criticize the book as a historian of religions might do. The bibliography indicates that Mrs. Hawkridge has followed the best authorities, though in her brief reference to the Egyptian religious revolution which brought in the feudal period about 2000 B. C., she is far less bold than Breasted himself. In general "The Wisdom Tree" is well written, though there is a tendency to lushness and a disinclination to define concepts. There is a fairly satisfactory correlation of the religious with the "non-spiritual" facts of history, and the illustrations are good.

RALPH BATES

VERSE CHRONICLE

TRIBUTE TO THE ANGELS. By H. D. Oxford University Press. $2.

THE SONG OF LAZARUS. By Alex Comfort. The Viking Press. $1.75.

FOR H. D. the Education of Hellas was more than a place and less than an education: it was a religion. But she has worn out the place names and the olives; wandering among barbarians, patching what religious scraps she can pick up into a quilt to warm her bombed old bones, she evokes a wondering and amused affection. Yet imagism was a *reductio ad absurdum* upon which it is hard to base a later style: H. D.'s new poem is one for those who enjoy any poem by H. D., or for those collectors who enjoy any poem that includes the Virgin, Raphael, Azrael, Uriel, John on Patmos, Hermes Trismegistus, and the Bona Dea.

Although the first part of Alex Comfort's novel is better than anything in his book of poems, he is potentially and in diffusion an interesting poet. Unfortunately, neither organization nor economy is natural to him, and the extensive, rather clumsy energy of his best prose is tenuous in his verse. One out of a dozen of his phrases is thoroughly successful; the other eleven are typical—typical enough to tell you how old he is, where he lives, whom he reads. (Appropriation is the sincerest flattery, as you can see when workers take over the state, or when Mr. Comfort infringes again and again on such notorious patents as Dylan Thomas's "candle in the thighs.") In their elegiac, almost pastoral reflection in these poems, death and the war seem hardly more than allegorical emanations of some passive, amoral reality. There flows by interminably a clear, ripe, shining, well-watered, rather French and feminine nature: blood or vague sexual fluids pulse through its imagined vessels, and as you wander over the "chalk-pit's navel" or the "fruitful thighs of the corn," you feel that you are in some modernist room where all the woods are blond, the hues unsaturated, and the designs unarresting but full of symbols borrowed from "The Interpretation of Dreams." But the inhabitants of this room are dead or dying: everywhere you stumble there are the bones—improbably polished bones, but bones—that the wars of bad men in far-off capitals have scattered here. Such agreeable osseous nonsense—the all too articulate skeletons perpetually popping, like Jack-in-the-boxes, from the duped and temporary flesh—makes it hard to take any death seriously, or to remember that Mr. Comfort is talking about the deaths, not of Corydon and last fall's leaves, but of the peoples of the Second World War.

Mr. Comfort was a conscientious objector; so it is unnecessary to say that he has both courage and individual judgment. But the good luck that made him an interne in a London hos-

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pital instead of a laborer in some concentration camp in the country has cut him off from all of us in his poems: he is the isolated, pacifist, individualistic anarchist who tells the truth about things to the deceived homogeneous mass that is everybody else. This truth has the attractive and improbable simplicity of the Robinson Crusoe demonstrations of the Jevonian economist. Mr. Comfort believes in conscientious disobedience: if no one obeys the government there will be no war. There can be war only because people are dupes—"upright clock-faced citizens" who are fooled by the "loaded dice," the "stacked cards" of the "drunkards and whoremasters" who are their governors. The poet's irritation at the stupidity of the corpses weakens his pastoral and generalized grief for them; besides, these are the wholesale deaths that happen to other people, not the petty retail deaths that happen to you and yours. And he never wonders: how does it feel to be a dupe? But the way things are for us—not the way they would be if we were rational, economic Benthamic men, intelligently determining the algebraic sum of our own interests—is what has to matter to that witness of the actions of men, the poet. Between Mr. Comfort and the soldiers there is a final barrier: he is right and they are wrong; and he cannot share the sympathetic, unwilling identity in which all their differences are buried—their uneasy knowledge that the mechanics of their living and someone else's dying is statistical. It is hard for him to feel for one of them an unmixed sorrow; he can't help thinking, "He'd have been all right if he'd only had sense enough to disobey." But he means, *if they'd only all had sense enough to disobey*: though he seems to think he is making plausible political proposals, he is actually making impossible moral demands. To him, as he states in an essay, any resistance to any state is an intrinsic good—since all states are equally and absolutely evil; a person is necessarily virtuous, a citizen necessarily vicious. This is an anarchism possible to the docile inhabitants of a long-established, well-regimented community: that is, to citizens who are protected from each other thoroughly enough, and unnecessarily enough, to believe that there is nothing they need be protected from except the state.

We can hardly fail either to sympathize with Mr. Comfort or to realize that he is right in considering that the states themselves are at present the main danger their citizens face; I do not know whether it would be right for him to sympathize more with us, but—so long as we are his subject matter—it would certainly be expedient. It is hard not to quote to him Cromwell's "I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, consider that ye may be mistaken." His version of the unarmed, eventually triumphant proletariat of the anarchists reminds one of its contrary, the armed triumphant proletariat of Marx: I remembered the murals in Mexican market-places, with their workers who wave red banners Against the Next Imperialist War—workers whose broad stern faces are complicated by no premonition of their own official future in that war. Yet when one considers the mechanisms of the contemporary states—from the advertising agencies that turn out their principles to the munitions factories that turn out their practice—it is hard to think of the triumph of any proletariat as anything more than a wistful compensating dream: it is we who wither away, not the state.

RANDALL JARRELL

The Art of Cezanne

REALLY valuable texts on art are so few that whenever one appears the fact should be proclaimed in haste. I have had Earle Loran's "Cézanne's Composition" (University of California Press, $6.50) in my hands for almost two years and have delayed reviewing it—which was unfair to everyone concerned—only because I wanted to make sure that I understood Professor Loran's thesis exactly. In the meantime, however, I have learned a great deal from his book about modern painting in general.

Professor Loran—himself a painter as well as associate professor of art at the University of California—devotes his attention mainly to Cézanne's concrete means and methods, and he arrives thereby at an understanding of Cézanne's art more essential than any other I have seen in print. Professor Loran's thesis declares that the French master achieved his effects of volume and space primarily by "linear structure," not by color or texture. This goes against the standard notion—presented impressively by the Austrian Fritz Novotny and more recently repeated in brief by Edward Alden Jewell in his preface to a thin volume of bad reproductions called "Cézanne" (Hyperion Press, distributed by Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $3)—which contends, in Mr. Jewell's words, that Cézanne "established recession from the picture plane by means of a system of modulated color or the use of different colors to mark the receding planes."

Professor Loran explains his own view in detail by diagrammatic analysis of some thirty-odd paintings, presented in black and white reproduction along with many interesting photographs of the original motifs in nature from which the master made his open-air pictures. From his argument Professor Loran derives a system of principles through which not only Cézanne, he claims, but almost all great artists who explored the illusion of the third dimension on a flat surface obtained their best results. These principles—which are a matter of intuition and experience rather than of conscious thought—make it necessary to simplify, distort, and abstract in order to create spatial and volume tensions without violating the two-dimensional integrity of the picture plane. Here linear outline—not as final effect, as arabesque, but as a means of construction—is more decisive than modeling, whether in facets of pigment or in darks and lights.

Distortions, as we know, play a prime role in Cézanne's art. It is the drawing that they dictate which divides pictorial space into dynamic entities. The little color facets, subtly defining each small variation of plane, do but clothe the skeleton, confirming and making more substantial what is already there in principle. One of the proofs of Professor Loran's thesis—which he himself does not mention—is how well Cézanne's pictures stand up in black-and-white reproduction, by contrast to strictly impressionist paintings, which depend far more on color and texture. But this fact should also give us to think whether Cézanne did not pay more attention to dark and light values than he himself realized.

Of course, Cézanne's color plays an enormously important part in the final effects of his art—and far from overlooking this part, Professor Loran deals with it at length. Cézanne's own conception of the importance of color is shown by his preference for the Venetian and Spanish schools of painting above others of the past. Those who choose painterly painting must stress color, and properly. Yet Picasso and Braque showed how profoundly they understood Cézanne when, in embarking upon cubism under his influence, they stripped themselves down to black, brown, gray, and white in order to lay bare the bones of the problem. In no other way could the meaning of the revolution Cézanne precipitated have been so relevantly made plain.

There is not the space here to go into the nature of that revolution. Suffice to say that it has been radically misunderstood by those critics who argue from Cézanne's example that volume—or "plasticity"—is the end-all and be-all of painting. If anything, the case is exactly the opposite with regard to Cézanne's historical effect, for his example as much as anyone's has strengthened the modern tendency toward flat painting.

And as for his epigones among painters themselves: they have applied his drawing in a fashion and they have applied the general tonality of his color, but they have not digested the inner logic of either. Thus their conception of pictorial space remains essentially pre-Cézannean. I cite as evidence the work of Max Weber, that estimable but somewhat overrated artist who has not yet perceived, as Cézanne did from the first, that it is the unity of a picture that constitutes its virtuality as a successful work of art, not the juiciness of brush strokes, not the amount of paint quality per square inch.

One more word. Professor Loran is no idolator of Cézanne and is not blind to his few shortcomings. It is this among other things that helps make his book such a good textbook for the concrete understanding of modern painting. The failures of a great painter are often more illuminating to the student than his successes.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

LATE in the eighteenth century David Garrick cut the grave-diggers out of his new production of "Hamlet" and was thanked by Steevens, the best Shakespeare scholar of his day, for thus correcting the Bard's characteristic bad taste. The same scene is among those missing from Maurice Evans's "G. I. version," now brought from the Pacific to the Columbus Circle Theater, and we are told that it was eliminated because the soldiers found it a distressing excrescence. This may not be sufficient to demonstrate that our fighting men are pseudo-classicists whether they know it or not, but there are other respects in which the Evans production would have seemed less unconventional to an eighteenth-century audience than it does to a modern one.

Those who were accustomed to seeing Hamlet dressed as a French abbé and Macbeth rigged out in all the red and gold splendor of a grenadier's uniform would find the somewhat neutral and unobtrusively modern costuming adopted by Evans subdued rather than startling, and they would also consider the general tendency to treat the whole play as a declamatory melodrama traditional rather than novel. Many historians have pointed out that Shakespeare was most popular on the stage in the days when a far from sacred text was not only cut but added to as any actor saw fit, and the meaning of it all may be simply that the median taste of a large heterogeneous audience in the Pacific or anywhere else is most accurately hit when the obvious values of any play are accentuated and everything in the slightest degree esoteric or even unfamiliar is as far as possible eliminated.

Mr. Evans's production starts off briskly with the scene on the battlements played as an encounter between a group of hearty, prosaic soldiers going about their routine job. The effect is excellent until, a few minutes after it has begun, one of the Danish G. I.'s is compelled to launch into the ornate passage which begins, "Some say that ever 'gainst that season comes wherein our Savior's birth is celebrated"; that passage, which never fails, no matter how the scene is played, to seem a bit gratuitous, stubbornly defies the effort to make it possible as a bit of casual conversation. And right here it might as well be pointed out that there is more than one moment in the play when Shakespeare's language defies the attempt to present his characters as fundamentally merely a group of regular fellows—it does again, for instance, in the scene of the last parting of Ophelia and Laertes, where in the present production Laertes sits on the arm of a chair, engages in only half-serious badinage with his sister on the subject of seemly conduct for virgins, and almost convinces us that this is the way in which the scene should be played until we become gradually aware that such casual manners and such a casual attitude are not really compatible with the formality of the language he uses. Much of the time Mr. Evans avoids such difficulties by cutting out whatever part of a speech seems to make it either too long or too formal, and I am not saying that the occasional incongruities which remain would or should be more distressing to a heterogeneous audience than much of "Hamlet" as originally written inevitably is to those unprepared by experience or education to participate in the mood which Shakespeare intended to create. But I am maintaining that such a version as the present one is, nevertheless, an ingenious and entertaining perversion rather than an actual interpretation of the play in question.

Some modern critics—Dover Wilson among them—have insisted that Hamlet himself is not the doubting, introverted philosopher which the romantics make him but primarily a man of action who delays because he must, and Mr. Evans seems to have adapted if he has not exaggerated this view. Supposing, rightly perhaps, that the average fighting man would not be too sympathetic toward the sort of fellow whom General Patton would undoubtedly have been glad to slap, Evans has made the melancholy Dane robustiously troubled rather than actually melancholy and permitted him only occasional rather puzzling lapses into morbidity at those times when he is compelled to permit him to indulge in quite uncharacteristic wishes that this too, too solid flesh would melt or in equally improbable speculations concerning that bourne from which no traveler returns. Hamlet's mockery of Polonius and of the hapless Rosencrantz and Guildenstern becomes almost joyously aggressive rather than something which springs from self-torturing bitterness, and frequently his jibes are presented—rather more convincingly than one might at first think possible—as pretty close to wisecracks. But to me it has always seemed that certain passages confounded Dover Wilson almost as effectively as they now confound Mr. Evans. Even if Hamlet's own repeated self-reproaches be dismissed as unjustified self-criticism, there remains the ghost's reference to his son's "almost blunted purpose," and the ghost, we are assured, is "an honest ghost." Nor, leaving G. I. prejudices aside, do I see any reason why anyone should want to surrender the fascinating problem presented by a man temperamentally unfitted for a role which he nevertheless feels it his duty to accept, merely in order that we may gain one more example of the conventional tragic hero of action.

If I had more space I should like to say a word of praise for Frances Reid's Ophelia and for the rather original Queen of Lili Darvas, who makes her less sinister, more merely light-minded than is usual and gives a really admirable performance in the closet scene. As for the production and interpretation as a whole, it should interest not only uncritical audiences, which will, I suspect, like it very much, but also those familiar enough with the play to be curious to see what happens when it is played for broad rather than for subtle effects. But the G. I. "Hamlet" remains an interesting stunt rather than a production to be taken with full seriousness.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

ON COLUMBIA'S December list is Mozart's String Quintet in C major (K. 515), played by the present Budapest Quartet—Roisman, Ortenberg, Kroyt, Schneider—and Milton Katims (Set 586; $4.50). The grandness of scale and style, the intensity and power of the first movement; the somber strangeness of the minuet, the startling harmonic progressions of the first part of the trio, the violent intensities of its middle part, in the second movement; the heart-piercing loveliness of the slow movement; the breath-taking episodes in the finale; and, most important, the wonderful musical ideas throughout—all these make this one of Mozart's greatest utterances. It gets one of the Budapest Quartet's unapproachably great performances, in which the phraseological inflection and the integration of the lines of sound are something one can scarcely believe as it happens. And the performance gets the best reproduction that Columbia has achieved with the group so far. It isn't perfect reproduction, however:

on some sides the sound is well-balanced, bright, clear, and agreeable to the ear, but without the warmth it should have; on other sides it is disagreeably sharp-edged; on all sides the rich sound of Schneider's cello is hard and dry.

The two sides of a single disc (71696-D; $1) offer an uncut performance of a Mozart aria which hitherto has been recorded only on one side with one of its episodes omitted: the lovely *L'amerò, sarò costante* from "Il Re Pastore"—or rather *L'amerò, sarò co-ho-ho-ho-stante,* as Lily Pons sings it. Her singing is agreeable in sound and smooth in style, and is reproduced with more volume, clarity, and brilliance on the second side than on the first. The sound of Bruno Walter's orchestral accompaniment also is better on the second side than on the first. The sound of Bruno Walter's orchestral accompaniment also is better on the second side; but Mishel Piastro's violin obbligato is offensively treacly on both sides.

After recording eleven songs from Schubert's "Winterreise" cycle for Victor several years ago, Lotte Lehmann did the remaining thirteen for Columbia, which issued seven in one volume, and now issues six in a second volume (Set 587; $2.75). The scrambled arrangement of each collection in the volumes makes it all but impossible to hear the series of twenty-four songs in the order, and with the continuity from song to song and the cumulative force, that it was intended to have; moreover, Lehmann's voice is reproduced differently by the Victor and Columbia records—more faithfully by the Columbias, but also with occasional buzzes and other imperfections. Her inflection and coloring of the phrases is eloquent and moving; but I am this time more sharply aware of the lack of rhythmic sense—for example in "Der greise Kopf"—that astonished me previously in "Wasserflut"; and I have come to perceive the badness of Ulanowsky's accompaniments—their feebleness of sound and character, their lack of tonal and rhythmic continuity from one note to the next.

Rehearing a work of Mozart after an interval I get a completely new impression of its wonderful quality; and on the other hand rehearing a Brahms concerto or a Shostakovitch symphony I am impressed as though for the first time by what a dreadful piece of music each is in its own pretentious way. The Brahms concerto this time is No. 2 for piano, played by Serkin with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy (Set 584; $6.50). Schnabel's style is more authentic than Horowitz's; but Horowitz's performance has a sharpness of contour and a continuity of impetus—for example, in the first piano solo that builds up to the first orchestra tutti—that are lacking in Serkin's. Horowitz's performance also has the advantage of being presented in the wonderful orchestral framework created by Toscanini; and their combined performance has the advantage of being reproduced with clarity and brightness, whereas the sound of the Serkin-Philadelphia Orchestra performance is dull and murky.

The Shostakovitch symphony this time is No. 6, excellently performed by Reiner with the Pittsburgh Symphony, and excellently recorded (Set 585; $5.50).

Not long ago I spoke of how exciting it is to observe the coming into existence —involving extraordinary human powers —of each wonderful detail in the succession that becomes a quintet of Mozart, a ballet of Balanchine, a dance of Danilova. Other musical examples that I should have mentioned are a performance of the Budapest Quartet, and above all a performance of Toscanini. Not only his performance of a great piece of music, but his performance of a Waldteufel waltz, a Sousa march, or one of the delightful Rossini pieces in the volume issued by Victor (Set DV-2; $8.50): the Dance from "William Tell" (one side), the Overtures to "La Cenerentola" (two sides), "Il Barbiere di Siviglia" (two sides), "La Gazza Ladra" (two sides), and "Il Signor Bruschino" (one side). The sound of the N. B. C. Symphony on the records is reverberant but clear and, on most of the sides, bright; on the "William Tell" side it is especially brilliant, on the first "Barbiere" and "Gazza" sides it is dull; and there is variation also in volume and bass. The recordings are pressed on Victor's new plastic records; and a few sides of my review copy have clicks and other such noises.

I might add that from a couple of reports people have given me of their experiences with these plastic records it looks as though they had better be used only with light (one-ounce) pickups. Also, I have discovered that they store up electric charges, which may be what refills the grooves with the dust that has to be cleaned out before every playing. Records of ordinary opaque black vinylite do not store up such charges, and once cleaned remain clean. And finally, someone in a position to figure such things out presented information which indicated that Victor's price for a plastic record is about right.

Inquiries have begun to arrive about new phonographs, pickups, speakers, and so on. As yet I have no information about these things; as soon as I have I will publish it.

CONTRIBUTORS

MILDRED ADAMS has been for many years a student of Spanish and Hispano-American literature.

ETHEL M. THORNBURY was, during the war, an economist for the Office of Strategic Services and the Foreign Economic Administration.

RALPH BATES, the distinguished novelist, is the author of "The Undiscoverables," "The Fields of Paradise," and other books.

RANDALL JARRELL, who will contribute a regular Verse Chronicle to *The Nation,* is the author of two books of verse, "Blood for a Stranger" and "Little Friend, Little Friend."

CLEMENT GREENBERG is the art critic of *The Nation.*

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Letters to the Editors

Unbelievable

Dear Sirs: Your December 3 issue printed a letter from George Williams of Clarkston, Washington, which contained such a blatantly anti-Semitic statement that I could hardly believe my eyes. Mr. Williams points out several "serious difficulties" in opening Arizona to the refugee Jews of Europe and states that if "all the Jews actually settled in Arizona, they would eventually become American citizens and as such could leave this state and locate in any other." Then "they would thus assume *their two-thousand-year role as parasites among other people—as they have been, for example, in Europe.*"

If Mr. Williams's mind is not totally warped by the vicious hatred he expresses, I recommend that he go to any public library and read a few elementary facts about the history of Jews, civilization, and democracy.

BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN,
Eastern Regional Director,
Anti-Defamation League

New York, December 14

In Defense of AMG

Dear Sirs: Mea culpa! Having committed the unpardonable sin of writing an article favorable to AMG in Italy, I made it worse by carelessly asserting that "evrybody" in Milan agreed that, thanks to Lieutenant Colonel Harry G. Hershenson, justice was being done in a fair and impartial manner. I should have remembered that there is nothing under the sun on which *everybody* is in agreement, least of all Donald Downes of the Overseas News Agency, who frequently confuses himself with God. But I am still dismayed that I should have been attacked in *The Nation* by Downes for deliberately "misleading" readers of the Chicago *Daily News's* foreign service.

Anyone who cares to reread the dispatch in question will find that I did not credit the Colonel with inventing the Extraordinary Courts of Assize. I simply stated that he had replaced the kangaroo courts of the partisans with the Courts of Assize—which I knew, but did not feel it worth while to mention, had been established by decree of Prince Humbert at the request of the Allied Commission.

By September so-called "partisans"—for not all of them were entitled to that appellation—had put to death at least ten thousand so-called "Fascists"—"so-called" because their guilt was never legally ascertained. The Assize Courts meanwhile tried some two thousand persons accused of Fascist crimes in northern Italy. Of these, 271 were condemned to death, about 300 acquitted, and the rest given prison sentences.

I still think this is a record of which AMG may be proud. All Fascists are not equally guilty. Thanks to AMG, Italian courts, for all their many defects, were enabled at least to make some effort to separate the sheep from the goats.

Yet Mr. Downes asserts that AMG has been "reaping suspicion and distrust by making a fetish of order as opposed to *revolutionary justice*" (italics mine). I must confess that I am totally unable to grasp what Mr. Downes intends to imply by "revolutionary" justice. There was an insurrection, even revolution if you prefer, in northern Italy at the time of our offensive, but surely it was incidental to the force of Anglo-American arms. The latter won the war in Italy.

What can "revolutionary" justice possibly mean in its application to the situation in Italy? Can Mr. Downes be thinking of "mob" justice of the sort that *The Nation* so frequently criticizes in the South? Or can he be thinking of the "justice" so popular just now in the Sovietized countries of Europe?

Mr. Downes presumably considers it "reactionary" of AMG to have taken the view that all men are innocent until proved guilty. On the other hand, he presumably considers it "liberal" and "progressive" for a person to be lynched if there is reason to believe him guilty of a political crime.

As for the implication that AMG saved Carlo Emmanuele Basile, the former Fascist prefect of Genoa, from a death sentence: actually, he was saved by an all but forgotten clause in the military code which automatically commutes to twenty years' imprisonment all death sentences imposed on holders of Medals of Valor awarded in World War I. The trial itself was a sickening example of "revolutionary" justice, despite the efforts of AMG and the Assize Court. A Communist-organized claque of about 500 that packed the rear of the courtroom heckled the judges, shouted down Basile every time he opened his mouth, and finally set up such a roar that none of the court officials could hear a word.

Despite our many blunders, our naivete, our ignorance, even our arrogance, we have done a few things in Italy for which we have a right to be eternally proud. It is possible for the average Italian citizen to go to bed at night knowing that there is no longer a secret police which may break into his house and drag him off to prison. Every political and religious group in Italy today enjoys complete freedom of press, speech, and assembly. The Italian people have the basic civil liberties and the individual freedoms necessary to create a democratic society for themselves. Italy's prospects are grim indeed, but, politically speaking, no people in Europe today enjoys more individual freedom than the Italians—Mr. Downes to the contrary notwithstanding. LEIGH WHITE

Correspondent, Chicago *Daily News*

Rome, October 28

Palestine Perspective

Dear Sirs: I have just finished reading the interesting article by I. F. Stone in the December 8 issue of *The Nation.*

It is especially gratifying that Mr. Stone states the elementary truth that Palestine "is the one place in the world where Jews are completely unafraid," and that "in Palestine a Jew is a Jew. Period." However, Mr. Stone fails to understand the Yishuv's present insistence on a Jewish Commonwealth.

A realistic and historical perspective of the Palestine problem is a prerequisite to understanding the Yishuv's attitude. In April, 1923, the British decided to appease Abdullah, King Hussein's second son, so that he would not interfere with the French rule in Syria. Consequently they gave him Transjordania—the land east of the River Jordan. During the past twenty years the Arabs here moved freely from Transjordania into Palestine to earn a better living. Their entrance did not require special certificates or favors from the British government. The Jews, on the other hand, were barred from buying land or even living in Transjordania. Jews were not allowed to enter Palestine without a certificate.

The Jews in Palestine sincerely wish

to cooperate with the Arabs, and at the same time they have the enormous task of rehabilitation and restoration of human dignity to their people. These purposes are not incompatible.

The Near East must be regarded as a geographic and economic unit. The Arabs in Palestine do not have any basis whatsoever for their fear of being mistreated as a minority by the Jews, in the event the latter are a majority, since the Jews constitute minorities in the surrounding Arab countries.

As a native of Palestine I should like to state here that the tension in Palestine is due primarily to the fact that the feudal Arab landlords—the Arab people have no voice—and the reactionary British Colonial Office do not like to see the growth of democratic forces in the Near East.

S. ZELMANS

Doylestown, Pa., December 9

The President Was Right

Dear Sirs: In your editorial Labor Says No in the December 15 issue I travel along in full accord with your first paragraph that a means for avoiding strikes is most desirable. Permit me, however, to dissent from everything else.

If, as you suggest, President Truman had asked labor leaders for advice on his suggestions to Congress, it would have been grossly unreasonable not to ask representatives of capital also. Both sides must be able to submit to the mediation body with a confidence which could not prevail if only one of them had a hand in the framing of the legislation. To ask both capital and labor for suggestions would evidently have been useless, since it is not likely that their ideas could be reconciled in view of the deadlock existing between them now. It was therefore up to the President to act for both sides in the manner that seemed best to him.

If Philip Murray is going to act up like his erstwhile sponsor, John L. Lewis, then one can only repeat the quotation invoked by the late F. D. R., "A plague on both their houses."

HARRY ORTNER

Brooklyn, December 15

Startling Departure

Dear Sirs: The article Greece in Purgatory by Philip Jordan in your December 8 issue is a startling departure from the distinguished coverage on Greece previously carried by *The Nation,* especially the fine reports of Constantine Poulos. The Jordan article flatly contradicts the Poulos article, Greek Tragedy, 1945, in your November 3 issue. According to Jordan, the British "saved" Greece, the Greeks want the monarchy, fear Russia, and hate the E. L. A. S. resistance movement. The British ambassador is "much maligned"—the American ambassador has "wisdom and charm." The British keep their troops in Greece to maintain freedom. Says Jordan: "If they were to go, there would be no freedom in Athens."

Poulos, however, writes that all the sweetness-and-light stuff which the British Ministry of Information puts out through its propaganda agency in Greece, the Anglo-Greek Information Service, cannot alter the bitterness which the majority of Greek people feel toward the British.

The Anglo-Greek Information Service is no doubt appreciative of Mr. Jordan's efforts. That is not surprising. What is surprising is that *The Nation* should carry such an article, the direct opposite of its information the previous month, without some explanation.

M. MANDELENAKIS,
Secretary, Greek American Council

New York, December 17

Here Comes Mr. Jordan

Dear Sirs: I returned from Greece recently, having spent a year and a half there, and I want to say a few things in connection with the article published in *The Nation* on December 8 under the title Greece in Purgatory.

The impression I received from reading the article was that Philip Jordan in writing about Greece could not forget that he was an Englishman. In this case he threw his liberalism overboard for the "glory of the Empire." The best one can say for Mr. Jordan is that most probably he did not stay in Greece long enough to know the situation.

In Greece in Purgatory we get the familiar story of the Greek right, with very few changes. The changes come occasionally when Mr. Jordan makes a fair statement such as "the terrorist activities of the right," only to take it out in the next sentence. The only part of Mr. Jordan's article where the truth appears is the last part, which deals with the economic situation—admittedly a very sore spot. Here we see the economic plight of Greece—a problem that UNRRA is unable to solve. Greece asks for reparations from Italy, but Allied policy is to be soft toward Italy; so Greece will receive nothing.

Mr. Jordan's article contains many erroneous statements. In the very first few words of the article there are two errors. He speaks of a "revolution by a minority a year ago." Well, the E. A. M., for Mr. Jordan's enlightenment, was not a "minority" at all a year ago. It is true that some Britishers thought so at the time, but they also thought erroneously that they could sweep the E. L. A. S. away from Athens within a couple of days. Coming to what Mr. Jordan calls a "revolution" and what I call "civil war," he conveniently forgets that it was the British who, after preparing for it for some time, finally brought it about. The British were afraid of the E. A. M. and its strength. This was a leftist movement, which, they thought, might side with Russia in the end. But apparently the E. A. M. was liked by the people, for they flocked to it in great numbers.

Next comes Mr. Jordan's contention that the people of Greece want the King back. That again is a misconception arising from the influence of the well-to-do element of Athens, with whom Mr. Jordan must have associated. If your correspondent had been able to talk with the people of the working-class sections of Athens or with the peasants in the Greek villages, he would have known that such is not the case.

Superficially, Athens had a kind of freedom when Mr. Jordan was there, but did it ever occur to Mr. Jordan that although published freely, papers might not be read freely? Did he try to find out if Athenian anti-royalist papers could circulate freely in the provinces?

There are many other misconceptions in Mr. Jordan's article. Suffice, though, to say that even the British government does not agree with him any more. After eleven months of intervention in Greek affairs, the British government now realizes that its policies were wrong. The new policy is to try to stop

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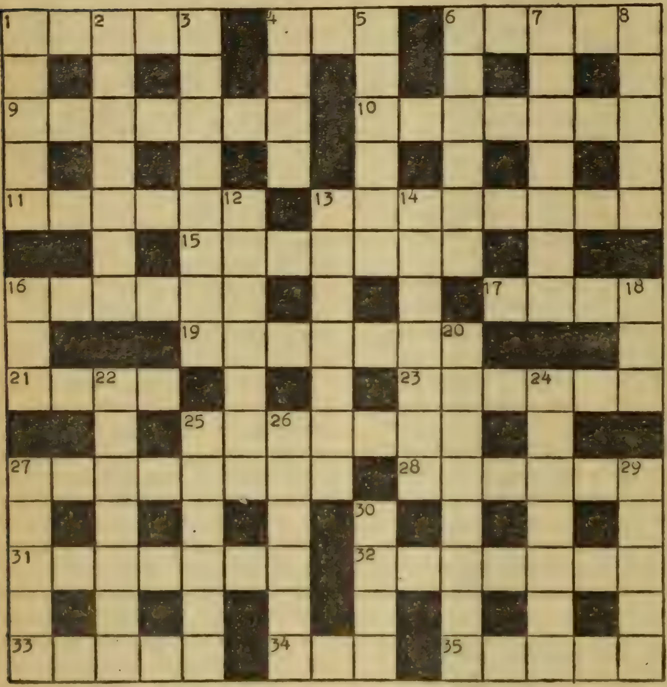
Crossword Puzzle No. 141

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 No limit (two words, 2 & 3)
4 Grampus
6 If you put her on you'll get the bird!
9 A ripe old age, even in the pen
10 Result of getting it back in French money!
11 Animal sometime known as "Whistling Rufus"
13 Dante's amoretto
15 Do they refer to their work as "the daily grind"?
16 In the red (two words, 2 & 4)
17 Partly responsible for the housing slump
19 Hearten (anag.)
21 Claret for boys, but this for men, thought Dr. Johnson
23 Name of many an old English tavern (two words, 3 & 3)
25 A 5,700-mile railway spans it
27 As Scottish a name as Aloysius is Irish
28 Trades which usually follow the Arts
31 An Indian hunter
32 Acquitted—well, I declare!
33 You should be getting very close here
34 Gangster's best friend (?)
35 Is usually followed by a calm

DOWN

1 Sambo's master turns up in the East!
2 Jemmied open, and reveled in it
3 Political clap-trap comes from a North Carolina county
4 Agate ox outside New York
5 Made without trouble and drunk without regret, in England
6 Longfellow referred to them as muffled drums
7 Second sight? No, second hearing
8 Pearl's mother
12 Wife of Oberon and queen of Fairyland
13 Garrulous nonsense
14 Poisonous stuff, this, but useful as a weed killer
16 A flibbertigibbet
18 One of the larger carnivora
20 Intimacy
22 Should be made to suffer in the ring
24 A hot place, though a plant liking coolness and damp is to be found there
25 To be thus lacking in mobility is no bad thing in war
26 Bing takes it back, but becomes sarcastic
27 Maud's here!
29 You can hardly think of Gomorrah without thinking of this
30 Trust a Caledonian to conceal the cost!

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 140

ACROSS:—1 BEN HUR; 5 DAWKINS; 10 CHRISTIAN; 11 ORDER; 12 DISPOSE; 13 STENCIL; 14 ANGRY; 16 ALLOPATHY; 18 CAPSTONES; 20 RESOW; 22 LEERERS; 24 THURBAN; 26 SMILE; 27 BUNTHORNE; 28 PAGEANT; 29 ACTING.

DOWN:—2 EARLS; 3 HISTORY; 4 RAISE CAIN; 5 DENIS; 6 WROTE UP; 7 INDICATES; 8 SHRILLY; 9 ACADIA; 15 GOPHERING; 17 LUSITANIA; 18 CALLS UP; 19 THERESA; 20 ROUGH IT; 21 WINNER; 23 SABOT; 25 BARON.

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the terrorist activities of the rightist minority and to bring about a fair election which will help the country to settle its pressing political and economic problems.

As the old proverb goes, "Better late than never." C. G. COUVARAS

New York, December 11

Pertinent Poetry

Dear Sirs: In response to Miss Agnes Smedley's request, I am sending the poem Mr. Bertrand Shadwell wrote to satirize the hypocrisy of imperialism.

If you see an island shore
Which has not been grabbed before,
Lying in the track of trade, as islands should,
With the simple native quite
Unprepared to make a fight,
Oh, you just drop in and take it for his good.
Not for money, be it clearly understood,
But you row yourself to land,
With a Bible in your hand,
And you pray for him and rob him, for his good:
If he hollers, then you shoot him—for his good.
Or this lesson I can shape
To campaigning at the Cape,
Where the Boer is being hunted for his good;
He would welcome British rule
If he weren't a blooming fool;
Thus you see it's only for his good.
So they're burning houses for his good.
Making helpless women homeless for their good,
Leaving little children orphans for their good.
In India there are bloody sights
Blotting out the Hindu's rights
Where we've slaughtered many millions for their good,
And, with bullet and with brand,
Desolated all the land,
But you know we did it only for their good.
Yes, and still more far away,
Down in China, let us say,
Where the "Christian" robs the "heathen" for his good,
You may burn and you may shoot,
You may fill your sack with loot,
But be sure you do it only for his good.

Moral

If you dare commit a wrong
On the weak because you're strong
You may do it if you do it for his good!
You may rob him if you do it for his good;
You may kill him if you do it for his good.

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